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power and stability to both. The clergy, who had not unfrequently made important grants to laymen by lease and infeudation, became still more unmeasured in their alienations to their friends and dependents, when they foresaw, in the progress of reformed religion, the total overthrow of their Church and fortunes. The acts of the Convention in 1560, abolishing the Papal power in Scotland, declaring the Catholic Clergy to be usurping ministers, and ordering the demolition of the abbacies and monasteries, gave the signal for dilapidations still more general. The Bishops, indeed, and some of the other dignitaries, while they adhered to the old doctrines, contrived, through the influence of powerful family connexions, to retain their benefices for life; and most of the heads of the religious houses, as we are told by our historians, secured their temporal interest by a conscientious or convenient accession to the new opinions. In the confusion and license of the times, however, many of the powerful barons took possession, upon no better title than force, of considerable portions of the patrimony of the Church. The benefices of the regular Clergy, which were vacated by the expulsion or death of the beneficiaries, fell, by operation of law, into the hands of the Crown. They were then generally granted out to laymen, as commendators for life; but, afterwards, these temporary grants, as well as the possessions which had been acquired by more questionable means, were confirmed and made perpetual by the Crown,—the benefices being converted into temporal baronies, the grantees of which were termed Lords of Erection, and became, of course, in their own persons, the titulars or impropriators of the tithes, which had been attached to their baronies while ecclesiastical benefices. These grants were particularly frequent during the long and turbulent minority of James VI.; but when that monarch became of age, in 1587, he executed a general revocation of the grants made during his minority; and a statute was passed during the same year, commonly called the Act of Annexation, by which there was reannexed to the Crown the whole of the temporality, that is, the lands belonging to the benefices, whether secular or regular, with the exception of certain of the newly erected baronies specially enumerated in the statute. There are many other exceptions in the act, but they seem to be immaterial here; and it is only necessary to observe, that the *temporality* of the benefices alone was thus restored to the Crown, not the *spirituality*, or the *tithes*. The Presbyterian ministers saw this annexation of the Church lands not without satisfaction. They had by this time renounced their expectation of recovering that part of the property of the Church; and they trusted that the measure would infallibly lead to the total subversion of the order of prelates, who, though

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THE EDINBURGH REVIEW,

OR

CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR

FEB. 1823..... MAY 1823.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

JUDEX DAMNATUR CUM NOCENS ABSOLVITUR.
PUBLIUS SYRUS.

VOL. XXXVIII.

EDINBURGH:
Printed by the Heirs of David Willison,
FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND COMPANY, EDINBURGH:
AND LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME AND BROWN,
LONDON.

1823.

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Printed by J. Hutchison,
for the Heirs of D. Willison.

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rested in the execution of the measure; and great anxiety was displayed on the part of the Crown to have the valuations proceeded in with all possible expedition. The commissioners originally appointed in 1627, were authorized to appoint subcommissioners in each Presbytery, for the purpose of carrying through the valuations, which were afterwards reported for the approval of the general commissioners; and in order still farther to insure despatch, the subcommissioners were empowered to name officers called procurators-fiscal, at whose instance the valuations should proceed, where the minister, proprietor, or titular neglected to sue for the valuation. Repeated and urgent instructions were issued by the Crown to hasten the proceedings of the commissioners. The Lord Advocate interfered for the same purpose, and the subcommissioners and their officers were subjected to considerable penalties in the case of negligence or undue delay in the discharge of their duty. Similar means were used to expedite the proceedings of the parliamentary commissioners; but, in spite of all these precautions, we find the King, in 1632, 1635, and 1636, complaining of the slowness of the commissioners' proceedings, and that a great part of the tithes were still unvalued. The work, however, continued to make progress, though not with such despatch as to meet the views of the King; and it was not interrupted by the rebellion and usurpation; for various commissions were granted during that period, and the valuations were conducted by subcommissioners and procurators-fiscal. The proceedings and decrees of those commissioners were specially exempted in the rescissory statutes passed at the Restoration. The destruction of the teind-records, partly during the civil war, and partly by an accidental fire in 1700, have made it impossible to ascertain with accuracy to what extent the valuation of tithes took place. It is very probable, however, that the greater part of the tithes were valued long before the last of these dates; though, from the records being lost, the valuations have proved useless to the proprietors. Where they have been preserved, however, and even not approved by the commissioners at the time, the subsequent commissioners have approved them, and have given the proprietors the benefit of the old valuations. After the Restoration, it does not appear that there was any proceeding by subcommissioners, or by procurators-fiscal; nor did the Crown take any direct charge of the valuations, with the exception of those cases in which it might be interested as an impropriator. Such assistance indeed was now less necessary. The proprietors generally saw the advantages of the system, and were anxious to avail themselves of it, especially

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the parishioners admit,—for in many instances it would be vain to look for recovery of the whole—and, with merciless rigour, seek their own profit only, regardless of the misery they inflict. Such is the practical oppression through a great part of Ireland, that every good feeling, and every true and honest interest, is united against the continuance of the present system. The more liberal of the Irish clergy themselves, some of them deriving their sole subsistence from tithes, do not conceal their aversion to the present state of things, and their anxiety that some means should be adopted to render the channel less odious through which their revenues are derived, and so to alter and mitigate the law as to prevent it from destroying their comfort and usefulness, by extinguishing, as it now does, those feelings of benevolence and respect which ought to mark the pastoral relation. . . . . .

In these circumstances, and considering the state of religious sentiment in Ireland, it is not extraordinary that some question should be stirred, as to the justice and expediency of levying tithes at all, for the support of her ecclesiastical establishment, and of laying under contribution eleven-twelfths of her population, for the maintenance of a Clergy which can minister spiritual edification to the remaining twelfth only. But though such topics will intrude themselves, we do not mean to engage in the discussion. While we confess too, that we think the time not far distant, when a legislative revision shall be requisite of her establishment, and when a great and permanent relief will be sought by altering the mode and measure of its support, we do not now propose to examine the pretensions of the Church as a society to sacred and *independent* rights, or the nature of her boasted *alliance* with the State. Our present object is much humbler. No *immediate* relief, we apprehend, can be expected, except such as may be consistent with the present system in general, though calculated to reduce its inequality, to soften its severity, and, without any material sacrifice on the part of the Church, to render the collection of its revenues less oppressive and destructive to the people. In deliberating upon any such measure, the example of England could yield little or no assistance; for though the tithes there, being more mildly levied, and from a richer people, have not produced the dreadful and revolting effects which have in many places attended their exaction in Ireland, they are nevertheless felt to be a great hardship, and the law respecting them is substantially the same, and productive, though in a smaller degree, of the same evil consequences. But it is impossible for any one, whose attention is turned to this subject, to overlook the spectacle which our own country presents. Tithes are known in Scotland, as well

as in England or Ireland, and constitute equally, and at this hour, a separate estate. While subject to the domination of the Catholic Church, she supported her clergy by tithes, which, at the period of the Reformation, were not abolished, but still form the great fund out of which her establishment is maintained. The tithes, which were not appropriated to the Presbyterian ministers, passed, on that event, into the hands of the Crown and of lay impropriators, by whom they are at present possessed, so far as they have not been purchased by the proprietors of the ground. But though, in this manner, still subsisting as a separate estate, exactly as when they were in possession of the Church, we feel not, generally speaking, the oppression of the system. The tyranny and rapaciousness of the tithe-farmer are here unknown; every man carries home his own harvest without interruption; nor is there any direct and immediate participation in the produce of his land, or of his agricultural capital. The tithes, whether drawn by the Crown, the clergy, or laymen, invariably assume the form of a fixed rent, and never appear as a contribution of part of the actual produce, or vary according to its extent. There cannot be a greater contrast than between our situation, and that of England and Ireland, in this respect; and to her freedom from tithes as they are levied in these countries, joined to her immunity from any extensive poor-rate, Scotland owes, in no small degree, the extraordinary advances she has made within the last century and a half.

Every one who has canvassed any measure for the relief of Ireland from the oppression of the tithes, must be struck with the different results of what was originally the same system in both kingdoms; and in the desire which prudent men feel to have the guidance and sanction of Experience in any scheme of political Reformation, it is natural that the history and condition of Scotland in these respects, should, at this moment, be an object of great attention, as being likely to furnish some lights to direct the course of improvement in other countries. We understand, accordingly, that a strong and general wish has been expressed for some information upon this subject; and as we are not aware where it is to be had in a form that is intelligible to a common reader, we are induced to attempt supplying the deficiency, by explaining the history and present state of Scotland as to tithes, shortly, but we hope correctly, and the more usefully to the general inquirer, because disencumbered of those technical details which can be of no advantage to our Western or Southern neighbours, who must adapt any measure of improvement which may thus be suggested, to the genius and spirit of their own law. That we may be sure of

minister of the parish. The Large Declaration declares, that according to the rate of purchasing in Scotland, the price of tithes was estimated to the uttermost farthing; and undoubtedly, if the rate of interest, and the burdens to which the tithes were liable, be taken into the account, there is every reason to suppose that they were not estimated much below their value. It is not surprising, therefore, to find, that there are few sales previous to the Union. Sir John Connell mentions that he found only two sales prior to the Restoration, and four between the Restoration and the Union; subsequent to which period they continued to increase, both where the tithes had been valued, and where a valuation had been demanded for the first time. The reduction in the rate of interest, and the fall in the value of money, while the rate of purchase continued the same, gave every day additional advantage to the proprietor; and, during the eighteenth century, sales were very numerous. Where the tithes, too, were vested in the patrons by the acts already mentioned of William and Mary, the proprietor purchased on yet easier terms, because the patron was obliged to sell the tithes he acquired under these statutes at the rate of six years' purchase. Still the tithes so purchased remain liable for the stipend of the minister, to the extent, that is to say, of their valued rent. And, as the circumstances of the country have led to a constant augmentation of stipend, and at no distant intervals, the advantage of the purchase was not so great as it at first sight appears. The tithes which belonged to the bishops, and which became vested in the Crown on the abolition of Prelacy, and those belonging to colleges, or destined to pious uses, were not liable to be sold, but were only subject to valuation. Sir John Connell states, that almost all these tithes are now valued. Of course, the proprietor is liable only for the amount of the valuation, whether the tithes remained entirely with the titular, or have been, in whole or part, allotted to the minister as stipend.

As already mentioned, we have been led into these details, in order to furnish some information not easily accessible to most readers, but very much desired by those who, struck with the contrast which this country exhibits to England and Ireland in the administration of the tithe laws, naturally expect to find in our system some suggestions that may be useful in reforming the evils which they feel daily from their own. Their expectation is reasonable, and we hope the information may not be altogether without advantage. At the same time, we are afraid that Scotland in this respect must remain an object of envy rather than of imitation; and that they cannot, by adopting our

system now, procure to themselves those advantages which have mainly arisen from its prevalence here for two hundred years. Our meaning will be perfectly evident, if it be considered, that if there had been a valuation of the corn tithe in England during the first ten years of this century, the rent or annual compensation paid to the Church would have been more oppressive now, in the depressed state of agriculture and diminished cultivation, than the levying of the tithe itself. As it is, the grievance appears to us intolerable; and, exempted as we are from its oppression here, we only wonder how our fellow-citizens can submit to it in the other parts of the empire. We believe they will not long submit to it,—because we think it cannot be submitted to. And whatever may be the prejudices of men, and whatever the learning and ingenuity with which these prejudices have been roused and strengthened, we deem it quite impossible, in this age, that the wealth of the Church should be promoted and upheld, as in the darkest eras of human history, to the impoverishment of the whole country. Let it not be imagined, that we would countenance in any degree the atrocity of interfering with the interests of present incumbents; but we think it melancholy at this time to hear it maintained, as it often is, that the Church, separately from the interest of these incumbents, and as a society, has property and possessions independent of the State, and with which the Legislature has no right, without her special and separate consent, to interfere. The days in which her revenues, particularly her tithes, were held of Divine appointment, are pretty well gone by, though some murmurs and insinuations may still be heard on that head: We believe it only wants public and direct discussion, to put down the pretensions founded upon what is called the original and inherent *independence* of the Church, and the imagined conditions of her *alliance* with the State. That discussion has, in some degree, commenced, and we shall endeavour not to be wanting in bearing our part in it. For it is to its success, and to the acknowledgment of the great principle, that the State may legislate as freely upon the revenues of the Church, as upon the interests of any other class of men in the kingdom, or upon any other description of *public property*, that England and Ireland must look for ultimate and effectual relief from one of the great grievances under which they now suffer.

ART. II. 1. *Loves of the Angels. A Poem.* By THOMAS MOORE. 8vo. pp. 148. London, 1823.

2. *Heaven and Earth. A Mystery.* By LORD BYRON. 1823.

IT is curious to see two writers, so very able, and so very different, both treating the same singular, and (as one might be tempted to suppose) almost intractable subject. All things, however, are possible to genius, and come within the range of poetry. We may set the reader's mind at once easy by stating, that there is nothing (or next to nothing) of that speculative daring in Lord Byron's present production that gave such just offence in his MYSTERY of CAIN; and that Mr Moore, in his new Poem, has kept his amatory vein within the strict bounds of decorum. There is nothing equivocal in it but the title; and that may occasion some idle flutter and some trifling disappointment. The first of these very extraordinary performances may be read without incurring a frown from the brow of piety, and the last without calling up a blush in the cheek of modesty. Considering the nature of the subject, and the temper of the authors, this is a great and a rare merit. Perhaps they found themselves so near the edge of a precipice, that they were afraid, if they made one false step, of being hurled down 'ten thousand fathom deep.' To whatever cause we may attribute this cautious reserve and self-denial, we have to thank them for saving us *a world of moralizing*—a tone in criticism we do not much affect, unless when it is forced upon us, and which we would gladly leave to the Pulpit, or to the Chairs of Moral Philosophy.

Mr Moore, in his *Preface*, informs us, that he had somewhat hastened his publication, to obviate the disadvantage of coming after his friend Lord Byron; or, as he ingeniously expresses it, 'By an earlier appearance in the literary horizon, to give himself the chance of what astronomers call an *Heliacal rising*, before the luminary, in whose light he was to be lost, should appear.' This is an amiable, but by no means a reasonable modesty. The light that plays round Mr Moore's verses, tender, glancing, and brilliant, is in no danger of being extinguished even in the sullen glare of Lord Byron's genius. An aurora borealis might as well think of being put out by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius. They are both bright stars in the firmament of modern poetry, but as distant and unlike as Saturn and Mercury. Their rising may be at the same time, but they can never move

in the same orb, nor meet or jostle in 'the wide pathless way' of fancy and invention. Let Mr Moore then shine on, and fear no envious eclipse, unless it be from an excess of his own light!

We conceive, though these two celebrated writers in some measure divide the Poetical Public between them, that it is not the same Public whose favour they severally enjoy in the highest degree. They are both read and admired, no doubt, in the same extended circle of taste and fashion; but each is the favourite of a totally different set of readers. Thus a lover may pay the same outward attention to two different women; but he only means to flirt with the one, while the other is the mistress of his heart. The gay, the fair, the witty, the happy, idolize Mr Moore's delightful Muse, on her pedestal of airy smiles or transient tears. Lord Byron's severer verse is enshrined in the breasts of those whose gaiety has been turned to gall, whose fair exterior has a canker within, whose mirth has received a rebuke as if it were folly, from whom happiness has fled like a dream! If we compute the odds upon the known chances of human life, his Lordship will bid fair to have as numerous a class of votaries as his more agreeable rival! We are not going to give a preference, but we beg leave to make a distinction on the present occasion. The poetry of Moore is essentially that of *Fancy*; the poetry of Byron that of *Passion*. If there is passion in the effusions of the one, the fancy by which it is expressed predominates over it: if fancy is called to the aid of the other, it is still subservient to the passion. Lord Byron's jests are downright earnest; Mr Moore, when he is most serious, seems half in jest. The latter plays and trifles with his subject, caresses and grows enamoured of it: the former grasps it eagerly to his bosom, breathes death upon it, and turns from it with loathing or dismay! The fine aroma, that is exhaled from the flowers of poesy, every where lends its perfume to the verse of the Bard of Erin. The noble bard (less fortunate in his Muse) tries to extract poison from them. If Lord Byron flings his own views or feelings upon outward objects (jaundicing the sun), Mr Moore seems to exist in the delights, the virgin fancies of nature. He is free of the Rosicrucian society; and enjoys an etherial existence among troops of sylphs and spirits, and in a perpetual vision of wings, flowers, rainbows, smiles, blushes, tears and kisses. Every page of his works is a vignette, every line that he writes glows or sparkles; and it would seem (so some one said who knew him well and loved him much) 'as if his airy spirit, drawn from the sun, continually fluttered with fond aspirations, to regain that

native source of light and heat.' The worst is, our author's mind is too vivid, too active, to suffer a moment's repose. We are cloyed with sweetness and dazzled with splendour. Every image must 'blush celestial rosy red, love's proper hue,'—every syllable must breathe a sigh. A sentiment is lost in a simile—the simile is overloaded with an epithet. It is 'like morn risen on mid-noon.' No eventful story, no powerful contrast, no *moral*, none of the sordid details of human life (all is etherial), none of its sharp calamities, or, if they inevitably occur, his Muse throws a soft, glittering veil over them,

'Like moonlight on a troubled sea,
Brightening the storm it cannot calm.'

We do not believe Mr Moore ever writes a line, that in itself would not pass for poetry, that is not at least a vivid or harmonious commonplace. Lord Byron writes whole pages of sullen, crabbed prose, like a long dreary road that, however, leads to doleful shades or palaces of the blest. In short, Mr Moore's Parnassus is a blooming Eden; Lord Byron's is a rugged wilderness of shame and sorrow. On the tree of knowledge of the first, you can see nothing but perpetual flowers and verdure; in the last, you see the naked stem and rough bark; but it heaves at intervals with inarticulate throes, and you hear the shrieks of a human voice within.

Critically speaking, Mr Moore's poetry is chargeable with two peculiarities. First, the pleasure or interest he conveys to us is almost always derived from the first impressions or physical properties of objects, not from their connexion with passion or circumstances. His lights dazzle the eye, his perfumes soothe the smell, his sounds ravish the ear: but then they do so for and from themselves, and at all times and places equally—for the heart has nothing to do with it. Hence we observe a kind of fastidious extravagance in Mr Moore's serious poetry. Each thing must be fine, soft, exquisite in itself, for it is never set off by reflection or contrast. It glitters to the sense through an atmosphere of indifference. Our indolent, luxurious bard does not whet the appetite by setting us to hunt after the game of human passion, and is therefore obliged to pamper us with dainties, seasoned with rich fancy and the *sauce piquante* of poetic diction. Poetry, in his hands, becomes a kind of *cosmetic* art—it is the poetry of the toilette. His Muse must be as fine as the Lady of Loretto. The naked Venus to some eyes would seem a dowdy to her! Now, this principle of composition leads not only to a defect of dramatic interest, but also of imagination. For every thing in this world, the meanest incident or object, may receive a light and an importance from its asso-

ciation with other objects and with the heart of man; and the variety thus created is endless as it is striking and profound. But if we begin and end in those objects that are beautiful or dazzling in themselves and at first blush, we shall soon be confined to a narrow round of self-pleasing topics, and be both superficial and wearisome. It is the fault of Mr Wordsworth's poetry that he has perversely relied too much (or wholly) on this reaction of the imagination on subjects that are petty and repulsive in themselves, and of Mr Moore's, that he appeals too exclusively to the flattering support of sense and fancy. Secondly, We have remarked that Mr Moore hardly ever describes entire objects, but abstract qualities of objects. It is not a picture that he gives us, but an inventory of beauty. He takes a blush, or a smile, and runs on whole stanzas in extatic praise of it, and then diverges to the sound of a voice, and 'discourses eloquent music' on the subject; but it might as well be the light of Heaven that he is describing, or the voice of Echo—we have no human figure before us, no palpable reality, answering to any substantive form in nature. Hence we think it may be explained why it is that this author has so little picturesque effect—with such vividness of conception, such insatiable ambition after ornament, and such an inexhaustible and delightful play of fancy. Mr Moore is a colourist in poetry, a musician also, and has a heart full of tenderness and susceptibility for all that is delightful and amiable in itself, and that does not require the ordeal of suffering, of crime, or of deep thought to stamp it with a bold character. In this, we conceive, consists the charm of his poetry, which all the world feel, but which it is so difficult for critics to explain scientifically, and in conformity to *transcendental rules*. It has the charm of the softest and most brilliant execution. There is no wrinkle, no deformity on its smooth and shining surface. It has the charm which arises from the continual desire to please, and from the spontaneous sense of pleasure in the author's mind. Without being gross in the smallest degree, it is voluptuous in the highest. It is a sort of sylph-like, spiritualized sensuality. So far from being licentious in the present instance, Mr Moore has become moral and sentimental (indeed he was always the last) —and tantalizes his young and fair readers with the glittering shadows and mystic adumbrations of evanescent delights. He (in fine) in his courtship of the Muses, resembles those lovers who always say the softest things on all occasions; who smile with irresistible good humour at their own success; who banish pain and truth from their thoughts, and who impart the delight they feel in themselves unconsciously to others! Mr Moore's

poetry is the thornless rose—its touch is velvet, its hue vermilion, and its graceful form is cast in beauty's mould. Lord Byron's is a prickly bramble, or sometimes a deadly Upas, of form uncouth and uninviting, that has its root in the clefts of the rock, and its head mocking the skies, round which the loud cataracts roar, and that wars with the thunder-cloud and tempest.

Having said so much in the way of criticism, we shall now proceed to enable our readers to judge for themselves. Lord Byron's 'Heaven and Earth' has a dramatic form; Mr Moore's 'Loves of the Angels' is thrown into a narrative. Both have attempted a diversity of character in the angels, and in the women whose lovers they are. Lord Byron has *contrasted* his pairs of lovers, giving the mildest angel to the most masculine woman; Mr Moore has assimilated his, giving a high-spirited and aspiring woman as a mistress to the most heroic and dignified angel, a Semele to his Jupiter. Each has yielded to the bent of his genius in the path he has chosen: the one method giving softness, the other strength. The 'Loves of the Angels' opens with the following beautiful stanzas, which will give an idea of the plan of the whole. We have delayed thus long to quote any passages from this Siren-like poet, because we knew from that instant our occupation would be gone; the seductive power of his style being such as to render us as little inclined to make, as our readers to listen, to fastidious objections. 'The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo.' It was necessary for us, therefore, to have our *say* first: and having now discharged our consciences, we have nothing to do but to please ourselves as well as others.

Without further preface, then, Mr Moore thus announces his design.

'Twas when the world was in its prime,
When the fresh stars had just begun
Their race of glory, and young Time
Told his first birth-days by the sun;
When, in the light of Nature's dawn
Rejoicing, Men and Angels met
On the high hill and sunny lawn,—
Ere sorrow came, or Sin had drawn
'Twixt man and heaven her curtain yet!

When earth lay nearer to the skies
Than in these days of crime and wo,
And mortals saw, without surprise,
In the mid-air, angelic eyes
Gazing upon this world below.

Alas, that Passion should profane,
Ev'n then, that morning of the earth!
That, sadder still, the fatal stain
Should fall on hearts of heavenly birth—
And oh, that stain so dark should fall
From Woman's love, most sad of all!

One evening, in that time of bloom,
On a hill's side, where hung the ray
Of sunset, sleeping in perfume,
Three noble youths conversing lay;
And, as they look'd, from time to time,
To the far sky, where Day-light furl'd
His radiant wing, their brows sublime
Bespoke them of that distant world—
Creatures of light, such as still play,
Like motes in sunshine, round the Lord,
And through their infinite array
Transmit each moment, night and day,
The echo of His luminous word!

Of Heaven they spoke, and still more oft,
Of the bright eyes that charm'd them thence;
Till, yielding gradual to the soft
And balmy evening's influence—
The silent breathing of the flowers—
The melting light that beam'd above,
As on their first, fond, erring hours,
Each told the story of his love,
The history of that hour unblest,
When like a bird, from its high nest
Won down by fascinating eyes,
For Woman's smile he lost the skies.

The First who spoke, was one, with look
The least celestial of the three—
A Spirit of light mould, that took
The prints of earth most yieldingly;
Who, ev'n in heaven, was not of those
Nearest the Throne, but held a place
Far off, among those shining rows
That circle out through endless space,
And o'er whose wings the light from Him
In the great centre falls most dim.

Still fair and glorious, he but shone
Among those youths th' unheavenliest one—

A creature to whom light remain'd
From Eden still, but alter'd, stain'd,
And o'er whose brow not Love alone
A blight had, in his transit, sent,
But other earthlier joys had gone,
And left their foot-prints as they went.

Sighing, as through the shadowy Past
Like a tomb-searcher, Memory ran,
Lifting each shroud that Time had cast
O'er buried hopes, he thus began.' p. 5.

We shall attempt to give the outline, and some of the most refulgent passages of the FIRST ANGEL'S STORY.

'Twas in a land, that far away
Into the golden orient lies,
Where Nature knows not night's delay;
But springs to meet her bridegroom, Day,
Upon the threshold of the skies.
One morn, on earthly mission sent,
And mid-way, choosing where to light,
I saw, from the blue element—
Oh beautiful, but fatal sight!—
One of earth's fairest womankind,
Half veil'd from view, or rather shrin'd
In the clear crystal of a brook;
Which, while it hid no single gleam
Of her young beauties, made them look
More spirit-like, as they might seem
Through the dim shadowing of a dream.

Pausing in wonder, I look'd on,
While, playfully around her breaking
The waters, that like diamonds shone,
She mov'd in light of her own making.
At length, as slowly I descended
To view more near a sight so splendid,
The tremble of my wings all o'er
(For through each plume I felt the thrill)
Startl'd her, as she reach'd the shore
Of that small lake—her mirror still—
Above whose brink she stood, *like snow*
When rosy with a sun-set glow.
Never shall I forget those eyes!—
The shame, the innocent surprise
Of that bright face, when in the air
Uplooking, she beheld me there.
It seem'd as if each thought, and look,

And motion were that minute chain'd
Fast to the spot, such root she took,
And—like a sunflower by a brook,
With face upturn'd—so still remain'd.

In pity to the wondering maid,
Though loth from such a vision turning,
Downward I bent, beneath the shade
Of my spread wings, to hide the burning
Of glances, which—I well could feel—
For me, for her, too warmly shone;
But, ere I could again unseal
My restless eyes, or even steal
One side-long look, the maid was gone—
Hid from me in the forest leaves,
Sudden as when, in all her charms
Of full-blown light, some cloud receives
The Moon into his dusky arms.' p. 9.

We have marked some lines of the foregoing extract in italics, which we either think exquisitely beautiful, or doubtfully so. Thus, we conceive that the expression,

'She moved in light of her own making,'

is wonderfully natural and happy: but we object to the figure employed just after, where it is said,

'——She stood, like snow
When rosy with a sunset glow.'

This we pronounce to be tinsel. It may look very fine to the eye, but it chills the sense. No one ever in his feelings connected the appearance of a beautiful woman with a figure of snow, however decked with roses by the sun. Again, we suspect there is something a little false and meretricious in talking of the 'charms,' and the 'full-blown light' of the moon. That lady of Heaven is cold and distant; nor will she endure to have her beauties compared to spreading flowers, or to the ripe and swelling bosoms that burst and expand like them. The moon is a flat, shining, well-defined surface. 'Full-blown-light' is, we apprehend, a *conceit*, as Dryden and the wits of that day (for critics were then thought wits) would have termed it.

The glowing warmth of the cherub's love, and the lady's platonic return to it, are well described (allowing for one or two epigrammatic points) in the following stanzas.

'Nor was it long, ere by her side
I found myself, whole happy days,
Listening to words, whose music vied
With our own Eden's seraph lays,

When seraph lays are warm'd by love;
But, wanting *that*, far, far above!
And looking into eyes where, blue
And beautiful, like skies seen through
The sleeping wave, for me there shone
A heaven, more worshipp'd than my own,
Oh what, while I could hear and see
Such words and looks, was heaven to me?
Though gross the air on earth I drew,
'Twas blessed, while she breath'd it too;
Though dark the flowers, though dim the sky,
Love lent them light, while she was nigh.
Throughout creation I but knew
Two separate worlds—the *one*, that small,
Belov'd, and consecrated spot
Where Lea *was*—the other, all
The dull, wide waste where she was *not!*

But vain my suit, my madness vain;
Though gladly from her eyes to gain
One earthly look, one stray desire,
I would have torn the wings, that hung
Furl'd at my back, and o'er that Fire
Unnam'd in heaven their fragments flung;—
'Twas hopeless all—pure and unmov'd
She stood, *as lilies in the light*
Of the hot noon but look more white;—
And though she lov'd me, deeply lov'd,
'Twas not as man, as mortal—no,
Nothing of earth was in that glow—
She lov'd me but as one, of race
Angelic, from that radiant place
She saw so oft in dreams—that Heaven,
To which her prayers at morn were sent,
And on whose light she gaz'd at even,
Wishing for wings that she might go
Out of this shadowy world below,
To that free, glorious element!'

The angel then describes, in terms of pure and eloquent pathos, the sorrow of Lea at learning his wild passion for her. On the night of this discovery, a feast is held, in which her lover inflames his imagination by the aid of wine.

'Then, too, that juice of earth, the bane
And blessing of man's heart and brain—
That draught of sorcery, which brings
Phantoms of fair, forbidden things—
Whose drops, like those of rainbows, smile
Upon the mists that circle man,

Bright'ning not only Earth, the while,
But grasping Heaven, too, in their span!—
Then first the fatal wine-cup rain'd
Its dews of darkness through my lips,
Casting whate'er of light remain'd
To my lost soul into eclipse.'

He has a meeting with his enchanting, inexorable maid, 'at the silent moonlight hour,' who, however, instead of listening to his vows, turns her eyes to her favourite star. In the depth of his despair of gaining her mortal love, he agrees to leave Earth for Heaven, and pronounces, for that purpose, 'the spell-word' that is to waft him to the skies, which she no sooner hears, than she eagerly catches it up, and mounts on the wings of faith to the starry firmament, while it loses its power over the Cherub, who repeats the magic sound in vain, and in vain seeks to follow her.

'While thus I spoke, the fearful maid,
Of me and of herself afraid,
Had shrinking stood, like flowers beneath
The scorching of the south-wind's breath;
But when I nam'd—alas, too well,
I now recall, though wilder'd then,—
Instantly, when I nam'd the spell,
Her brow, her eyes uprose again,
And, with an eagerness, that spoke
The sudden light that o'er her broke,
"The spell, the spell!—oh, speak it now,
"And I will bless thee!" she exclaim'd—
Unknowing what I did, inflam'd,
And lost already, on her brow
I stamp'd one burning kiss, and nam'd
The mystic word, till then ne'er told
To living creature of earth's mould!
Scarce was it said, when, quick as thought,
Her lips from mine, like echo, caught
The holy sound—her hands and eyes
Were instant lifted to the skies,
And thrice to heaven she spoke it out,
With that triumphant look Faith wears,
When not a cloud of fear or doubt,
A vapour from this vale of tears,
Between her and her God appears!
That very moment her whole frame
All bright and glorified became,
And at her back I saw unclose
Two wings, magnificent as those
That sparkle round th' Eternal Throne,

Whose plumes, as buoyantly she rose
Above me, in the moon-beam shone
With a pure light, which—from its hue,
Unknown upon this earth—I knew
Was light from Eden, glistening through!
Most holy vision! ne'er before
Did aught so radiant—since the day
When Lucifer, in falling, bore
The third of the bright stars away—
Rise in earth's beauty to repair
That loss of light and glory there!

But did I tamely view her flight?
Did not *I*, too, proclaim out thrice
The powerful words that were, that night—
Oh, ev'n for heaven too much delight!
Again to bring us, eyes to eyes,
And soul to soul, in Paradise?
I did—I spoke it o'er and o'er—
I pray'd, I wept, but all in vain;
For me the spell had power no more,
There seem'd around me some dark chain
Which still, as I essay'd to soar,
Baffled, alas, each wild endeavour:
Dead lay my wings, as they have lain
Since that sad hour, and will remain—
So wills the offended God—forever!'

We must refer our reader's for the SECOND ANGEL'S STORY to the poem itself; and, after the specimens we have already given, they will, we apprehend, find this no very irksome task. Suffice it to say, that Rubi is a Spirit of Knowledge, and that the desire of knowledge is the fatal passion of his human bride, who perishes like another Semele in the fiery revelation of his celestial charms. We must be contented to enrich our pages with the description of his person.

'Twas RUBI, in whose mournful eye
Slept the dim light of days gone by;
Whose voice, though sweet, fell on the ear
Like echoes, in some silent place,
When first awak'd for many a year;
And when he smil'd—if o'er his face
Smile ever shone—'twas like the grace
Of moonlight rainbows, fair, but wan,
The sunny life, the glory gone.
Ev'n o'er his pride, though still the same,
A softening shade from sorrow came;
And though at times his spirit knew
The kindlings of disdain and ire,

Short was the fitful glare they threw—
Like the last flashes, fierce, but few,
Seen though some noble pile on fire!

Such was the Angel, who now broke
The silence that had come o'er all,
When he, the Spirit that last spoke,
Clos'd the sad history of his fall:
And while a sacred lustre, flown
For many a day, relum'd his cheek,
And not those sky-tun'd lips alone,
But his eyes, brow, and *tresses, roll'd*
Like sun-set waves, all seem'd to speak—
Thus his eventful story told.'

We are sure we need not point out the beauty of the comparison marked in italics; and though it would be endless to specify all the splendid images that have struck us in perusing a poem, where almost every line is, if not 'a flash of golden fire,' 'a streak of silvery light,' we cannot resist the temptation of culling a few that flash on our eyes, as they run over its pages.

Some certainly savour a little of quaintness—as this, of mutual love—

'As free from any fear or doubt
As is that light from chill or stain,
The sun into the stars sheds out,
To be by them shed back again!'

Or this pretty simile—

'He saw, upon the golden sand
Of the seashore a maiden stand,
Before whose feet the expiring waves
Flung their last tribute with a sigh—
As, in the East, exhausted slaves
Lay down the far-brought gift, and die.'

The following, however, has as much truth and pathos in the sentiment, as beauty and delicacy in the expression.

'Alas, that it should e'er have been
The same in heaven as it is here,
Where nothing fond or bright is seen,
But it hath pain and peril near—
Where right and wrong so close resemble,
That what we take for virtue's thrill
Is often the first downward tremble
Of the heart's balance into ill.'

And the following, on sweet music at sunset, though perhaps a little obscure, seems to us to have great grandeur as well as beauty.

'Whose echoes still went on and on,
Till lost among the light that shone
Far off, beyond the ocean's brim—
There, where the rich cascade of Day
Hath, o'er the' horizon's golden rim,
Into Elysium roll'd away!'

This, upon Hope, is more questionable.

'As if, ev'n yet, through pain and ill,
Hope had not left him—as if still
Her precious pearl, in sorrow's cup,
Unmelted at the bottom lay,
To shine again, when, all drunk up,
The bitterness should pass away.'

The following is perhaps too ingenious to be passionate, but it shows the activity and fertility of the author's fancy.

'Those cheeks, a glory but to see—
Those lips, whose touch was what the first
Fresh cup of Immortality
Is to a new-made angel's thirst!
That hair, from under whose dark veil,
The snowy neck, like a white sail
At moonlight seen 'twixt wave and wave,
Gleams out by fits.——'

The two last which we shall venture to extract, are eminently characteristic of the author.

'Light, winged hopes, that come when bid,
And rainbow joys that end in weeping,
And passions, among pure thoughts hid,
Like serpents under flow'rets sleeping.'

'There, at her altar while she knelt,
And all that ever woman felt,
When God and man both claim'd her sighs—
Every warm thought, that ever dwelt,
Like summer clouds 'twixt earth and skies,
Too pure to fall, too gross to rise,
Spoke in her gestures, tones and eyes.'

But we must desist from this flower-gathering, and return to our business. The Third Story is of the Loves of Nama and Zaraph. It is not told in the first person, like the other two; but rehearsed by the poet, as it is found (he tell us) in records of 'the unblest,' which were saved by Cham from the Flood. Zaraph is a Spirit of Love (of higher rank in Heaven than even the Spirits of Knowledge); and his fall, which does not arise from the admiration of external beauty, or the desire of forbidden knowledge, but from the indulgence of a faithful and mutual passion, is accompanied with a less severe punishment,

namely, a condemnation to 'the milder shades of purgatory' here below. He and his Nama, it seems, still wander inseparable upon earth; and wherever we see an instance of pure and perfect love (so rare are the examples) we may fancy we have met the fallen seraph and his immortal bride—

> 'And as we bless them on their way
> Through the world's wilderness, may say
> There Zaraph and his Nama go.'

Lord Byron's Mystery, with whatever crudeness or defects it is chargeable, certainly has more poetry and music in it than any of his dramatic writings since Manfred—and has also the peculiar merit of throwing us back, in a great degree, to the strange and preternatural time of which it professes to treat. It is truly, and in every sense of the word, a meeting of 'Heaven and Earth:' angels are seen ascending and descending, and the windows of the sky are opened to deluge the face of nature. We have an impassioned picture of the strong and devoted attachment inspired into the daughters of men by angel forms, and have placed before us the emphatic picture of 'woman wailing for her demon-lover.' There is a like conflict of the passions as of the elements—all wild, chaotic, uncontrollable, fatal—but there is a discordant harmony in all this—a keeping in the colouring and the time. In handling the unpolished page, we touch upon the world before the Flood, and gaze upon a doubtful blank, with only a few straggling figures, part human and part divine; while, in the expression of the former, we read the fancies, etherial and lawless, that lifted the eye of beauty to the skies; and, in the latter, the human passions that drew angels down to earth. The despair of the mortal lovers for the loss of their mortal mistresses, is also well and pathetically expressed. In his description of the Deluge, which is a varied and recurring masterpiece, (we hear it foretold, we see it coming, and we see it come), Lord Byron appears to us to have had an eye to Poussin's celebrated picture, with the sky hanging like a weight of lead upon the waters, the sun quenched and lurid, the rocks and trees upon them gloomily waiting their fate, and a few figures struggling vainly with the overwhelming waves. We are aware that it is hazardous and idle to accuse Lord Byron of plagiarism. He will swear that he never saw the picture, or that it is so long ago that he has quite forgot it. It is no matter. We proceed to give a few striking extracts.

The opening scene will give a good idea of the tone and manner of the whole—though we must leave out one of the invocations.

'*A woody and mountainous district near Mount Ararat.—Time, midnight.—Enter* ANAH *and* AHOLIBAMAH.

Anah. Our father sleeps: it is the hour when they
Who love us are accustomed to descend
Through the deep clouds o'er rocky Ararat:—
How my heart beats!
Aho. Let us proceed upon
Our invocation.
Anah. But the stars are hidden.
I tremble.
Aho. So do I, but not with fear
Of aught save their delay.
Anah. My sister, though
I love Azaziel more than——oh, too much!
What was I going to say? my heart grows impious.
Aho. And where is the impiety of loving
Celestial natures?
Anah. But, Aholibamah,
I love our God less since his angel loved me:
This cannot be of good; and though I know not
That I do wrong, I feel a thousand fears
Which are not ominous of right.
Aho. Then wed thee
Unto some son of clay, and toil and spin!
There's Japhet loves thee well, hath loved thee long;
Marry, and bring forth dust!
Anah. I should have loved
Azaziel not less were he mortal; yet
I am glad he is not. I can not outlive him.
And when I think that his immortal wings
Will one day hover o'er the sepulchre
Of the poor child of clay which so adored him,
As he adores the Highest, death becomes
Less terrible; but yet I pity him;
His grief will be of ages, or at least
Mine would be such for him, were I the Seraph,
And he the perishable.
Aho. Rather say,
That he will single forth some other daughter
Of Earth, and love her as he once loved Anah.
Anah. And if it should be so, and she so loved him,
Better thus than that he should weep for me.
Aho. If I thought thus of Samiasa's love,
All Seraph as he is, I'd spurn him from me.
But to our invocation! 'Tis the hour,
Samiasa!
Whereso'er

Thou rulest in the upper air—
Or warring with the spirits who may dare
Dispute with him
Who made all empires, empire; or recalling
Some wandering star, which shoots through the abyss,
Whose tenants dying, while their world is falling,
Share the dim destiny of clay in this;
Or joining with the inferior cherubim,
Thou deignest to partake their hymn—
Samiasa!
I call thee, I await thee, and I love thee.
Many may worship thee, that will I not:
If that thy spirit down to mine may move thee,
Descend and share my lot!
Though I be formed of clay,
And thou of beams
More bright than those of day
On Eden's streams,
Thine immortality can not repay
With love more warm than mine
My love. There is a ray
In me, which, though forbidden yet to shine,
I feel was lighted at thy God's and thine.
It may be hidden long: death and decay
Our mother Eve bequeath'd us—but my heart
Defies it: though this life must pass away,
Is *that* a cause for thee and me to part?
Thou art immortal—so am I: I feel—
I feel my immortality o'ersweep
All pains, all tears, all time, all fears, and peal,
Like the eternal thunders of the deep,
Into my ears this truth—"thou liv'st for ever!"
But if it be in joy
I know not, nor would know;
That secret rests with the Almighty giver
Who folds in clouds the fonts of bliss and wo.
But thee and me he never can destroy;
Change us he may, but not o'erwhelm; we are
Of as eternal essence, and must war
With him if he will war with us. With *thee*
I can share all things, even immortal sorrow;
For thou hast ventured to share life with *me*,
And shall *I* shrink from thine eternity?
No! though the serpent's sting should pierce me thorough,
And thou thyself wert like the serpent, coil
Around me still! and I will smile
And curse thee not; but hold
Thee in as warm a fold

As——but descend; and prove
A mortal's love
For an immortal. If the skies contain
More joy than thou canst give and take, remain!
Anah. Sister! sister! I view them winging
Their bright way through the parted night.
Aho. The clouds from off their pinions flinging
As though they bore to-morrow's light.
Anah. But if our father see the sight!
Aho. He would but deem it was the moon
Rising unto some sorcerer's tune
An hour too soon.
Anah. They come! he comes!—Azaziel!
Aho. Haste
To meet them! Oh! for wings to bear
My spirit, while they hover there,
To Samiasa's breast!
Anah. Lo! they have kindled all the west,
Like a returning sunset;—lo!
On Ararat's late secret crest,
A mild and many-colour'd bow,
The remnant of their flashing path,
Now shines! and now, behold! it hath
Returned to night, as rippling foam,
Which the leviathan hath lash'd
From his unfathomable home,
When sporting on the face of the calm deep,
Subsides soon after he again hath dash'd
Down, down, to where the ocean's fountains sleep.'

pp. 165–171.

Lord Byron here takes a wide career, and is sometimes obscure and confused; but the flashes of fire continually break through, and illumine the clouds of smoke and vapour. The extravagance is dictated by passion. His Muse, even in her riddles and digressions, has a sybil-like prophetic fury.

In the Second Scene, Irad and Japhet enter, and discourse of their hapless unrequited passion for the two daughters of the race of Cain. Irad is represented as returning scorn for scorn, while Japhet mingles pity and regret with his complaints. Irad says,

'I have some cause to think
She loves another.
Jap. What other?
Irad. That I know not; but her air,
If not her words, tells me she loves another.
Jap. Ay, but not Anah; she but loves her God.
Irad. Whate'er she loveth, so she loves thee not,
What can it profit thee?'

This is one of those bitter, taunting sarcasms that escape from Lord Byron's pen, in spite of himself. Japhet is afterwards introduced alone in a mountainous cave, and his soliloquy, bemoaning his own fate and the approaching destruction of mankind, is interrupted by a terrific laugh of demons rejoicing over the event. We shall give a few of the most striking parts of this terrific scene. Japhet says,

'Ye wilds, that look eternal; and thou cave,
Which seem'st unfathomable; and ye mountains,
So varied and so terrible in beauty;
Here, in your rugged majesty of rocks
And toppling trees that twine their roots with stone
In perpendicular places, where the foot
Of man would tremble, could he reach them—yes,
Ye look eternal! Yet, in a few days,
Perhaps even hours, ye will be changed, rent, hurled
Before the mass of waters; and yon cave,
Which seems to lead into a lower world,
Shall have its depths search'd by the sweeping wave,
And dolphins gambol in the lion's den!
And man——Oh, men! my fellow-beings! Who
Shall weep above your universal grave,
Save I? Who shall be left to weep? My kinsmen,
Alas! what am I better than ye are,
That I must live beyond ye? Where shall be
The pleasant places where I thought of Anah
While I had hope? or the more savage haunts,
Scarce less beloved, where I despair'd for her?
And can it be!—Shall yon exulting peak,
Whose glittering top is like a distant star,
Lie low beneath the boiling of the deep?
No more to have the morning sun break forth,
And scatter back the mists in floating folds
From its tremendous brow? no more to have
Day's broad orb drop behind its head at even,
Leaving it with a crown of many hues?
No more to be the beacon of the world,
For angels to alight on, as the spot
Nearest the stars?'

The spirits then say or sing,

'Rejoice!
The abhorred race
Which could not keep in Eden their high place,
But listen'd to the voice
Of knowledge without power,
Are nigh the hour
Of death!

Not slow, not single, not by sword, nor sorrow,
Nor years, nor heart-break, nor time's sapping motion,
Shall they drop off. Behold their last to-morrow!
Earth shall be ocean!
And no breath,
Save of the winds, be on the unbounded wave!
Angels shall tire their wings, but find no spot:
Not even a rock from out the liquid grave
Shall lift its point to save,
Or show the place where strong Despair hath died!
While a brief truce
Is made with Death, who shall forbear
The little remnant of the past creation,
To generate new nations for his use;
This remnant, floating o'er the undulation
Of the subsiding deluge, from its slime,
When the hot sun hath baked the reeking soil
Into a world, shall give again to Time
New beings—years—diseases—sorrow—crime
With all companionship of hate and toil.

Meantime still struggle in the mortal chain,
Till earth wax hoary;
War with yourselves, and hell, and heaven, in vain,
Until the clouds look gory
With the blood reeking from each battle plain;
New times, new climes, new arts, new men; but still
The same old tears, old crimes, and oldest ill,
Shall be amongst your race in different forms;
But the same moral storms
Shall oversweep the future, as the waves
In a few hours the glorious Giant's graves.
Hark! hark! already we can hear the voice
Of growing ocean's gloomy swell;
The winds, too, plume their piercing wings!
The clouds have nearly filled their springs;
The fountains of the great deep shall be broken,
And heaven set wide her windows; while mankind
View, unacknowledged, each tremendous token—
Still, as they were from the beginning, blind.
We hear the sound they cannot hear,
The mustering thunders of the threatening sphere;
Yet a few hours their coming is delayed;
Their flashing banners, folded still on high,
Yet undisplay'd,
Save to the Spirits' all-pervading eye.
Howl! howl! oh Earth!

Thy death is nearer than thy recent birth:
Tremble, ye mountains, soon to shrink below
The ocean's overflow!
The wave shall break upon your cliffs; and shells,
The little shells, of ocean's least things be
Deposed where now the eagle's offspring dwells—
How shall he shriek o'er the remorseless sea!
And call his nestlings up with fruitless yell,
Unanswered, save by the encroaching swell;—
While man shall long in vain for his broad wings,
The wings which could not save.' pp. 178–183.

Japhet remains, after this startling vision, to have his eyes and his heart blasted by a more dreadful one, the seeing the two sisters (one of them, his heart's mistress) advance with the enamoured angels, Azaziel and Samiasa.

—'Anah! Anah! my
In vain, and long, and still to be beloved!
Why walk'st thou with this Spirit, in those hours
When no good spirit longer lights below?
Anah. Japhet, I cannot answer thee; yet, yet
Forgive me——
Japh. May the Heaven, which soon no more
Will pardon, do so! for thou are greatly tempted.'

Aholibamah then exclaims,

'Back to thy tents, insulting son of Noah!
We know thee not.'

and a dialogue ensues, in which the characters of the two sisters are displayed in powerful dramatic contrast. The Archangel Raphael afterwards appears, to warn the misguided angels to return to Heaven before their term of pardon is expired; but they refuse, although the more heroic daughter of earth thus adjures them to fly.

'Fly, Seraphs! to your own eternal shore,
Where winds nor howl nor waters roar.
Our portion is to die,
And yours to live for ever:
But which is best, a dead eternity,
Or living, is but known to the great Giver:
Obey him, as we shall obey;
I would not keep this life of mine in clay
An hour beyond his will;
Nor see you lose a portion of his grace,
For all the mercy which Seth's race
Find still.
Fly!
And as your pinions bear ye back to heaven,

Think that my love still mounts with thee on high,
Samiasa!
And if I look up with a tearless eye,
'Tis that an angel's bride disdains to weep—
Farewell! Now rise, inexorable Deep!'

The enamoured angels, however, refuse to desert them; and as the storm and rain come on, they fly off, and take Anah and Aholibamah with them into some far region of the upper or the nether sky. At seeing this, Japhet exclaims—

'They are gone! They have disappear'd amidst the roar
Of the forsaken world; and never more,
Whether they live, or die with all earth's life,
Now near its last, can aught restore
Anah unto these eyes.'

We shall close these extracts with a part of the *Chorus of Mortals*, which concludes the poem.

'Oh son of Noah! mercy on thy kind!
What, wilt thou leave as all—all—*all* behind?
While safe amidst the elemental strife,
Thou sit'st within thy guarded ark?
A Mother (*offering her infant to* JAPHET.) Oh let this child embark!
I brought him forth in wo,
But thought it joy
To see him to my bosom clinging so.
Why was he born?
What hath he done—
My unwean'd son—
To move Jehovah's wrath or scorn?
What is there in this milk of mine, that Death
Should stir all heaven and earth up to destroy
My boy,
And roll the waters o'er his placid breath?—
The loathsome waters in their rage!
And with their roar make wholesome Nature dumb!
The forest's trees (coeval with the hour
When Paradise upsprung,
Ere Eve gave Adam knowledge for her dower,
Or Adam his first hymn of slavery sung),
So massy, vast, yet green in their old age,
Are overtopt,
Their summer blossoms by the surges lopt,
Which rise, and rise, and rise.
Vainly we look up to the lowering skies—
They meet the seas,
And shut out God from our beseeching eyes.
Woman. Oh, save me, save!

Our valley is no more:
My father and my father's tent,
My brethren and my brethren's herds,
The pleasant trees that o'er our noonday bent
And sent forth evening songs from sweetest birds,
The little rivulet which freshen'd all
Our pastures green,
No more are to be seen.
When to the mountain cliff I climb'd this morn,
I turn'd to bless the spot,
And not a leaf appear'd about to fall;—
And now they are not!—
Why was I born?
Japh. To die! in youth to die;
And happier in that doom,
Than to behold the universal tomb
Which I
Am thus condemn'd to weep above in vain.' 203—206.

A Second Part of this Dramatic Mystery is intended shortly to appear.

ART. III. *The Speeches of the Right Honourable* HENRY GRATTAN, *in the Irish and in the Imperial Parliament.* Edited by his Son. 4 vols. 8vo. pp. 1690. London. Longman & Co. 1822.

IT would be hard to name a subject which possessed more undeniable claims to our attention than the character of the great man whose name stands at the head of this article. The singular felicity which he enjoyed of attaining a high place among the orators of a foreign country, after filling, for many years, the highest in his own; the far more precious fortune of having, almost at his entrance into public life, been the most conspicuous instrument in effecting a great revolution, without the least stain of violence or injustice, and of having survived every vicissitude of popular favour and odium, until, at the close of his career, he left but one sentiment among his countrymen, of all parties,—that of veneration and esteem. These peculiarities, joined to the originality of his eloquence, render the history of Mr Grattan a study of equal interest to the patriot and the rhetorician. Nor are these the expressions of a prejudiced admiration; on the contrary, the splendid success which has imprinted his name to all ages upon the annals

of his country, and the extraordinary merit by which that distinction was gained and his life still further illustrated in after years, are by no means his highest praise. To him may be applied, with perhaps but one exception, the affectionate and beautiful words of Cicero, respecting his son-in-law Piso. 'Vereor, ne amore videar plura, quam fuerint in illo, dicere: 'quod non ita est; alia enim de illo majora dici possunt: nam 'nec continentia, nec pietate, nec ullo genere virtutis quem-'quam ejusdem ætatis cum illo conferendum puto.'

In collecting and editing the remains of his eloquence, his son has both discharged a duty of filial piety, and performed a most acceptable service to the public. The materials from which the compilation has been made are not very distinctly described; but it appears, that, beside the Parliamentary Reports, other sources have been resorted to. Some of the speeches, it seems, are now published for the first time; and 'many of them were revised or noted' by Mr Grattan himself. He seldom, we are told, before speaking, wrote out more than the heads of his speech, and the principal arguments on which he meant to rely; and it was only at the instance of his friends that he could ever be induced to give in writing the substance of what he had spoken. It is much to be lamented that several of his earliest speeches are entirely lost. He came into Parliament in 1775, having, in 1772, been called to the Irish bar; and the earliest speech preserved is one in February 1778, on a motion of Mr Robert Stewart (afterwards first Marquis of Londonderry) upon the public expenditure. In those days, the reports of debates in the Irish Parliament were extremely meagre and incorrect; nor are the abstracts which Mr Grattan left of his speeches at that time in such a state as to be of any service. This is the more to be regretted, because it appears that he himself always considered his early speeches as his best.

The editor has been guilty of a great omission in not stating explicitly which of the speeches in these volumes were corrected by Mr Grattan himself. A person skilled in such matters may, perhaps, discover whether certain passages have been written by the speaker, or only taken down by a reporter, or from memory. But, even if accustomed to examine reported speeches narrowly, and to compare them with those which he heard delivered, he is liable to be deceived in two ways;—he may mistake the corrections or the composition of another, a friendly and able editor, for those of the speaker himself; or he may be led to think that the whole has undergone the speaker's revision, by perceiving his hand in certain prominent passages;

while no sagacity can guard him from one mistake, that of supposing the whole speech to be given, because what he finds preserved bears marks of revision, while possibly a large portion of it may be left out by accident of time, or by design. We are led into this train of reflexion, not more by the volumes before us, than by the consideration of the manner in which the Parliamentary debates of the present day are preserved; and the importance of the subject will, it is hoped, be thought to authorize a still further digression.

The daily publication of reports is one of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of these times. It seems now to be admitted on all hands, and even by the stoutest champions of Parliamentary privilege, that the two Houses must debate with open doors; that the public have a claim, almost amounting to a right, to be present; and that those who cannot hear are entitled, as soon as possible, to read all that passes. The consequences of this publicity are many, and some are momentous beyond what is commonly supposed—and, we are inclined to think, by no means unmixed with great and serious mischiefs to the country. But at present we have only to do with one, namely, the great perfection which the art of reporting has in consequence attained. It is truly astonishing to think, that a debate, which has begun at five in the evening, and lasted until five next morning, shall be taken down in short-hand—written out—and corrected to make sense of the speeches, (which they had not assuredly always when spoken, and hardly at all when first committed to paper)—printed—struck off by thousands after correction of the press—distributed by the newsmen—and on every breakfast table in London before mid-day, nay, before the speakers have left their beds—and, within four-and-twenty hours, read in Devonshire and Yorkshire! To produce this marvellous result, there must unite great mechanical contrivance, and much talent and acquirement of a very different order. The improvements in machinery have done much, and, without their aid, the object could not have been accomplished; but neither could it have been accomplished without the labour of a class of men of abilities and information adapted to the occasion—men perfectly familiar with the subjects handled in those debates, and well versed in the art of composition. To their skill the reports, as we see them, do the greatest credit; and it may most justly be affirmed, that the art can hardly reach a greater perfection than it has now attained. Nevertheless, there are certain defects, to which it is of necessity liable. Celerity is an essential requisite in the process, from the limited

time allowed. Much abridgment is equally required by the limited space which is given. No reporter can be expected to render, word for word, even the finer passages of a great speech; and of the other parts, he must be content to dispose as he can, giving the substance in his own words. Nay, were a report taken *verbatim* to be published of most speeches, it would not only be too long, but far too bad to be endured; and we might go so far as to say, that some of the best and most successful would fall within the scope of this remark, nothing being indeed more true than the saying of Mr Fox, that speeches are made to be spoken, and not to be read. Hence it happens, that, while the greater number of speeches are mightily improved, and, perhaps, a portion even of the finest, by the reporter's labours, another portion, and that the best passages, must needs suffer, because the language of the speaker cannot be accurately preserved, and another man, in a crowd and in a hurry, even if he had the same genius, could not do justice to his thoughts. If a careless and slovenly report is given of any speech, there are, of course, no limits to the degree in which it may be misrepresented; but we are speaking of the best, that, in the nature of things, can be preserved by the newspapers. Now, it is from these that the more permanent memorials of Parliamentary debates are compiled; and as the daily reports are far more perfect than formerly, so are the volumes taken from them improved in proportion.

But they are likewise improved in another respect; greater pains are bestowed in collating the various reports, and gathering from each what the others may have omitted. Obvious errors are likewise corrected, such as may have arisen from oversight in the hurry of daily publication; and a further portion of labour is probably bestowed on the composition, and on the connexion of the parts, the compiler improving still further what the reporter had at first supplied. It is however manifest, that unless assistance be obtained from the speakers themselves, or from some notes which others may chance to have preserved, or from some one of a rare memory, nothing is gained in accuracy, although the whole texture of the reports may be made more uniform and smooth. The editors of these publications, therefore, have had recourse, wherever they they could, to such helps, and principally to the speakers. It has happened, of late years, that a far greater number of speeches have been revised for the press, and published separately in the form of pamphlets, avowedly by the speakers themselves, than in former periods. All these are carefully incorporated with the rest of the reports,

and the publications from which they are taken are distinctly referred to. But this is far from being the whole of the aid derived from the speakers. It is quite plain, that many of them, and those unfortunately not always the best, *send* their speeches to the editor. We use this expression as far more descriptive of the process, than the phrase of *revising* or *correcting* the reports. Now, the compositions thus given, are inserted without any notice whatever to the reader, who perhaps believes, that the same reporter took down all he reads, or, which is equally unjust, that all the speakers send their works in the same way. It is easy to perceive how very false an idea may be given of different speakers some years hence—one being judged by his own account of himself, another by the reporter's account; and this, notwithstanding we suppose that no liberty is taken with the text, but that each person sets down exactly what he did say; which is really impossible, and is a degree of accuracy never rigidly adhered to, as is well known, either in ancient or modern times. We could point out instances of speeches, which, by the common consent of all who heard them, had the greatest success, appearing in those volumes extremely inferior to those on the opposite side, while the latter, which were admitted on all hands to be signal failures, rise far above their competitors. The reason is plain to a practised eye; but, in after times, the most fallacious inferences would be drawn by any one not accustomed to examine debates critically. Nay, many cases could be pointed out, in which arguments that had been triumphantly refuted, and topics that had excited only ridicule or disgust, have been softened, or even altogether left out in the report furnished by the tender hand of the parent; and then comes the invective, or the sarcasm, or the raillery of the adversary, seemingly directed to nothing, and beating the empty air. We desire to be understood as imputing no blame whatever to any person; least of all to the meritorious compilers and editors of those most valuable works. Much useful matter is preserved by the partial communications to which we are alluding; and the reports are so far nearer the truth, in proportion as more persons correct, or write out their speeches. The unfairness of the publication towards those who do not, affords no reason for denying that the publick gains by those who do. Neither can it be expected that each communication of this kind should be acknowledged; because such a notice would inevitably prevent almost every person from continuing his assistance. But the remarks which we have here made, will have the effect of correcting the mistakes into which readers hereafter might otherwise have been led; and this kind of general *notice*, seems all that is required to prevent the unjust im-

pression which might have prevailed without it. To enter into any further details, would manifestly be inconsistent with the views which alone influenced us in mentioning these things. We abstain from giving any instances, or alluding to particular individuals; because this might wear an appearance of some invidious meaning, wholly foreign to our purpose. We prefer a general reference to the works in question, which any one may convince himself are constructed after the manner above set forth, if he will examine them from the year 1806 downwards. In that year, the gentlemen in opposition to the Whig Administration, appear first to have pursued the plan of regularly communicating their speeches; and certainly, but for some such admonitory remarks as have now been made, any one who reads the history of that Session, would deem Mr Fox, Mr Windham, and Mr Sheridan, far inferior orators to several whose names now live no where else but in those pages; and to others, much better known at present, no doubt, and far more talked of, but who, some years hence, may hardly fill a larger space than those who have already dropt out of the publick recollection.

The practice of publishing corrected accounts of parliamentary and forensic speeches, upon great occasions, we deem highly praiseworthy. The speakers owe it to themselves, and they owe it also to the subjects which they are called upon to handle. That neither of the two most famous of the great masters of the past age took this pains, is much to be regretted; Mr Fox, we believe, never revised but one report of a speech, that upon the late Duke of Bedford's death; though we should conceive it probable, that he corrected parts of that inimitable one upon the Westminster Scrutiny. With the exception of his speeches on the Irish Union, and the fatal rejection of Buonaparte's offer in 1800, Mr Pitt, is understood never to have published any of his orations. Mr Burke's are better known in his works than by their reputation as spoken discourses. Mr Sheridan, who wrote out all his finer passages, and delivered them from memory, has frequently communicated them to the press; and the last of his great exhibitions, the invective upon Mr Pitt in 1805, bears all the marks of having been wholly published by himself. Mr Windham, it is well known, kept accurate copies of many of his speeches, committing them to paper after they were delivered, and carefully preparing, though not writing them beforehand. Some of them, as the one upon Cruelty to Animals, he would publish at a considerable interval after they were made, when a renewal of the controversy rendered it desirable. The circumstance which chiefly prevents such useful

publications, is one which operates somewhat disadvantageously also to the reputation of modern oratory. The publick, in general, can hardly be expected to read a speech in a pamphlet some time after the question that called it forth has been set at rest. The newspaper reports are alone referred to, as the only sources of information accessible at the time; and but few take the trouble of looking at the correct report which may appear afterwards. We do not think that this natural reluctance to peruse old speeches, is very judiciously met by the voluminous publications which have of late appeared. Mr Pitt's speeches in four volumes; Mr Fox's in six; and Mr Windham's in three, without any selection whatever, presenting every scrap of a report, however incorrect, which can be gleaned from all the Parliamentary Registers, are very ill calculated to excite the desire of reperusal. The work before us, is undoubtedly liable to the same remark. One half might have been omitted without any injury to Mr Grattan's reputation, because it is impossible that more than half can be reckoned at once among his happier efforts, and among those which have been well preserved. It must, at the same time, be observed, that there is one excuse for the bulk of the collection, and the indiscriminating plan upon which it is made. The Irish debates are not so accessible as the English; and a greater proportion of the materials for this book are new, than of those for any former compilation of this kind. The ten volumes of Mr Fox and Mr Pitt's Speeches, and, we may add, about half the work of Bishop Tomline, are positively so many thousand pages reprinted from the Parliamentary Debates, and may be ultimately traced to the London daily papers.

Upon another part of the Editor's plan, we venture to express our disapprobation,—the revival of the absurd old practice of prefacing a work with testimonials from friends and admirers. It was much less preposterous in Milton to prefix to his immortal poem the recommendatory verses of an obscure physician; and in Dryden, to usher in his Absalom and Achitophel by several copies of doggrel lines from anonymous authors, because modesty might excuse the poet himself for wishing to rely on the opinion of others, rather than on his own merit. But the editor of Mr Grattan's Speeches assuredly had no occasion to call in any such aid from authority; and there is really something ridiculous, in seeing the vile tawdry penegyricks of men comparatively so obscure as Mr Hardy, Sir Jonah Barrington, some unknown Mr Taylor, and a certain Reverend Mr Croly (whoever he may be), prefacing the works of Mr Grattan himself, and given by way of preparatives to conciliate

our good-will towards him. Nor is the kind of apology made in the note (vol. I. p. xxxvii.) any excuse; it seems the pieces in question 'have been inserted *with a view to oblige* those anxious friends and admirers of Mr Grattan from whom the editor has received them.' He should have referred the friends to the daily papers, and let them there consign the specimens of their penmanship,—composition we cannot term it. They write, indeed, in the pure Irish tongue and Irish taste. Thus Mr Hardy, commenting upon Mr Grattan's introduction into Parliament, as successor to Mr Caulfield, who was drowned, is pleased to observe, that Lord Charlemont extracted 'satisfaction and self-approbation from the bosom of misfortune, and the triumphs of a nation from the overwhelmings of the deep.' Sir Jonah commemorates the virtues of the 'ardent Grattan'—describes 'the fate of Ireland' as 'vibrating upon a pivot'—and gives a most theatrical description of the manner in which the declaration of independence was voted amid 'the palpitating expectation' of the House; a description in which accuracy is utterly sacrificed to effect; and that which had become a motion of course by the recent change of ministry, and was carried unanimously, is represented as the unexpected effect of Mr Grattan's speech. But all other faults shrink into nothing when seen by the side of the Reverend Mr Croly's rhapsody. Among forty or fifty other tawdry half-brought-out similes, he likens the state of the world, in 1782, to the approach of 'a convulsion which was to lift temples and thrones *upon it*, like weeds upon *a wave*.' The advance 'was felt (it seems) in quiverings of the earth and overshadowing of the air.' Moreover, 'far as Ireland was from the central shock, she was reached by the general heave.' Then, what was the first exultation of Ireland like? We defy the reader to guess. 'It was the first beam of the sun upon Memnon's statue; and if, as the day advanced, the voice died, and the form was tinged with a darker hue, the early miracle was yet the great testimony and tribute, neither to be forgotten nor retracted.' We may now again defy the reader to guess what this means; but we are unable here to help him in his conjectures. But, peradventure, this exquisite gentleman shall better succeed in gathering his similes from the heavens than from earthquakes; and, in truth, he has made a rare discovery of a new kind of heavenly body, not finding any of the old ones suit his purpose. 'He was not a satellite of the most illustrious among them (certain luminaries), but a new star, sweeping round its own *orbit*, and *enlightening* its own region undisturbed and unexhausted.' The use of language in oratory is, according to this acute critic, somewhat singular;

its perfection, we find, consists in blunting or sheathing the edge of the speaker's meaning. 'Keen, solid, vivid thought, in language condensed and close to its substance, shaped like the sheath to the sword.' An equally original view is taken of Mr Sheridan's wit. He speaks of 'the *broad humour* that impaired and drew down towards earth his loftiest imaginations.' Mr Sheridan's 'loftiest imaginations,' as every schoolboy knows, were far from being the best parts of his oratory, and were kept as distinct as possible from every thing like humour, or even wit. As every sentence of Mr Croly's abounds in such nonsense, we shall only give another delectable specimen, in which he surpasses himself. Meaning only to describe Mr Grattan as keeping himself aloof from popular assemblies, he actually says, that he 'withdrew from the temptations of the hustings and the *highway*, to devote his mind *under* the only roof where publick freedom can be worshipped without reproach and without fear.' Again, let the reader guess what roof?—'the House of Commons,'—and not only that, but 'the *Irish* House of Commons!' There has of late been such a disposition in certain quarters to puff this writer, that when we meet him, it is impossible not to stop and survey a little what we have been importunately called upon to admire. If a worse composition can be produced from any quarter beyond the precincts of the lowest government newspaper, we are ready to change our opinion of his style. In this piece, there is not one single thought expressed naturally, or intelligibly, or easily.

The editor has also inserted, as part of his Introduction, the debate in the House of Commons upon moving the new writ for Dublin, when the leading men of all parties joined in paying a just tribute to the talents, the worth, and the services of Mr Grattan. We would fain take the liberty of offering a few words in reprobation of this modern and French custom, which has lately crept into an assembly, with all its imperfections, not formerly exposed to the charge of trifling, or affected, or unbusiness-like proceedings. We will venture to say, that nothing can be imagined less suited either to the character of the people, or the genius of the place, than those funeral orations. But the practice is liable to much more serious objection. Instances must of necessity occur, in which it will give rise either to painful, perhaps indecorous wrangling, or to the sacrifice of principles and opinions to feelings of courtesy. If the friends of one man, who has been eulogized by his political opponents, feel it necessary to return the compliment when another man dies whom they have been all their lives representing as a profligate politician, a serious injury is done to the

cause of truth and justice; the community is insulted by this mockery, in order to gratify private feelings; publick confidence in publick men is shaken; and even the object of these exhibitions is entirely defeated, for they become of no kind of value; and, like tomb-stones, are regarded as monuments to the vanity of the living, rather than the worth of the dead. There are, indeed, already symptoms of this absurd practice descending a good deal lower than its patrons may have expected it would; but the impossibility of drawing the line is exactly one of the main reasons against it. The late Mr George Rose, and a gentleman whose name we do not recollect, who died last Session, have each been thus commemorated; slightly, indeed, but sufficiently to involve the usage in some little ridicule; the rather, that we believe the latter of the two members had not, in point of fact, happened to be ever heard of until the writ was moved for at his decease. When it is recollected that this ceremony (for it will soon become one) was not performed at the death of either Mr Fox, Mr Burke, Mr Sheridan, or Sir S. Romilly, and that the earliest instance of it is only twenty years ago, there seems no reason why it should be continued, as the memory of no man, be his deserts what they may, can appear to be defrauded of its due honours, if an unmeaning tribute is withheld from him which was not rendered to the first writer, nor to the greatest man of the very times when this bad custom was most in observance.

A tribute of veneration and affection was, however, paid to Mr Grattan's memory, to which no such objections could be urged. Above sixty of the most distinguished friends of liberty in the country, including a prince of the blood, the persons of highest rank in the Peerage of all parts of the United Kingdom, the most celebrated Members of both Houses of Parliament, and individuals of the greatest note for worth and genius out of Parliament, united in presenting a request to his family, that his honoured remains might be interred in Westminster Abbey, instead of being carried over to Ireland. So pious a wish was naturally complied with; his obsequies were attended by the men most renowned for virtue, and talents, and rank and power, of all parties and sects, without any distinction; and the multitude who witnessed this solemn and affecting ceremony, showed, by their demeanour, that they felt with one accord, the greatness of the loss which the cause of freedom and toleration had sustained. We extract, with pleasure, the letter addressed to the family, and which gave rise to this celebration; it is remarkable for the chaste and simple elegance of the diction; and it is truly gratifying to see a composition dictated by so pure a

love of civil and religious liberty, signed by such names as Sussex, Norfolk, Hamilton, Fitzwilliam, Devonshire, Bedford, St Vincent, Spencer, Clifford, and above fifty more who joined with them in honouring so great a friend of that sacred cause.

'Filled with veneration for the character of your father, we venture to express a wish, common to us with many of those who most admired and loved him, that what remains of him should be allowed to continue among us.

'It has pleased Divine Providence to deprive the empire of his services, while he was here in the neighbourhood of that sacred edifice where great men, from all parts of the British dominions, have been for ages interred. We are desirous of an opportunity of joining in the due honour to tried virtue and genius. Mr Grattan belongs to us also; and great would be our consolation, were we permitted to follow him to the grave, and to place him where he would not have been unwilling to lie; by the side of his illustrious fellow-labourer in the cause of freedom.'

The eloquence of Mr Grattan is of course the subject primarily brought before the reader, by the publication of these volumes. With much of national peculiarity, but chiefly in the manner, with much, too, of individual mannerism, that eloquence is, beyond all doubt, of a very high order. Perhaps, after making every deduction for obvious defects, he may even be accounted an orator of the first class. For he possesses an originality, and a force, rising far above any excellencies of mere composition. Fervid, vehement thoughts, clothed in language singularly pointed and terse; an extraordinary power of invective, so remarkable indeed, that he may be ranked among the greatest masters of the sarcastic style; and, above all, and it is the distinguishing character of his oratory, a copious stream of the most sagacious and original observations, or the most acute and close arguments, flowing, though not continuous and unbroken, yet with an ease the more surprising, because they almost all are in the shape of epigrams—these are the high and rare merits which strike the reader of Mr Grattan's speeches, and must have produced a still deeper impression upon those who heard him in his prime. In enumerating the good, we have mentioned also the principal bad qualities of his eloquence. His remarks and arguments are too often unconnected; they come one after another, by some effort of artificial memory, as if prepared before hand, and suggested by a note. Even the seemingly careless facility and want of effort with which they are poured out, is somewhat prejudicial to their effect; for they frequently come upon us without the least warning, and before we have time to reflect, the speaker is in the midst of another matter; a defect (if it be one) common to Mr Grattan and the

great orators of ancient times, more especially the Greeks; and arising, indeed, from the same cause, elaborate preparation. The chief imperfection, however, is the perpetual epigram. Nothing can be said naturally and plainly; point at the least there must always be, if not figure and point together; and as, in the nature of things, it is only now and then that there can be an occasion for epigrammatick turn, in unfolding a principle, or in pursuing an argument, he who makes it almost a rule to say every thing epigrammatically, must often omit important matter, and will be apt, not seldom, to give what he does bring forward, a great distortion, by straining and forcing it into a pointed position. This defect, among other bad consequences, has a most unfortunate tendency to make us depreciate and overlook many profound observations and solid reasonings, merely because, from seeing them conveyed in the form of epigrams, we think them conceits, and do not pause to examine the sound sense which lurks under the jingling expressions; the rather, because the epigrammatick form of speech is apt to wrap up the meaning in some degree of obscurity. Let it not be supposed that we undervalue the use, any more than we do the difficulty, of such a style. Point, when used in moderation, bestows a peculiar brilliancy and charm upon composition; but it must be kept in due subordination, and not suffered to usurp the place of other qualities. It must not, except in a few rare instances, attract to itself the attention which should belong undivided to the subject; else the hearer is addressed as a critic, or a spectator to be amused, not as a man to be reasoned with or moved. Even in mere invective, though epigram may be more freely used than in any other kind of eloquence, there are limits to its introduction; and if these be exceeded, the usual consequence results; the speaker is felt to be engaged in an exercise of skill, not in pouring forth his whole intellect and his whole feelings upon his hearer; which, through every department of oratory, is the object to be steadily borne in view.

It is this excess which alone can leave any doubt in the mind, as to Mr Grattan's title to a station among orators of the first class. That he had all the qualifications required to place him there, had his taste been more pure, no one can, for an instant, think of denying. He reasoned closely and most acutely; and his argument always formed the main business of his speech. He had deep, and warm, and generous feelings, and, when roused to enthusiasm, they sometimes found vent in simple language; but his accustomed style of epigram is far more prejudicial to the expression of passion than to the conduct of an argument; and accordingly, his declamation was by no means equal

to his reasoning, if we except the vituperative parts of it, which were among the finest of all his performances. He had a lively and playful fancy, which he seldom permitted to break loose; and his habits of labour were such, that he abounded in all the information ancient and recent, which his subject required, and could finish his composition with a degree of care seldom bestowed upon speeches in modern times. Finally, he was a person of undaunted spirit; and always rose with the difficulties of his situation. He was ready, beyond any man, perhaps, who ever laboured his speeches so habitually. No one ever took him off his guard. Whoever dreamt that he had caught him unawares, was speedily roused to a bitter sense of his mistake; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that, of all his speeches now preserved, the two most striking in point of execution are those personal attacks upon Mr Flood and Mr Corry, which, from the nature of the occasions that called them forth, must, of necessity, have been the production of the moment. The epigrammatick form in which he delighted to throw all his ideas, and the diction adapted to it, had become so habitual to him, that, upon such emergencies, they obeyed his call with the readiness of a natural style; and he could thus pour forth his indignation in antithesis and point, as easily as the bulk of mankind, when strongly excited, give vent to their feelings in the sort of language which, from this circumstance, we are accustomed to term the eloquence of nature or of passion.

In the more glaring defects of what has been called the Irish School of Orators, he certainly did not abound. Extravagance of passion; strained pictures of feeling; exuberance of metaphor, and of forced metaphor; and, worse than all, excess of passion expressed by unnatural and far-fetched imagery, in language quite wide of nature, and often wholly incorrect;—from these characteristick vices of his country's fanciful and ingenious and ready orators, he was exempted beyond all his contemporaries, by the chastening effects of classical discipline. Occasionally, indeed, they do break out in his compositions; but generally speaking, it is rather in the style than in the ideas that he departs from nature; or if in the ideas, it is in his love of point, rather than in his proneness to metaphor. In one great quality, he not only stands single among his countrymen, but may be pronounced eminently superior to our own greatest orators; and it is that in which all modern compositions, those of Dante, and perhaps of Milton alone excepted, fall so far short of the ancient, and especially the Greek exemplars; we mean the dignified abstemiousness, which selects one leading and effective idea, suddenly presents it in a few words, and relies upon its producing the impression desired, without saying

ll that can be said, and, as it were, *running down* the topic. In Mr Grattan's Speeches we constantly meet with opinions deli- ered, or illustrations flung out in a single sentence, or limb of sentence, and never again recurred to, although the opinion nay have been so sagacious, and the illustration so happy, that copious modern, or even an ancient of the school of Cicero, would have worked the one into a dissertation, and the other nto an allegory. This is a merit of the very highest order, ubject to the remarks already made upon the difficulty of mak- ng things thus lightly touched, at once perceived by an audi- ence, and the aggravation of that difficulty by the obscurity ncident to the epigrammatick style.

It has been observed, we believe by Mr Hume, that all criti- ism must be nearly useless, until the critics shall quote innu- nerable examples. Mr Grattan is too admirable a study not o demand this detailed consideration of his merits and defects. In giving some instances of each, and in examining several of is finer passages somewhat critically, we shall endeavour to void those speeches, or portions of speeches, which seem pre- erved with inferior care, and to take those chiefly which he nay be thought to have revised, if not written himself.

To find specimens of Mr Grattan's peculiar manner, we may pen the book at random; for every page contains them. But f we are to look to his most celebrated efforts, we naturally urn to the great era of his glory, the Revolution of 1782. His irst motion for the Declaration of Irish Rights (that is, the estoration of the independence of Ireland), was made upon the 9th of April 1780, when the volunteers, not yet arrived at their trength, had however shown a formidable power, and evinced heir determination to work out the freedom of their country. We regard the speech which he made on this memorable occa- ion as, upon the whole, the finest of those preserved in this ollection. In rapid and animated argument, lively and various emarks, and keen dexterous attack, it resembles the Third Phi- ippic, the singular vivacity and force of which has caused many o prefer it before all the lesser orations of the mighty master. He rushes at once, without any exordium, into the subject-mat- er, like the Athenian; and, in the very first sentence, rapidly nnounces that he has entreated an attendance, for the purpose f denying the claim of England to make laws for Ireland. Like he great ancient, too, he immediately after falls into matter of n introductory character: it is simple, yet fine in conception; nd admirably executed, allowance being made for an inaccu- acy in the expression, possibly a clerical error,—the words 'oc- urring since my time,' for 'that has occurred in my time.'

'If I had lived when the 9th of William took away the woollen manufacture, or when the 6th of George the First declared this country to be dependent, and subject to laws to be enacted by the Parliament of England, I should have made a covenant with my own conscience to seize the first moment of rescuing my country from the ignominy of such acts of power. Or, if I had a son, I should have administered to him an oath that he would consider himself as a person separate and set apart for the discharge of so important a duty. Upon the same principle am I now come to move a declaration of right, the first moment occurring *since my time*, in which such a declaration could be made, with any chance of success, and without aggravation of oppression.' I. 39.

He immediately goes on to proclaim, that all the exertions successfully made for the commercial privileges of Ireland, are bootless, if they stop short of political liberty. In the course of a keen and argumentative declamation upon this topick, he powerfully contrasts the state of the two countries. The picture of England, sunk in credit, and crippled by the disastrous effects of her own impolicy, is given with correctness as well as force; but, in pourtraying the commanding situation of Ireland, a little deviation from the just standard is occasioned, in both the ideas and the language, by the national enthusiasm which the prospect excites. We do not object to the proud assertions, that 'the balance of England's fate is in the hands of Ireland,'—that 'you (the Parliament) are the greatest political assembly now sitting in the world,'—that 'you are at the head of an immense army;'—nor even to the somewhat bold figure, that 'we not only possess an unconquerable force, but a certain unquenchable public fire, which has touched all ranks of men like a visitation.' But the allusions to Irish eloquence are not judicious; and certainly the description of it is not correct. Neither is the phrase of 'a certain damp and spurious supineness, overcasting arms and councils,' intelligible,—except indeed as an instance of Irish eloquence. But the following passage is very fine; abounding in matter, and full of rapid turns and expressions skilfully managed.

'See her military ardour, expressed not only in 40,000 men, conducted by instinct as they were raised by inspiration, but manifested in the zeal and promptitude of every young member of the growing community. Let corruption tremble; let the enemy, foreign or domestic, tremble; but let the friends of liberty rejoice at these means of safety, and this hour of redemption. Yes; there does exist an enlightened sense of rights, a young appetite for freedom, a solid strength, and a rapid fire, which not only put a declaration of right within your power, but put it out of your power to decline one. Eighteen counties are at your bar; they stand there with the com-

act of Henry, with the charter of John, and with all the passions of he people. "Our lives are at your service, but our liberties, we received them from God; we will not resign them to man." Speaking to you thus, if you repulse these petitioners, you abdicate the rivileges of Parliament, forfeit the rights of the kingdom, repudiate the instructions of your constituents, bilge the sense of your ountry, palsy the enthusiasm of the people, and reject that good hich—not a minister, not a Lord North, not a Lord Buckinghamhire, not a Lord Hillsborough, but a certain providential conjuncure, or, rather, the hand of God, seems to extend to you. Nor are e only prompted to this when we consider our strength; we are challenged to it, when we look to Great Britain. The people of that ountry are now waiting to hear the Parliament of Ireland speak on he subject of their liberty. It begins to be made a question in Engand, whether the principal persons *wish* to be free. It was the delicacy of former parliaments to be silent on the subject of commerial restrictions, lest they should show a knowledge of the fact, and ot a sense of the violation. You have spoken out, you have shown knowledge of the fact, and not a sense of the violation. On the ontrary, you have returned thanks for a partial repeal made on a rinciple of power; you have returned thanks as for a favour; and our exultation has brought your charters as well as your spirit into uestion, and tends to shake to her foundation your title to liberty. hus, you do not leave your rights even where you found them. You ave done too much not to do more; you have gone too far not to go n; you have brought yourselves into that situation, in which you must lently abdicate the rights of your country, or publicly restore them. is very true, you may feed your manufacturers, and landed gentlemen may get their rents, and you may export woollen, and may load vessel with baize, serges, and kerseys; and you may bring back gain directly from the plantations, sugar, indigo, speckle-wood, eetle-root, and panellas. But liberty, the foundation of trade, he charters of the land, the independency of Parliament, the securing, crowning, and the consummation of every thing, are yet to ome. Without them the work is imperfect, the foundation is wantng, the capital is wanting, trade is not free, Ireland is a colony ithout the benefit of a charter, and you are a provincial synod ithout the privileges of a parliament.' I. 41–2.

In the last member of the last sentence, there is a departure rom the scheme of the antithesis, so to speak. The charter is ut as a benefit, which even a colony usually enjoys, but which denied to Ireland; the privileges of a parliament should also, o preserve the symmetry, have been a benefit usually enjoyed y provincial synods, but denied to the Irish Parliament.

The following sketch of Irish history is quite perfect in that yle,—we mean for the delivery of most sound and condensed atter, in sentences, every one of which, nay almost every

member of each sentence, contains a point. The whole passage consists, properly speaking, of nine sentences; and of about twenty members. Now, there are at the least as many as twenty epigrammatick turns in it, there being in several members more than one.

'But I shall be told, that these are groundless jealousies, and that the principal cities, and more than one half of the counties of the kingdom, are misguided men, raising those groundless jealousies. Sir, let me become, on this occasion, the people's advocate, and your historian. The people of this country were possessed of a code of liberty, similar to that of Great Britain, but lost it through the weakness of the kingdom, and the pusillanimity of its leaders. Having lost our liberty by the usurpation of the British Parliament, no wonder we became a prey to her ministers; and they did plunder us with all the hands of all the harpies, for a series of years, in every shape of power,—terrifying our people with the thunder of Great Britain, and bribing our leaders with the rapine of Ireland. The kingdom became a plantation; her Parliament, deprived of its privileges, fell into contempt; and, with the Legislature, the law, the spirit of liberty, with her forms, vanished. If a war broke out, as in 1778, and an occasion occurred, to restore liberty and restrain rapine, Parliament declined the opportunity; but, with an active servility and trembling loyalty, gave and granted, without regard to the treasure we had left, or the rights we had lost. If a partial reparation was made upon a principle of expediency, Parliament did not receive it with the tranquil dignity of an august assembly, but with the alacrity of slaves.

'The principal individuals, possessed of great property but no independency, corrupted by their extravagance, or enslaved by their following a species of English factor against an Irish people, more afraid of the people of Ireland than the tyranny of England, proceeded to that excess, that they opposed every proposition to lessen profusion, extend trade, or promote liberty. They did more, they supported a measure which, at one blow, put an end to all trade; they did more, they brought you to a condition which they themselves did unanimously acknowledge a state of impending ruin; they did this, talking as they are now talking, arguing against trade as they now argue against liberty, threatening the people of Ireland with the power of the British nation, and imploring them to rest satisfied with the ruins of their trade, as they now implore them to remain satisfied with the wreck of their constitution.' I. 43–4.

He then describes the progress of the Associations, and the encouragement given by Parliament to the love of independence; and he bursts forth in a passage greatly superior to the last, because, though as full of point, it is more full of fire; it comes more from the heart than the head, and finds its way to the same region; it contains great truths, earnestly told, by a

man deeply impressed with their certainty, ardently feeling their magnitude, and whom his subject seems to carry away. It is altogether so fine a piece of eloquence, that we cannot pause to note a few very obvious corrections, which would remove the only doubtful parts of it.

'Sir, we may hope to dazzle with illuminations, and we may sicken with addresses, but the public imagination will never rest, nor will her heart be well at ease: never! so long as the Parliament of England exercises or claims a legislation over this country. So long as this shall be the case, that very free trade, otherwise a perpetual attachment, will be the cause of new discontent. It will create a pride to feel the indignity of bondage; it will furnish a strength to bite your chain; and the liberty withheld will poison the good communicated. . . . . .

'The British minister mistakes the Irish character. Had he intended to make Ireland a slave, he should have kept her a beggar. There is no middle policy: win her heart by the restoration of her right, or cut off the nation's right hand; greatly emancipate, or fundamentally destroy. We may talk plausibly to England; but so long as she exercises a power to bind this country, so long are the nations in a state of war. The claims of the one go against the liberty of the other, and the sentiments of the latter go to oppose those claims, to the last drop of her blood. The English opposition, therefore, are right; mere trade will not satisfy Ireland. They judge of us by other great nations, by the nation whose political life has been a struggle for liberty; they judge of us with a true knowledge, and just deference, for our character,—that a country, enlightened as Ireland, chartered as Ireland, armed as Ireland, and injured as Ireland, will be satisfied with nothing less than liberty.' I. 45.

The same great qualities mark the burst of indignation with which he overwhelms the miserable argument constantly set up against the claims of right made by nations from each other, and by the people from their rulers—that, after so much has been granted, it is unreasonable, and ungrateful, to press for more.

'I shall hear of ingratitude: I name the argument to despise it, and the men who make use of it. I know the men who use it are not grateful, they are insatiate; they are public extortioners, who would stop the tide of public prosperity, and turn it to the channel of their own emolument. I know of no species of gratitude which should prevent my country from being free—no gratitude which should oblige Ireland to be the slave of England. In cases of robbery and usurpation, nothing is an object of gratitude except the thing stolen, the charter spoliated. A nation's liberty cannot, like her treasure, be meted and parcelled out in gratitude. No man can be grateful or liberal of his conscience, nor woman of her honour, nor nation of her liberty. There are certain unimpartable, inherent, invaluable properties, not to be alienated from the person, whether body politic

or body natural. With the same contempt do I treat that charge which says, that Ireland is insatiable; saying, that Ireland asks nothing but that which Great Britain has robbed her of, her rights and privileges. To say that Ireland will not be satisfied with liberty, because she is not satisfied with slavery, is folly. I laugh at that man who supposes that Ireland will not be content with a free trade, and a free constitution; and would any man advise her to be content with less?' I. 48–9.

The peroration of this speech is truly magnificent. It is impassioned in a high degree; very argumentative, in parts at least presenting condensed recapitulations of many striking arguments, as it certainly ought to do; variegated with figures of a bold reach, but justified by the inspiration which prompts them; and assailing the adversary with vehement, commanding, and even insolent bursts, which the hearer, now completely subjected, entirely approves. The orator, at this period of his labours, enjoys a large privilege, both of indulging his fancy and his pride—a privilege earned by the success which has attended him in working up his audience gradually and with much toil; and, by attending strictly to rule, and never slipping down through carelessness or vanity, he has reached a commanding height. But he is still ever on the brink of that declivity which leads from the sublime to the ludicrous, by a single false step. The splendid work which follows is clearly that of one, who, while in his prime, stood firm upon the eminence, and ran no risk from the neighbourhood of the precipice where so many of his countrymen were overwhelmed.

'That there are precedents against us, I allow—acts of power I would call them, not precedents; and I answer the English pleading such precedents, as they answered their kings when they urged precedents against the liberty of England—such things are the weakness of the times; the tyranny of one side, the feebleness of the other, the law of neither. We will not be bound by them; or rather, in the words of the declaration of right, "no doing, judgment, proceeding, in any wise to the contrary, shall be brought into precedent or example." Do not then tolerate a power—the power of the British Parliament over this land, which has no foundation in utility or necessity, or empire, or the laws of England, or the laws of Ireland, or the laws of nature, or the laws of God,—do not suffer it to have a duration in your mind.

'Do not tolerate that power which blasted you for a century, that power which shattered your loom, banished your manufactures, dishonoured your peerage, and stopped the growth of your people; do not, I say, be bribed by an export of woollen, or an import of sugar, and permit that power which has thus withered the land to remain in your country, and have existence in your pusillanimity.

'Do not suffer the arrogance of England to imagine a surviving hope in the fears of Ireland. Do not send the people to their own resolves for liberty, passing by the tribunals of justice and the high court of Parliament; neither imagine, that, by any formation of apology, you can palliate such a commission to your hearts, still less to your children, who will sting you with their curses in your grave for having interposed between them and their Maker, robbing them of an immense occasion, and losing an opportunity which you did not create, and can never restore.

'Hereafter, when these things shall be history, your age of thraldom and poverty, your sudden resurrection, commercial redress, and miraculous armament, shall the historian stop at *liberty*,—and observe, that here the principal men among us fell into mimic trances of gratitude,—that they were awed by a weak ministry, and bribed by an empty treasury,—and when liberty was within their grasp, and the temple opened her folding doors, and the arms of the people clanged, and the zeal of the nation urged and encouraged them on, that they fell down, and were prostituted at the threshold?

'I might, as a constituent, come to your bar, and demand my liberty. I do call upon you, by the laws of the land and their violation, by the instruction of eighteen counties, by the arms, inspiration, and providence of the present moment, tell us the rule by which we shall go,—assert the law of Ireland,—declare the liberty of the land.

'I will not be answered by a public lie, in the shape of an amendment; neither, speaking for the subjects' freedom, am I to hear of faction. I wish for nothing but to breathe, in this our island, in common with my fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be the ambition to break your chain, and contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags: he may be naked, he shall not be in iron; and I do see the time is at hand, the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted; and though great men should apostatize, yet the cause will live; and though the public speaker should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it, and the breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him.' I. 51–53.

It is after reading such passages that we are disposed to wonder more and more at the prodigious sacrifice of effect occasioned by the rejection of highly wrought perorations in by far the greater part of the Greek Orations. Some remarkable instances there certainly are, in which the ancient and modern practice coincides, as in both the speeches upon the Crown; *

* The ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ πρεσβεῖς τε γῆ καὶ θάλαττα is as intensely vehement as any thing in Demosthenes. But the slight appeal to the gods,

but for the most part, the opportunity is thrown away of making a mighty impression at the time when the feelings of the hearers are most wrought up, and when, at parting, as it were, it most concerns the speaker to leave them well disposed towards his suit. The more we consider this matter, we own ourselves the more at a loss to discover the reason of it. The most chaste, and, if we may so speak, ascetic taste, cannot take offence at the modern practice; for nothing can be more according to nature, or less theatrical. Indeed, a highly finished exordium is much more so; and when we reflect, that the ancient orator really spoke with the expectation of moving his audience, and carrying them along with him, the importance of throwing a peculiar stress upon his concluding exertions seems very manifest. Quintilian, who observes, that most of the Attic authors, and almost all the philosophers who treated of Rhetoric, had condemned impassioned perorations, gives as a reason why the former should be averse to them, that, in strictness, orators were forbidden at Athens to move the passions; but he seems not to be quite satisfied with this solution, probably from reflecting, that the same prohibition extended to the whole oration, and that it was very little attended to, having become a formal proclamation by the herald, much like our *Oyes!* * Cicero has not, as far as we recollect, treated of this matter; but he has, both by his precepts and practice, evinced his entire difference in opinion with the Greek authorities. Indeed, he tells us in one passage, that, for the purpose of heightening the effect of a pathetic appeal, he once held an infant in his arms during a peroration. † He admits, however, that, in the eloquence which moves the passions, and which he deems to be the perfection of the art, Demosthenes has reached the highest pitch. There is, perhaps, no other circumstance, except the plan of the peroration, in which the Romans and the Moderns can be allowed to surpass the Greeks.

The rhythm of the passage on which we have been commenting, is deserving of our attention. The animated variety of the measure, the entire absence of the Johnsonian monotony which has so infected modern English composition, and rendered the cadence as dull and tame as the notes of an old Psalm tune, is

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which generally forms the only figure in his conclusions, is of too ordinary occurrence to elevate the style.

* See Lib. vi. cap. 1. 'Philosophos *minus* miror, &c.; plainly indicating, that he did wonder at the oratorical practice.

† Orator. 38. quâ (miseratione) ita delenter uti solemus, ut puerum infantem in manibus perorantes tenebamus.

every way worthy of remark. The rhythm of the evenly balanced composition runs in a dactyl and spondee—or a trochee and iambus, and always in pairs of each combination. Thus, 'the diction is *sparingly English*, the structure *formal and tiresome*;'—and again, 'the cadence is *feeble to rouse*, but *potent to lull*.' A writer of this class would not, for the world, end a sentence, or a member of a sentence, with short syllables; he holds in equal horror the old genuine English structure, which places the preposition last, and uniformly resolves this by means of the relative, that instead of 'having some light little word to *end with*,' he may 'be possessed of a mighty expression *with which to conclude*.' Always mistaking ease and nature for slovenliness, he fancies that he has become impressive when he has made himself as heavy as huge phrases can load him; and when he has put these together, so that they go to one unvaried tune of some four-bell chime, he conceives himself to have effected a harmonious composition. Such an artist would carefully shun such dactylics as 'the power which has thus withered the land to remain in your country, and have existence in your pusillanimity.' Still farther would he be from relishing the rapid music of this conclusion, 'Though the public speaker should die, yet the immor-'tal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it, and the breath 'of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not *die with the* '*prophet, but survive him.*' This, however, is exactly the rhythm most approved by the Greek rhetoricians; the dactyl in which these orators abound so much more than the Romans; the pæon (long and three shorts), preferred by them to all other feet; and the trochee, or spondee, following the pæon, of which it is remarkable that Cicero, notwithstanding his undervaluing the pæon, and in theory much preferring the double trochee, felt the beauty so much, that he used it sometimes even immoderately, as in his well known *Esse videatur*. In the passage before us, however, the force and rapidity depends not merely on the pæon, but on its following immediately the dactyl, whose first syllable is particularly accented, so as to make almost all the next six syllables short. A similar effect is produced, but a finer, in that wonder-piece of composition, the passage respecting the Indian in Lord Erskine's great speech; and it is produced by a similar use of the pæon, combined with the dactyl and trochee. "Who is it," said the 'jealous ruler over the desert encroached upon by the restless 'foot of English adventure, "who is it that causes this rain to 'rise in the high mountains, and to empty itself into the ocean? "Who is it that causes to blow the loud winds of winter, and "that calms them again in the summer? Who is it that rears "up the shade of those lofty forests, and blasts them with the

" quick lightning at his pleasure? The same Being who gave " to you a country on the other side of the waters, and gave " ours to us; and by this title we will defend it," said the war- ' rior, throwing down his tomohawk upon the ground, and rais- ' ing the war-sound of his nation.' The whole of this is a strik- ing exemplification of the justness of the Greek predilection for the pæon; but especially the finest part in point of rhythm, be- ginning with the accent upon de*fend.* It is worthy of observation, that Cicero's taste in composition, brought him far nearer the moderns, as far as rhythm is concerned, than the Greek masters. His fondness for the dichareus (though doubtless a fine cadence when moderately used), and his objection, generally speaking, to the creticus and spondee, and even to the dactyl as a concluding foot, presents a remarkable contrast to the rapid and forcible, and at the same time grave, but always perfectly natural, musick of the Greek oration, in which the dactyl, pæon, creticus and spondee, constantly abound. But we must wander no further into this wide and interesting field.

We have said that the first speech upon the Declaration of Right, appears to us the finest of all that are preserved of Mr Grattan. That it produced an immense effect, cannot be doubt- ed; and we presume it is to this speech that the editor alludes, in the introduction, where he says, ' his speech on the Declara- ' tion of Right was delivered with a singular degree of enthusi- ' asm; and some individuals who were present declared, that ' towards the conclusion, they almost fancied it was the speaking ' of a man who was inspired.' But certainly, if we may judge of the general opinion in Ireland, from Sir Jonah Barrington's narrative of the effect produced by the last speech upon the same subject, that, and not the one we have been considering, must be accounted the most suited to the taste of our Irish brethren. In that most incorrect description (incorrect because at variance with all the facts and dates) which he gives of Mr Grattan's speech of April 1782, where he represents it as carrying the measure, which he must have known was really carried by the change of ministry some weeks before, he paints the merits of the oration in very extravagant colours. No one who reads it can fail to perceive, first, that it was a mere speech of ceremony, a con- gratulation upon the triumph already gained, and a promulga- tion of the measures to be propounded as the fruits of the vic- tory. ' A young barrister,' says the *accurate* historian, ' without ' professional celebrity,' &c. &c. ' became the instrument of ' Providence to liberate his country, *and in a single day* achieved ' what the most able statesmen, the most,' &c. ' never could ef- ' fect.' Now, we have just seen the powerful efforts of this ob-

scure barrister in 1780. He was then defeated by a large majority. He renewed them on the 22d February 1782; made another speech only inferior to the former in the declamatory and ornamental parts, but in reasoning perhaps, more learned and more effective; he was again defeated, and by a majority increased twofold, notwithstanding the augmented force and the menacing attitude of the volunteers. But in March of the same year, a total change of ministry took place; and, on the 14th of that month, the Irish House of Commons ordered the members to be summoned for the 16th of April, by a circular from the speaker, calling on them to attend, as 'they tender the rights of the Irish Par-'liament.' Any body but Sir Jonah would have deemed this a sufficient proof that the question was carried before the 16th, even if the message from the Throne to the English Parliament on the 9th had not announced a change in the policy of the Government towards the sister kingdom. And then the worthy historian has lying before him, the Speech delivered by Mr Grattan on the 16th, which begins with these words, 'I am *now* 'to address a free people; ages have passed away, and this is 'the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that 'appellation.' And yet, seeing all this, he does not hesitate to put upon record, for the misinformation of posterity, that on that day all men were awaiting, in breathless anxiety, the effects of Mr Grattan's speech; and that, to the infinite joy of all, its eloquence at once accomplished the great object of so many toils, and prevailed on the House to adopt the Declaration unanimously!

Nor is this writer more distinguished for his taste as a critic, than for his historical accuracy. The speech which he describes as 'ranking in the very first class of effective eloquence' —as 'rising in its progress, and increasing at every succeeding sentence the interest which the exordium had excited'—and as 'an irresistible' piece of 'reasoning,' is by no means one of Mr Grattan's happiest efforts. It cannot be termed effective, any more than an address from a member to his constituents after the return, thanking and congratulating them; it is so far from rising in interest, that the exordium contains an invocation to spirits of departed patriots; and it concludes with a dry statement of measures to be proposed. Lastly, so far from being a piece of extraordinary reasoning, the speaker could not possibly intend to reason at all; and accordingly, from beginning to end, it has nothing that can be called an argument. Sir Jonah says nothing of the more oratorical parts, but it is plain that they have misled him by their glare. We hardly know any of Mr Grattan's speeches which contain more deviations from

strict taste. ' Spirit of Swift! Spirit of Molyneux! Your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her! and, bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua!*' Such is literally the *fourth* sentence of the speech, long before the hearers could be warmed so as to justify one of the most hazardous experiments in rhetorick. The passage is, besides, very unexceptionable in point of execution. A much higher name than Molyneux should have been placed by the side of Swift; and the address to Ireland should have been in the vulgar tongue, and not a trite citation from Father Paul. Some parts of this speech, too, are obscure, and most of it is forced. Not a few instances occur of that very intolerable practice, chiefly in vogue among Irish speakers, and of late, we grieve to say, imported by many periodical writers in this island, of using words in a sense quite new, or in a combination, and for a purpose, to which they never before were thought applicable; yet all the while approaching to the common meaning and use of the same words; so that the reader has some idea of what the author would be at, but perceives his drift obscurely, just as the author himself does. Finally, the speech has more strained and mixed metaphor than any other of this great man's performances. We fear it was such passages as these that recommended it to the lavish panegyrick of Sir Jonah Barrington. ' Monuments connecting the ambition of the age which is coming on with the example of that which is going off, and forming the descent and concatenation of glory.'—' A flame has descended from Heaven on the intellect of Ireland, plays round her head, and encompasses her understanding with a consecrated glory.'—' Ireland has studied politicks in the lair of oppression.'—' Session after Session, they (the Houses of Parliament) move their periodical orbit about the source of their being, the nation: even the King's Majesty must fulfil his due and tributary course round that great luminary; and, created by its beam, and upheld by its attraction, must incline to that light, or go out of the system.' In all the rest of these volumes, there is nothing that comes near this last passage for false figure and incorrect expression.

Such pieces as the following, of strong rapid argument, in most pointed and concise forms of speech, are a great contrast to the composition which we have been considering. It is taken from the second oration upon the Declaration of Right; and, we fear, that the remarks upon the authority of the Judges, in questions of national liberty, are of far too universal application. It may be further observed, that the figurative close of this reasoning being obscure and incorrect, greatly detracts from the effect of the whole.

'We have done with precedent. She then resorts to authority. To what authority? to her judges. To do what? to repeal acts of parliament by interpretation. What act? Magna Charta,—the act that forms the security of the realm. I respect the judges; but in this case, I object to their authority, first, because they are partial, being of the country whose power they are to discuss; secondly, because they are dependent, being punishable by the Parliament whose claims they are to arbitrate; thirdly, because they are incompetent, being by their office obliged to pronounce the law as Parliament declares; fourthly, because they are inadmissible, being in this case called upon to repeal an act of parliament under colour of interpretation. The great charter, the 10th of Henry the Fourth, the 29th of Henry the Sixth, the act of faculties, do not want an interpreter. These say, no English statute shall be executed in Ireland till confirmed by the Irish Parliament; no Irish subject to be bound by statutes, except ordained within the realm. To say they may, is to repeal, not to interpret. Such explanation is violation, not interpretation, and the judge not an authority, but an offender. Besides, the judges are bad arbiters of public liberty. There is no act of power for which you have not a precedent, nor any false doctrine for which you have not an adjudication. Lord Bacon maintained a dispensing power, Lord Coke maintained a dispensing power. Lord Chief Justice Fleming affirmed the power of the King to lay port duties. Judge Blackstone maintained the power of the House of Commons to disqualify by the vote of its own body. When the Attorney-General of Charles the First filed an information against three members of Parliament for their speeches in the House of Commons, the Judges of the King's Bench fined and confined them all. There is no adjudication which the judges of England can make against Ireland, that they have not made against their own country. Now, as the people of England have disregarded such authority when urged against their own liberties, so shall we disregard the same authority when urged against ours. We cannot allow England to plead her Magna Charta against the authority of her judges, and yet to set up the authority of her judges against the Magna Charta of Ireland; nor must she answer her judges with the principles of the Revolution, and answer Ireland with the principles of the Jacobite. For neither judgments, nor judges' opinions, nor precedents, are laws; still less can they repeal laws, still less franchises, and, least of all, charters. These things read themselves without a judge, and in despite of him; they put forth a subterranean voice even against kings; and, though buried for ages, like the blood of the murdered man, they rise up in judgment, and call for justice.' I. 111, 112.

Of such figures we have some other instances not to be passed over, but to be again and again presented to the student as warnings against suffering even the greatest success of the most powerful eloquence to betray him into the use of any thing violent or strained. He may rely upon it, that, although in such

moments, the fatal ridicule may be escaped which would inevitably attend the same extravagance at any other time, yet its effect must always be injurious, and must materially diminish the impression of the whole passage. Thus, in the speech from which our last extract was made, and which is one of the finest in this collection, the effect of a brilliant declamation is spoilt by this interrogation. 'Do you delay till Providence, beholding you on your knees, shall fall in love with your meanness, and rain on your servility, constitution-like manna?' In a a speech upon the war 1795, he tells us, that 'it is Europe herself and her islands that are at stake; princes, potentates, her orders and degrees—the creature and the Creator, man and the Godhead;'—and in the same speech, he describes the liberty of France as 'death, and her state as Bedlam, where the sceptre is broken into ten thousand scorpions, in the hands of ten thousand maniacs, scourging one another for offences that are only exceeded by the barbarity with which they are punished;'—a comparison singularly incorrect, as well as violent; for it assumes that Bedlamites are the worst of criminals. How different from such extravagant efforts of fancy is that beautiful figure, as simple as it is correct, by which he so happily painted his connexion with the independence of Ireland, from its infancy to its end! 'I sat by her cradle; I followed her hearse.' Not even by the great Tuscan master of simile, who, for truth and conciseness, leaves all poets of all ages behind him, were so few words ever used more successfully to conjure up a full, and distinct, and affecting image.

These volumes abound in examples of a very felicitous union of the most forcible reasoning, or at least retort upon the adversary, with all the illustration which can be derived from strong and correct imagery. We give one instance, from the speech in 1796 on Catholic Emancipation; and we chuse it the rather, that the topic which he demolishes in it is of constant recurrence in all the discussions of the question.

'An argument is advanced to excuse their injustice, which I wish to repeat, more from its singularity than its strength. They tell the Catholics that the things they withhold are *nothing!* The patrons of boroughs, placemen, and pensioners, hold out this language,—that seats in Parliament and offices in the state are nothing, and that it is of no consequence to the Catholics to exclude all their leading men from the state and the Parliament. Suppose the minister should take these men at their word, and say to the placemen, You can have no objection, after your language to the Catholics, to support government without office; or suppose the reformer should now say to the borough patron, You can have no objection to reform, a borough can be no object; or, suppose the Catholic elec-

tor should answer the candidate on the next general election, as he answers the Catholic here, I cannot vote for you, but you do not regard that—a seat in Parliament is nothing; no, it is replied, these things are very great objects indeed, but they are only objects to us, who are in the habit of possessing them, and of monopolizing them. In other words, these men prescribe for these things as the old natural jobbers of the country; they demand all power and all place, in consideration of the superior purity and disinterestedness of their religion. "Give us all the good things on earth, in the name of God, and in God's mercy give nothing to the rest of our fellow-subjects." Thus, this pure and pious passion for church and state turns out to be a sort of political gluttony, an ascendancy hunger, a state voracity, an inordinate appetite for temporal gratifications in consideration of spiritual perfection; and, in consequence of this vile and mean, selfish and beastly monopoly, your state becomes an oligarchy, the worst species of oligarchy—a plebeian oligarchy.

'I love the Protestants, I love the Presbyterian, and I love the Catholics; that is, I love the Irish. If ever my affection abates, it is when they hate one another. I approved of the British ministry when they liberalized towards the Catholics, and condemned that ministry in 1795, when it renounced its liberality and its honour, and returned to its barbarity, and employed Christian sects, like hell-hounds, to hunt down one another. In consequence of this, they have set up in Ireland a proscriptive state, a proscriptive Parliament, a proscriptive monarchy, a proscriptive connexion; they have done so when the condition of the empire is in a great degree feeble, and that of the constitution in the last degree corrupt. Thus they make the empire feeble, and the constituted authorities profligate, and then propose to make them proscriptive; and do this when they are to encounter abroad not only the triumphs of arms, but of revolutions, as one way of defeating both, and setting them at defiance.'—III. 258, 259.

The tone of humanity and wisdom, which marks the latter part of this passage, is peculiarly striking; and this indeed is one of the most delightful characteristics of Mr Grattan's eloquence. The honest and amiable* man always shines through the rhetorician, and often heightens his rhetorick to eloquence. Indeed, such heartfelt sentiments are favourable to the mere beauties of diction, as well as to weightier matters of the oratorical law. 'Whose 'mind soever (says one of the greatest masters of composition,

* We trust this word will be taken by *our* readers in its English sense, and not in that French acceptation daily creeping into the language, partly through the ignorance of translators from the French, and who render *aimable* by amiable, instead of *agreeable*; as they do *egoïsme* by *egotism*, instead of selfishness; but very much also through 'a vile affectation.'

'and who studied it entirely under the Greek teachers) is possessed with a fervent desire to know good things and with the devout charity to infuse the knowledge of them into others, when such a man would speak, his words, by what I can express, like so many nimble and airy servitors, trip about him at command, and, in well ordered files, as he would wish, fall aptly into their own places.'—*(Apology for Smectymnus.)* The like spirit of kindness, and the same sagacity inform, in a remarkable manner, the beautiful reply with which he closed the debate. A few sentences are here selected, chiefly because, signal as they are for their eternal truth, they bear a more special application to the times in which we are living.

'What induced the minister of England to authorize the viceroy to promise the Catholic bill? Was it religion? No. What was it induced him to break his promise, and to refuse the Catholic bill? Indeed, the religion of ministers would be only matter of amusement, if it was not called in as a cheat to alienate three-fourths of the people. What induced great powers here to make up their consciences to vote for the Catholic bill with one administration, and made them change their consciences with the change of administration? Was it religion? No; they acted on the temporal, not the spiritual consideration, to keep their situation under one administration, to keep the monopoly of situation under another; disguising interested politics, as is common, under the false colours of religion. Though religious controversy is no longer a principle of action, political controversy is one, and a very prevailing principle of action. A new spirit, the spirit of reformation has gone forth, and the objects of its wrath are, the abuses of the European governments, abuses in their churches, and abuses in their states; the proscriptive genius of their church, the despotic genius of their monarchies. In other countries it is the despotism, in these the corruption, of monarchical government that is complained of. How ought you to oppose this new principle of action, and this spreading spirit of reformation?—by reforming and rejecting the abuses by which it is attracted.

'Do you imagine there is a man that would prefer the wild schemes of republicanism to the sober blessings of the English constitution, if he enjoyed them? What is the tree of liberty? It is sprinkled with the blood of kings and of nobles, some of the best blood in Europe; but if you force your fellow-subjects from under the hospitable roof of the constitution, you will leave them like a weary traveller, at length to repose under the shade of the dreadful tree of liberty. Give them, therefore, a safer dwelling, the goodly old fabric of the constitution, with its doors open to the community. You have thought another plan safer; you have thought proper to support the monarch, not on the principles of monarchy, but of corruption, and you have added those of bigotry. You support monarchy

by kingcraft, and kingcraft by priestcraft; you support the King by the abuses of the state, and the abuses of the state by the abuses of the church; and while you think you are withholding reforms, you are the secret and unconscious ministers of revolutions.

'To correct the evil consequences of such a system of administration on the minds of the people; they have resorted to the aid of certain Castle instruments, that might be termed the trumpeters of the constitution. These trumpeters, to advance their private and pecuniary traffic, proclaim the mildness of the government, and the blessings of the constitution; but their logic appears to be little more, than that, in consideration of a mild government, you should suspend civil liberty; and, in consideration of the blessings of our constitution, you ought to deprive three-fourths of the inhabitants of its franchises; in other words, that in gratitude for the blessings of the constitution, you are to surrender it to the crown. The sophism is extremely glaring, but profoundly wicked; it mistakes the constitutional checks on government, for the natural mildness of its character, and infers that we should give up those cheeks to fortify that government. It proposes to put down the constitution to strengthen the government—and then the people will reform the government to recover the constitution.' III. 261–265.

It has been much the practice, of late years, for the ministers and their retainers to single out, from time to time, some of their adversaries, and make them the objects of praise, abundantly suspicious in itself, on account of the hands that bring it, but far too grossly and clumsily dispensed by those awkward artists to deceive any one for a moment. The dead, from whom they have nothing to fear; or the feeble and temporizing, whom they are careless about; or the dying, whose past hostility they forget in the prospect of being soon relieved from them—these are generally the subjects of a panegyrick, of which the purpose plainly is to blacken, by the contrast, such as are the more immediate objects of their interested enmity. Mr Grattan has often been thus defamed by these artful eulogists; and at the time when it was intended chiefly to enforce those standing comminations against all matters connected with reformation, and against virulence and personality in the conduct of opposition, which form a portion of the motive of every service at the Treasury Sanctuary. Now, unluckily for the good folks in question, a stouter reformer than Mr Grattan never appeared in public life; and an orator more bitterly personal cannot be found in the whole history of ancient and modern controversy. He strenuously supported all the measures of reform, whether economical or Parliamentary, both in the Irish and English House of Commons; and though he agreed with those who, alarmed by the French Revolution, approved

of the war both in 1793 and 1815, yet he never suffered his views of foreign affairs for an instant to abate his hostility towards the baneful corruptions of our internal administration. Feelings of alarm, indeed, had not prevented him from supporting the question of Reform, at a season when some risk might have been run by carrying it, espoused as it was by the volunteer army. In the debate on Mr Flood's Bill in 1783, he said, that its having originated with the volunteers was no reason to oppose 'his favourite scheme;' on the contrary, he added, 'I love to blend the idea of Parliament and the volun-'teers; they have hitherto concurred in establishing our con-'stitution in the last Parliament, and I hope they will do so in 'the present.' At this period the Whigs were in office; and the Bill was brought in and carried through its most important stages; but before its commitment the ministers were changed. Mr Pitt, a zealous Parliamentary reformer, became premier; and the same fate befell Mr Flood's Bill which always attended those great questions which, when out of place, that powerful declaimer was so forward in supporting. The measure which, under the far more moderate reformers of the Whig school, had been easily carried, was lost by a great majority, when its patron came into office. His successor in the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh, had the like fortune, from the like cause. Every one knows the history of the Catholic Question; but his changes on that of Reform are less in the recollection of the country. He began life as what would now be termed a *Radical* Reformer; presided at publick dinners, where they drank, 'Our sovereign lord the people;' and signed resolutions pledging himself to the most sweeping reforms. In February 1793, spite of the alarms of the period, he supported Mr Grattan's motion, when the House resolved, that day three weeks, to consider the state of the representation; he then supported Mr Grattan's propositions, contending that 'reform was necessary in both kingdoms, but particularly in Ireland,' and acted as teller in the division. When Mr Forbes renewed the motion a week after, Lord Castlereagh again supported it, asserting, that 'the vices of the system pursued 'by the government had driven the public mind into a state of 'agitation; and, if the people were suffered to pore over those 'vices, it would be impossible to foresee the consequences'— and he again was teller in the division. At this time alarm was at its highest pitch; the French king had been beheaded, and the war begun; the government at home, and especially in Ireland, were meeting discontent by suspensions of the constitution, and driving men from open violence to plots and secret

ations, which they then sought, by new breaches of the tution, to suppress. Yet Lord Castlereagh, undismayed, nued steady to his principles of reform. For some time se sight of him; and, in 1795, all grounds of alarm being parably less urgent, and no other change in the question orm having occurred, except that his kinsman had suc- d Lord Fitzwilliam as viceroy, we find him supporting call of the latter in these words—'If Parliamentary Re- , or the repeal of the Convention Bill, were in the con- olation of the late ministers, I rejoice that they are no er in the possession of power.' Mr Grattan had been s a less violent reformer than this well-known politician, his principles stuck somewhat faster by him. The last s he uttered in the Irish Parliament, before the secession 97, were a most eloquent and argumentative address in f of his favourite measure. If a reformer were, in the nt day, to use such language as the following, the eulogists r Grattan, whom we have adverted to, would not scruple out rebellion.

nd they tell us that this is not the time for its reformation, viz. e of invasion and insurrection; and yet I do not see that they made any preparation against invasion so powerful as the n of Parliament would be. No; I do not find that the state ir revenue is such, nor their new levies so rapid (they have none), as to leave them any other chance of combating inva- save only by the people; nor do I see they have any chance of g the people to combat invasion, save only by reforming the ment. The borough patron will not give up his property; the h minister will not give up his property in the representation of eople, in ordinary times, and out of mere, and pure, good will, preference of popular power to their own private power, and own political power. It must be in the moment of emergency f panic; and, therefore, when gentlemen propose to wait for isure and security of a minister or a borough-monger, to consider -denying, self-surrendering constitution, they deserve but little t for the sincerity of their objection. With respect to insur- n, the original cause of discontent is to be found in the in- uate representation of our people. I do not then see any reme- r insurrection, so natural, nor indeed any remedy at all for principle of insurrection, save only the removal of the cause by the reform of the representation. The British Parlia- did not argue in the spirit of this objection with respect to eet; nor did they argue in the same way with respect to your ration of right or claim of free trade; nor did you argue in the way when you yielded to the Catholic convention.

Before they are to be reformed, rebellion, you tell us, must be ued. You tried that experiment in America; America requir- lf-legislation; you attempted to subdue America by force of

angry laws, and by force of arms; you exacted of America unconditional submission. The stamp act and the tea tax were only pretexts; so you said. The object, you said, was separation; so here the reform of parliament, you say, and Catholic emancipation, are only pretexts; the object, you say, is separation, and here you exact unconditional submission—"YOU MUST SUBDUE BEFORE YOU "REFORM." Indeed! Alas! you think so; but you forget that you may subdue by reforming; it is the best conquest you can obtain over your own people; but let me suppose you succeed, what is your success?—*a military government, a perfect despotism, an hapless victory* over the principles of a mild government and a mild constitution! *a Union!* but what may be the ultimate consequence of such a victory? A separation!' III. 338–342.

The placeman's Liturgy, we have said, denounces, with equal severity, bitterness in the manner, as well as reform in the matter; and commends to imitation the example of moderate men like Mr Grattan. We shall therefore close our extracts with two of the most remarkable speeches ever delivered, in which Mr Grattan afforded an example of the length to which violent personality may be carried, and carried justly. They are among the very finest of the orations in the collection before us.

The first is the celebrated attack upon Mr Flood. We call it by this name, because, although Mr Flood had bitterly inveighed against Mr Grattan, applying to him the term 'mendicant patriot,' and charging him with having 'been bought by his country for a sum of money, and then having sold her for prompt payment,' yet Mr Grattan had first provoked Mr Flood by charging him with apostasy, and insinuating that the illness he complained of was not real. Let the lovers of orderly and temperate discussion ruminate over the following passage, the close of a long invective upon Mr Flood's publick life, couched in the usual form of supposing a character.

'Thus defective in every relationship, whether to constitution, commerce, and toleration, I will suppose this man to have added much private improbity to public crimes; that his probity was like his patriotism, and his honour on a level with his oath. He loves to deliver panegyrics on himself. I will interrupt him, and say, Sir, you are much mistaken if you think that your talents have been as great as your life has been reprehensible; you began your parliamentary career with an acrimony and personality which could have been justified only by a supposition of virtue. After a rank and clamorous opposition, you became on a sudden *silent;* you were silent for seven years; you were silent on the greatest questions, and you were silent for money! In 1773, while a negociation was pending to sell your talents and your turbulence, you absconded from your duty in Parliament, you forsook your law of Poynings, you forsook the questions of economy, and abandoned all the old themes of your former

declamation. You were not at that period to be found in the House; you were seen, like a guilty spirit, haunting the lobby of the House of Commons, watching the moment in which the question should be put, that you might vanish; you were descried with a criminal anxiety, retiring from the scenes of your past glory; or you were perceived coasting the upper benches of this House, like a bird of prey, with an evil aspect and a sepulchral note, meditating to pounce on its quarry. These ways—they were not the ways of honour—you practised pending a negociation which was to end either in your sale or your sedition; the former taking place, you supported the rankest measures that ever came before Parliament, the embargo of 1776, for instance. "O, fatal embargo, that breach of law, and ruin of commerce!" You supported the unparalleled profusion and jobbing of Lord Harcourt's scandalous ministry,—the address to support the American war,—the other address to send 4000 men, which you had yourself declared to be necessary for the defence of Ireland, to fight against the liberties of America, to which you had declared yourself a friend. You, Sir, who delight to utter execrations against the American commissioners of 1778, on account of their hostility to America;—you, Sir, who manufacture stage-thunder against Mr Eden, for his anti-American principles;—you, Sir, whom it pleases to chaunt a hymn to the immortal Hampden;—you, Sir, approved of the tyranny exercised against America;—and you, Sir, voted 4000 Irish troops to cut the throats of the Americans fighting for their freedom, fighting for your freedom, fighting for the great principle, *liberty*. But you found, at last (and this should be an eternal lesson to men of your craft and cunning), that the King had only dishonoured you; the Court had bought, but would not trust you; and, having voted for the worst measures, you remained, for seven years, the the creature of *salary*, without the confidence of Government. Mortified at the discovery, and stung by disappointment, you betake yourself to the sad expedients of duplicity; you try the sorry game of a trimmer in your progress to the acts of an incendiary; you give no honest support either to the Government or the People; you, at the most critical period of their existence, take no part, you sign no non-consumption agreement, you are no volunteer, you oppose no perpetual mutiny bill, no altered sugar bill; you declare, that you lament that the declaration of right should have been brought forward; and observing, with regard to prince and people, the most impartial treachery and desertion, you justify the suspicion of your sovereign, by betraying the government as you had sold the people: until, at last, by this hollow conduct, and for some other steps, the result of mortified ambition, being dismissed, and another person put in your place, you fly to the ranks of the volunteers, and canvass for mutiny; you announce that the country was ruined by other men during that period in which she had been sold by you. Your logic is, that the repeal of a declaratory law is not the repeal of a law at all, and the effect of that logic is, an English act affecting to emancipate Ireland,

by exercising over her the legislative authority of the British Parliament. Such has been your conduct, and at such conduct every order of your fellow-subjects have a right to exclaim! The merchant may say to you—the constitutionalist may say to you—the American may say to you—and I, I now say, and say to your beard, Sir—you are not an honest man.' I. 183–185.

We pass over his invective against Dr Duiguenan in 1797, not a line of which is less personal than the most virulent parts of the extract just now given. We pass over, too, the many bitter attacks on the ministry generally, as a body of men utterly devoid of wisdom, and sunk deep in corruption. The title of *Jobbers* constantly given to them and their agents—the specific charges of selling peerages, &c. launched at some viceroys—the castigation of Lord Castlereagh's '*puerility and presumption,*' in the debates on the Union 1800—because we are desirous of giving the most striking of all these invectives, the reply to Mr Corry, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the course of the same memorable discussions. Mr Corry had made a personal attack upon him, charging him with having excited rebellion by his writings and speeches, and being associated with disaffected characters. The altercation that followed having led to a meeting next day, in which Mr Corry was wounded, Mr Grattan afterwards declined taking any steps for correcting the published account of his own speech—a delicacy which prevents us from having it in the most authentick form; but, notwithstanding this defect, it is a magnificent piece of eloquence, and worthy of him who was called of old καταπιλσας και σιδηρον φαγων. He thus commences his reply.

'Has the gentleman done? Has he completely done? He was unparliamentary from the beginning to the end of his speech. There was scarce a word he uttered that was not a violation of the privileges of the House. But I did not call him to order—why? because the limited talents of some men render it impossible for them to be severe without being unparliamentary. But before I sit down, I shall show him how to be severe and parliamentary at the same time. On any other occasion, I should think myself justifiable in treating with silent contempt any thing which might fall from that honourable member; but there are times when the insignificance of the accuser is lost in the magnitude of the accusation. I know the difficulty the honourable gentleman laboured under when he attacked me, conscious that, on a comparative view of our characters, public and private, there is nothing he could say which would injure me. The public would not believe the charge. I despise the falsehood. If such a charge were made by an honest man, I would answer it in the manner I shall do before I sit down. But I shall first reply to it, when not made by an honest man.

'The right honourable gentleman has called me "an unimpeached traitor." I ask, why not "traitor," unqualified by any epithet? I will tell him, it was because he durst not. It was the act of a coward, who raises his arm to strike, but has not courage to give the blow. I will not call him villain, because it would be unparliamentary, and he is a privy counsellor. I will not call him fool, because he happens to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. But I say he is one who has abused the privilege of Parliament and freedom of debate, by uttering language, which, if spoken out of the House, I should answer only with a blow. I care not how high his situation, how low his character, how contemptible his speech; whether a privy counsellor or a parasite, my answer would be a blow. He has charged me with being connected with the rebels; the charge is utterly, totally, and meanly false. Does the honourable gentleman rely on the report of the House of Lords for the foundation of his assertion? If he does, I can prove to the committee there was a physical impossibility of that report being true. But I scorn to answer any man for my conduct, whether he be a political coxcomb, or whether he brought himself into power by a false glare of courage or not. I scorn to answer any wizard of the Castle throwing himself into fantastical airs. But if an honourable and independent man were to make a charge against me, I would say,' &c. &c. III. 401, 402.

Again,

'The right honourable member has told me I deserted a profession where wealth and station were the reward of industry and talent. If I mistake not, that gentleman endeavoured to obtain those rewards by the same means; but he soon deserted the occupation of a barrister for those of a parasite and pander. He fled from the labour of study to flatter at the table of the great. He found the lords' parlour a better sphere for his exertions than the hall of the four courts; the house of a great man a more convenient way to power and to place; and that it was easier for a statesman of middling talents to sell his friends, than a lawyer of no talents to sell his clients.' III. 403.

The following passage, which is of a high order, closes in what our ministerial prudes would doubtless term incendiary language.

'The right honourable gentleman says I fled from the country after exciting rebellion; and that I have returned to raise another. No such thing. The charge is false. The civil war had not commenced when I left the kingdom; and I could not have returned without taking a part. On the one side, there was the camp of the rebel; on the other the camp of the minister, a greater traitor than the rebel. The stronghold of the constitution was no where to be found. I agree, that the rebel who rises against the government should have suffered; but I missed on the scaffold the right honourable gentle-

man. Two desperate parties were in arms against the constitution. The right honourable gentleman belonged to one of those parties, and deserved death. I could not join the rebel—I could not join the government—I could not join torture—I could not join half-hanging—I could not join free quarter—I could take part with neither. I was, therefore, absent from a scene where I could not be active without self-reproach, nor indifferent with safety.

'Many honourable gentlemen thought differently from me. I respect their opinions; but I keep my own; and I think now, as I thought then, *that the treason of the minister against the liberties of the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the minister.*' III. 403, 404.

The whole is thus concluded in a somewhat altered tone, which deserves the greatest admiration for the happy mixture of pathos with invective.

'I have returned, not as the right honourable member has said, to raise another storm—I have returned to discharge an honourable debt of gratitude to my country, that conferred a great reward for past services, which, I am proud to say, was not greater than my desert. I have returned to protect that constitution, of which I was the parent and the founder, from the assassination of such men as the right honourable gentleman and his unworthy associates. They are corrupt—they are seditious—and they, at this very moment, are in a conspiracy against their country. I have returned to refute a libel, as false as it is malicious, given to the public under the appellation of a report of the committee of the Lords. Here I stand ready for impeachment or trial. I dare accusation. I defy the honourable gentleman; I defy the government; I defy their whole phalanx; let them come forth. I tell the ministers, I will neither give them quarter nor take it. I am here to lay the shattered remains of my constitution on the floor of this House, in defence of the liberties of my country.' III. 404.

We have dwelt at some length upon this publication, and the truly venerable person whose eloquence it records; but not at greater length than the interest of the subject seemed to prescribe. Every thing is of importance that recalls to the admiration of the age, his truly patriotic life. His genius was of the highest order, and its efforts deserve the study of all students of oratory; but his fame rests upon a still more imperishable basis; for he rendered greater practical benefits to his country than any other of her sons; and though, like most men who have been raised suddenly to the height of popularity, he experienced the fickleness of publick applause, he lived to see the delusions dissipated, which had sunk him for a season in the estimation of the people, and finally retired from the scene, crowned with a more undivided applause than ever attended the end of any modern statesman.

ART. IV. 1. *Letter to Earl Bathurst, by the Honourable* H. GREY BENNET, M. P.

2. *Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of New South Wales. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 19th June,* 1822.

MR BIGGE'S Report is somewhat long, and a little clumsy; but it is altogether the production of an honest, sensible, and respectable man, who has done his duty to the public, and justified the expense of his mission to the fifth, or pickpocket quarter of the globe.

What manner of man is Governor Macquarrie?—Is all that Mr Bennet says of him in the House of Commons true? These are the questions which Lord Bathurst sent Mr Bigge, and very properly sent him, 28,000 miles to answer. The answer is, that Governor Macquarrie is not a dishonest man, nor a jobber; but arbitrary, in many things scandalously negligent, very often wrong-headed, and, upon the whole, very deficient in that good sense, and vigorous understanding, which his new and arduous situation so manifestly requires.

Ornamental architecture in Botany Bay! How it could enter into the head of any human being to adorn public buildings at the Bay, or to aim at any other architectural purpose but the exclusion of wind and rain, we are utterly at a loss to conceive. Such an expense is no only lamentable for the waste of property it makes in the particular instance, but because it destroys that guarantee of sound sense which the Government at home must require in those who preside over distant colonies. A man who thinks of pillars and pilasters, when half the colony are wet through for want of any covering at all, cannot be a wise or prudent person. He seems to be ignorant, that the prevention of rheumatism in all young colonies, is a much more important object than the gratification of taste, or the display of skill.

'I suggested to Governor Macquarrie the expediency of stopping all work then in progress that was merely of an ornamental nature, and of postponing its execution till other more important buildings were finished. With this view it was, that I recommended to the Governor to stop the progress of a large church, the foundation of which had been laid previous to my arrival, and which, by the estimate of Mr Greenway the architect, would have required six years to complete. By a change that I recommended, and which the Governor adopted, in the destination of the new court-house at Sydney, the accommodation of a new church is probably by this time secured. As

I conceived that considerable advantage had been gained by inducing Governor Macquarrie to suspend the progress of the larger church, I did not deem it necessary to make any pointed objection to the addition of these ornamental parts of the smaller one; though I regretted to observe in this instance, as well as in those of the new stables at Sydney, the turnpike gate house and the new fountain there, as well as in the repairs of an old church at Paramatta, how much more the embellishment of these places had been considered by the Governor, than the real and pressing wants of the colony. The buildings that I had recommended to his early attention in Sidney were, a new gaol, a school-house, and a market-house. The defects of the first of these buildings will be more particularly pointed out when I come to describe the buildings that have been erected in New South Wales. It is sufficient for me now to observe, that they were striking, and of a nature not to be remedied by additions or repairs. The other two were in a state of absolute ruin; they were also of undeniable importance and necessity. Having left Sidney in the month of November 1820 with these impressions, and with a belief that the suggestions I had made to Governor Macquarrie respecting them had been partly acted upon, and would continue to be so during my absence in Van Dieman's Land, it was not without much surprise and regret that I learnt, during my residence in that settlement, the resumption of the work at the large church in Sydney, and the steady continuation of the others that I had objected to, especially the Governor's stables at Sydney. I felt the greater surprise in receiving the information respecting this last mentioned structure, during my absence in Van Dieman's Land, as the Governor himself had, upon many occasions, expressed to me his own regret at having ever sanctioned it, and his consciousness of its extravagant dimensions and ostentatious character.'—*Report*, pp. 51, 52.

One of the great difficulties in Botany Bay, is to find proper employment for the great mass of convicts who are sent out. Governor Macquarrie selects all the best artisans, of every description, for the use of Government; and puts the poets, attornies and politicians, up to auction. The evil consequences of this are manifold. In the first place, from possessing so many of the best artificers, the Governor is necessarily turned into a builder; and immense drafts are drawn upon the Treasury at home, for buildings better adapted for Regent Street than the Bay. In the next place, the poor settler, finding that the convict attorney is very awkward at cutting timber, or catching kangaroos, soon returns him upon the hands of Government, in a much worse plight than that in which he was received. Not only are governors thus debauched into useless and expensive builders, but the colonists, who are schem-

ing and planning with all the activity of new settlers, cannot find workmen to execute their designs.

What two ideas are more inseparable than Beer and Britannia?—what event more awfully important to an English colony, than the erection of its first brewhouse?—and yet it required, in Van Dieman's Land, the greatest solicitation to the Government, and all the influence of Mr Bigge, to get it effected. The Government, having obtained possession of the best workmen, keep them; their manumission is much more infrequent than that of the useless and unprofitable convicts; in other words, one man is punished for his skill, and another rewarded for his inutility. Guilty of being a locksmith—guilty of stone masonry, or brick-making;—these are the second verdicts brought in, in New South Wales; and upon them is regulated the duration or mitigation of punishment awarded in the mother country. At the very period when the Governor assured Lord Bathurst, in his despatches, that he kept and employed so numerous a gang of workmen, only because the inhabitants could not employ them, Mr Bigge informs us, that their services would have been most acceptable to the colonists. Most of the settlers, at the time of Mr Bigge's arrival, from repeated refusals and disappointments, had been so convinced of the impossibility of obtaining workmen, that they had ceased to make application to the Governor. Is it to be believed, that a governor, placed over a land of convicts, and capable of guarding his limbs from any sudden collision with odometrous stones, or vertical posts of direction, should make no distinction between the simple convict and the double and treble convict—the man of three juries, who has three times appeared at the Bailey, trilarcenous—three times driven over the seas?

'I think it necessary to notice the want of attention that has prevailed, until a very late period, at Sydney, to the circumstances of those convicts who have been transported a second and a third time. Although the knowledge of these facts is transmitted in the hulk lists, or acquired without difficulty during the passage, it never has occurred to Governor Macquarrie or to the superintendant of convicts, to make any difference in the condition of these men, not even to disappoint the views that they may be supposed to have indulged by the success of a criminal enterprise in England, and by transferring the fruits of it to New South Wales.

'To accomplish this very simple but important object, nothing more was necessary than to consign these men to any situation rather than that which their friends had selected for them, and distinctly to declare in the presence of their comrades at the first muster on their arrival, that no consideration or favour would be shown

to those who had violated the law a second time, and that the mitigation of their sentences must be indefinitely postponed.'—*Report*, p. 19.

We were not a little amused at Governor Macquarrie's laureate—a regular Mr Southey—who, upon the King's birth-day, sings the praises of Governor Macquarrie. * The case of this votary of Apollo and Mercury was a case for life; the offence a menacing epistle, or, as low people call it, a *threatening letter*. He has been pardoned, however—bursting his shackles, like Orpheus of old, with song and metre, and is well spoken of by Mr Bigge, but no specimen of his poetry given. One of the best and most enlightened men in the settlement, appears to be Mr Marsden, a clergyman of Paramatta. Mr Bennet represents him as a gentleman of great feeling, whose life is imbittered by the scenes of horror and vice it is his lot to witness at Paramatta. Indeed he says of himself, that, in consequence of these things, 'he does not enjoy one happy moment from the beginning to the end of the week!' This letter, at the time, produced a very considerable sensation in this country. The idea of a man of refinement and feeling wearing away his life in the midst of scenes of crime and debauchery to which he can apply no corrective, is certainly a very melancholy and affecting picture; but there is no story, however elegant and eloquent, which does not require, for the purposes of justice, to be turned to the other side, and viewed in reverse. The Rev. Mr Marsden (says Mr Bigge) *being himself accustomed to traffic in spirits*, must necessarily feel displeased at having so many public houses licensed in the neighbourhood, (p. 14.)

'As to Mr Marsden's troubles of mind,' (says the Governor), 'and pathetic display of sensibility and humanity, they must be so deeply seated, and so far removed from the surface, as to escape all possible observation. His habits are those of a man for ever engaged in some active, animated pursuit. No man travels more from town to town, or from house to house. His deportment is at all times that of a person the most gay and happy. When I was honoured with his society, he was by far the most cheerful person I met in the colony. Where his hours of sorrow were spent, it is hard to divine; for the variety of his pursuits, both in his own concerns, and in those of others, is so extensive, in farming, grazing, manufactories, transactions, that, with his clerical duties, he seems, to use a common phrase, to have his hands full of work. And the particular subject to which he imputes this extreme depression of mind, is, besides, one for which few people here will give him much credit.'—*Macquarrie's Letter to Lord Sidmouth*, p. 18.

There is certainly a wide difference between a man of so

* *Vide* Report, 146.

much feeling, that he has not a moment's happiness from the beginning to the end of the week, and a little merry bustling clergyman, largely concerned in the sale of rum, and brisk at a bargain for barley. Mr Bigge's evidence, however, is very much in favour of Mr Marsden. He seems to think him a man of highly respectable character and superior understanding, and that he has been dismissed from the magistracy by Governor Macquarrie, in a very rash, unjustifiable, and even tyrannical manner; and, in these opinions, we must say, the facts seem to bear out the report of the Commissioner.

Colonel Macquarrie not only dismisses honest and irreproachable men in a country where their existence is scarce, and their services inestimable, but he advances convicts to the situation and dignity of magistrates. Mr Bennet lays great stress upon this, and makes it one of his strongest charges against the Governor; and the Commissioner also takes part against it: But we confess we have great doubts on the subject; and are by no means satisfied, that the system of the Governor was not, upon the whole, the wisest, and best adapted to the situation of the colony. Men are governed by words; and under the infamous term *convict*, are comprehended crimes of the most different degrees and species of guilt. One man is transported for stealing three hams and a pot of sausages; and, in the next birth to him on board the transport, is a young surgeon, who has been engaged in the mutiny at the Nore; the third man is for extorting money; the fourth was in a respectable situation of life at the time of the Irish Rebellion, and was so ill read in history, as to imagine that Ireland had been ill treated by England, and so bad a reasoner as to suppose, that nine Catholics ought not to pay tithes to one Protestant. Then comes a man who set his house on fire, to cheat the Phœnix Office; and, lastly, that most glaring of all human villains, a poacher, driven from Europe, wife and child, by thirty lords of manors, at the Quarter-sessions, for killing a partridge. Now, all these are crimes no doubt—particularly the last; but they are surely crimes of very different degrees of intensity, to which different degrees of contempt and horror are attached,—and from which those who have committed them may, by subsequent morality, emancipate themselves, with different degrees of difficulty, and with more or less of success. A warrant granted by a reformed bacon stealer, would be absurd; but there is hardly any reason why a foolish hot-brained young blockhead, who chose to favour the mutineers at the Nore, when he was sixteen years of age, may not make a very loyal subject, and a very respectable and respected magistrate, when he is forty years of age, and has cast his Jacobine

teeth, and fallen into the practical jobbing and loyal baseness which so commonly developes itself about that period of life. Therefore, to say that a man must be placed in no situation of trust or elevation, as a magistrate, merely because he is a convict, is to govern mankind with a dictionary, and to surrender sense and usefulness to sound. Take the following case, for instance, from Mr Bigge.

'The next person, from the same class, that was so distinguished by Governor Macquarrie, was the Rev. Mr Fulton. He was transported by the sentence of a court martial in Ireland, during the rebellion; and on his arrival in New South Wales in the year 1800, was sent to Norfolk Island to officiate as chaplain. He returned to New South Wales in the year 1804, and performed the duties of chaplain at Sydney and Paramatta.

'In the divisions that prevailed in the colony previous to the arrest of Governor Bligh, Mr Fulton took no part; but, happening to form one of his family when the person of the governor was menaced with violence, he courageously opposed himself to the military party that entered the house, and gave an example of courage and devotion to the authority of Governor Bligh, which, if partaken either by the officer or his few adherents, would have spared him the humiliation of a personal arrest, and rescued his authority from the disgrace of open and violent suspension.'—*Report*, pp. 83, 84.

The particular nature of the place too must be remembered. It is seldom, we suspect, that absolute dunces go to the Bay, but commonly men of active minds, and considerable talents in their various lines,—who have not learnt, indeed, the art of self-discipline and control, but who are sent to learn it in the bitter school of adversity. And when this medicine produces its proper effect,—when sufficient time has been given to show a thorough change in character and disposition,—a young colony really cannot afford to dispense with the services of any person of superior talents. Activity, resolution and acuteness, are of such immense importance in the hard circumstances of a new State, that they must be eagerly caught at, and employed as soon as they are discovered. Though all may not be quite so unobjectionable as could be wished—

'Res dura, et regni novitas me talia cogiunt
Moliri'—

as Colonel Macquarrie probably quoted to Mr Commissioner Bigge. As for the conduct of those extra-moralists, who come to settle in a land of crime, and refuse to associate with a convict legally pardoned, however light his original offence, however perfect his subsequent conduct—we have no toleration for such folly and foppery. To sit down to dinner with men who

have not been tried for their lives, is a luxury which cannot be enjoyed in such a country. It is entirely out of the question; and persons so dainty, and so truly admirable, had better settle at Clapham Common than at Botany Bay. Our trade in Australasia is to turn scoundrels into honest men. If you come among us, and bring with you a good character, and will lend us your society as a stimulus and reward to men recovering from degradation, you will confer the greatest possible benefit upon the colony; but if you turn up your nose at repentance, insult those unhappy people with your character, and fiercely stand up as a moral bully, and a virtuous braggadocio, it would have been far better for us if Providence had directed you to any other part of the globe than to Botany Bay,—which was colonized, not to gratify the insolence of Pharisees, but to heal the contrite spirit of repentant sinners. Mr Marsden, who has no happiness from six o'clock Monday morning, till the same hour the week following, will not meet pardoned convicts in society. We have no doubt Mr Marsden is a very respectable clergyman; but is there not something very different from this in the Gospel? The most resolute and inflexible persons in the rejection of pardoned convicts, were some of the marching regiments stationed at Botany Bay,—men, of course, who had uniformly shunned in the Old World, the society of gamesters, prostitutes, drunkards, and blasphemers—who had ruined no tailors, corrupted no wives, and had entitled themselves, by a long course of solemnity and decorum, to indulge in all the insolence of purity and virtue.

In this point then of restoring convicts to society, we side, as far as the principle goes, with the Governor; but we are far from undertaking to say that his application of the principle has been on all occasions prudent and judicious. Upon the absurdity of his conduct in attempting to *force* the society of the pardoned convicts upon the undetected part of the colony, there can be no doubt. These are points upon which every body must be allowed to judge for themselves. The greatest monarchs in Europe cannot control opinion upon those points,—sovereigns far exceeding Colonel Lachlan Macquarrie, in the antiquity of their dynasty, and the extent, wealth, and importance of their empire.

'It was in vain to assemble them (the pardoned convicts) even on public occasions, at Government House, or to point them out to the especial notice and favour of strangers, or to favour them with particular marks of his own attention upon these occasions, if they still continued to be shunned, or disregarded by the rest of the company.

'With the exception of the Reverend Mr Fulton, and, on some occasions, of Mr Redfern, I never observed that the other persons of this class participated in the general attentions of the company; and the evidence of Mr Judge Advocate Wylde and Major Bell, both prove the embarrassment in which they were left on occasions that came within their notice.

'Nor has the distinction that has been conferred upon them by Governor Macquarrie, produced any effect in subduing the prejudices or objections of the class of free inhabitants to associate with them. One instance only has occurred, in which the wife of a respectable individual, and a magistrate, has been visited by the wives of the officers of the garrison, and by a few of the married ladies of the colony. It is an instance that reflects equal credit upon the individual herself, as upon the feelings and motives of those by whom she has been so noticed; but the circumstances of her case were very peculiar; and those that led to her introduction to society, were very much of a personal kind. It has generally been thought, that such instances would have been more numerous, if Governor Macquarrie had allowed every person to have followed the dictates of their own judgment upon a subject, on which, of all others, men are least disposed to be dictated to, and most disposed to judge for themselves.

'Although the emancipated convicts, whom he has selected from their class, are persons who generally bear a good character in New South Wales, yet that opinion of them is by no means universal. Those, however, who entertained a good opinion of them, would have proved it by their notice, as Mr M'Arthur has been in the habit of doing, by the kind and marked notice that he took of Mr Fitzgerald; and those who entertained a different opinion, would not have contracted an aversion to the principle of their introduction, from being obliged to witness what they considered to be an indiscreet and erroneous application of it.'—*Report*, p. 150.

We do not think Mr Bigge exactly seizes the sense of Colonel Macquarrie's phrase, when the Colonel speaks of restoring men to the rank of society they have lost. Men may either be classed by wealth and education, or by character. All honest men, whether counts or coblers, are of the same rank, if classed by moral distinctions. It is a common phrase to say, that such a man can no longer be ranked among honest men; that he has been degraded from the class of respectable persons; and therefore, by restoring a convict to the rank he has lost, the Governor may very fairly be supposed to mean the moral rank. In discussing the question of granting offices of trust to convicts, the importance of the *Scelerati* must not be overlooked. Their numbers are very considerable. They have one-eighth of all the granted land in the colony; and there are among them individuals of very large fortune. Mr Redfern has 2600 acres, Mr Lord 4365 acres, and Mr Samuel Terry 19,000 acres. As this

man's history is a specimen of the mud and dirt out of which great families often arise, let the *Terry Filii*, the future warriors, legislators, and nobility of the Bay, learn from what, and whom they sprang.

'The first of these individuals, Samuel Terry, was transported to the colony when young. He was placed in a gang of stone-masons at Paramatta, and assisted in the building of the gaol. Mr Marsden states, that during this period, he was brought before him for neglect of duty, and punished; but, by his industry in other ways, he was enabled to set up a small retail shop, in which he continued till the expiration of his term of service. He then repaired to Sydney, where he extended his business, and, by marriage, increased his capital. He for many years kept a public house and retail shop, to which the smaller settlers resorted from the country, and where, after intoxicating themselves with spirits, they signed obligations and powers of attorney to confess judgement, which were always kept ready for execution. By these means, and by an active use of the common arts of over-reaching ignorant and worthless men, Samuel Terry has been able to accumulate a considerable capital, and a quantity of land in New South Wales, inferior only to that which is held by Mr D'Arcy Wentworth. He ceased, at the late regulations introduced by the magistrates at Sydney, in February 1820, to sell spirituous liquors, and he is now become one of the principal speculators in the purchase of investments at Sydney, and lately established a water-mill in the swampy plains between that town and Botany Bay, which did not succeed. Out of the 19,000 acres of land held by Samuel Terry, 140 only are stated to be cleared; but he possesses 1450 head of horned cattle, and 3800 sheep.'—*Report*, p. 141.

Upon the subject of the New South Wales Bank, Mr Bigge observes,—

'Upon the first of these occasions, it became an object both with Governor Macquarrie, and Mr Judge Advocate Wylde, who took an active part in the establishment of the bank, to unite in its favour the support and contributions of the individuals of all classes of the colony. Governor Macquarrie felt assured, that, without such cooperation, the bank could not be established; for he was convinced that the emancipated convicts were the most opulent members of the community. A committee was formed for the purpose of drawing up the rules and regulations of the establishment, in which are to be found the names of George Howe, the printer of the Sydney Gazette, who was also a retail dealer; Mr Simon Lord, and Mr Edward Eager, all emancipated convicts, and the last only conditionally.

'Governor Macquarrie had always understood, and strongly wished, that in asking for the cooperation of all classes of the community in the formation of the bank, a share in its direction and management should also be communicated to them.'—*Report*, p. 150.

In the discussion of this question, we became acquainted with

a piece of military etiquette, of which we were previously ignorant. An officer, invited to dinner by the Governor, cannot refuse, unless in case of sickness. This is the most complete tyranny we ever heard of. If the officer comes out to his duty at the proper minute, with his proper number of buttons and epaulettes, what matters it to the Governor, or any body else, where he dines? He may as well be ordered what to eat, as where to dine,—be confined to the upper or under side of the meat,—be denied gravy, or refused melted butter. But there is no end to the small tyranny, and puerile vexations of a military life.

The mode of employing convicts upon their arrival, appears to us very objectionable. If a man is skilful as a mechanic, he is added to the Government gangs; and in proportion to his skill and diligence, his chance of manumission, or of remission of labour, is lessened. If he is not skilful, or not skilful in any trade wanted by Government, he is applied for by some settler, to whom he pays from 5*s.* to 10*s.* a week; and is then left at liberty to go where, and work to whomsoever he pleases. In the same manner, a convict who is rich is applied for, and obtains his weekly liberty and idleness by the purchased permission of the person to whom he is consigned.

The greatest possible inattention or ignorance appears to have prevailed in manumitting convicts for labour,—and for *such* labour! not for cleansing Augean stables, or draining Pontine marshes, or damming out a vast length of the Adriatic, but for working five weeks with a single horse and cart in making the road to Bathurst Plains. Was such labour worth five pounds? And is it to be understood, that liberty is to be restored to any man who will do five pounds worth of work in Australasia? Is this comment upon transportation to be circulated in the cells of Newgate, or in the haunts of those persons who are doomed to inhabit them?

'Another principle by which Governor Macquarrie has been guided in bestowing pardons and indulgences, is that of considering them as rewards for any particular labour or enterprise. It was upon this principle, that the men who were employed in working upon the Bathurst road, in the year 1815, and those who contributed to that operation by the loan of their own carts and horses, or of those that they procured, obtained pardons, emancipations, and tickets of leave. To 39 men who were employed as labourers in this work, three free pardons were given, one ticket of leave, and 35 emancipations; and two of them only had held tickets of leave before they commenced their labour. Seven convicts received emancipations for supplying horses and carts for the carriage of provisions and stores as the party was proceeding; six out of this number having previously held tickets of leave.

'Eight other convicts (four of whom held tickets of leave) received emancipations for assisting with carts, and one horse to each, in the transport of provisions and baggage for the use of Governor Macquarrie and his suite, on their journey from the river Nepean to Bathurst, in the year 1816; a service that did not extend beyond the period of five weeks, and was attended with no risk, and very little exertion.

'Between the months of January 1816 and June 1818, nine convicts, of whom six held tickets of leave, obtained emancipations for sending carts and horses to convey provisions and baggage from Paramatta to Bathurst, for the use of Mr Oxley, the surveyor-general, in his two expeditions into the interior of the country. And in the same period, 28 convict labourers and mechanics obtained emancipations for labour and service performed at Bathurst.

'The nature of the services performed by these convicts, and the manner in which some of them were recommended, excited much surprise in the colony, as well as great suspicion of the purity of the channels through which the recommendations passed.'—*Report*, pp. 122, 123.

If we are to judge from the number of jobs detected by Mr Bigge, Botany Bay seems very likely to do justice to the mother country from whence it sprang. Mr Redfern, surgeon, seems to use the public rhubarb for his private practice. Mr Hatchinson, superintendant, makes a very comfortable thing of the assignment of convicts. Major Druit was found selling their own cabbages to Government in a very profitable manner; and many comfortable little practices of this nature are noticed by Mr Bigge.

Among other sources of profit, the superintendant of convicts was the banker; two occupations which seem to be eminently compatible with each other, inasmuch as they afford to the superintendant the opportunity of evincing his impartiality, and loading with equal labour every convict, without reference to their banking accounts, to the profit they afford, or the trouble they create. It appears, however (very strangely), from the Report, that the money of convicts was not always recovered with the same readiness it was received.

Mr Richard Fitzgerald, in September 1819, was comptroller of provisions in Emu Plains, storekeeper at Windsor, and superintendant of Government works at the same place. He was also a proprietor of land and stock in the neighbourhood, and kept a public-house in Windsor, of which an emancipated Jew was the ostensible manager, upon whom Fitzgerald gave orders for goods and spirits in payment for labour on the public works. These two places are fifteen miles distant from each other, and convicts are to be watched and managed at both. It cannot be

of Commons, and all those who love the effects of public liberty without knowing or caring how it is preserved, to attack every person who complains of abuses, and to accuse him of gross exaggeration. No sooner is the name of any public thief, or of any tormentor, or oppressor, mentioned in that Honourable House, than out bursts the spirit of jobbing eulogium, and there is not a virtue under heaven which is not ascribed to the delinquent in question, and vouched for by the most irrefragable testimony. If Mr Bennet or Sir Francis Burdett had attacked them, and they had now been living, how many honourable members would have vouched for the honesty of Dudley and Empsom, the gentleness of Jeffries, or the genius of Blackmore? What human virtue did not Aris and the governor of Ilchester jail possess? Who was not ready to come forward to vouch for the attentive humanity of Governor Macquarrie? What scorn and wit would it have produced from the Treasury Bench, if Mr Bennet had stated the superior advantages of the horses over the convicts?—and all the horrors and immoralities, the filth and wretchedness, of the female prison of Paramatta? Such a case, proved, as this now is beyond the power of contradiction, ought to convince the most hardy and profligate scoffers, that there is really a great deal of occasional neglect, and oppression in the conduct of public servants; and that in spite of all the official praise, which is ever ready for the perpetrators of crime, there is a great deal of real malversation which should be dragged to the light of day, by the exertions of bold and virtuous men. If we had found, from the Report of Mr Bigge, that the charges of Mr Bennet were without any, or without adequate foundation, it would have given us great pleasure to have vindicated the Governor; but Mr Bennet has proved his indictment. It is impossible to read the foregoing quotation, and not to perceive, that the conduct and proceedings of Governor Macquarrie imperiously required the exposure they have received; and that it would have been much to the credit of Government, if he had been removed long ago, from a situation which, but for the exertions of Mr Bennet, we believe he would have held to this day.

The sick, from Mr Bigge's Report, appear to have fared as badly as the sinful. Good water was scarce, proper persons to wait upon the patients could not be obtained; and so numerous were the complaints from this quarter, that the Governor makes an order for the exclusion of all hospital grievances and complaints, *except on one day in the month*—dropsy swelling however, fever burning, and ague shaking, in the mean time, without waiting for the arrangements of Governor Macquarrie, or consulting the *Mollia tempora fandi*.

In permitting individuals to distil their own grain, the Government of Botany Bay appears to us to be quite right. It is impossible, in such a colony, to prevent unlawful distillation to a considerable extent; and it is as well to raise upon spirits (as something must be taxed) that slight duty which renders the contraband trade not worth following. Distillation too, always ensures a magazine against famine, by which New South Wales has more than once been severely visited. It opens a market for grain where markets are very distant, and where redundance and famine seem very often to succeed each other. The cheapness of spirits, to such working people as know how to use them with moderation, is a great blessing; and we doubt whether that moderation, after the first burst of ebriety, is not just as likely to be learnt in plenty, as in scarcity.

We were a little surprised at the scanty limits allowed to convicts for sleeping on board the transports. Mr Bigge (of whose sense and humanity we really have not the slightest doubt) states eighteen inches to be quite sufficient—twice the length of a small sheet of letter-paper. The printer's devil who carries our works to the press, informs us, that the allowance to the demons of the type is double foolscap length, or twenty-four inches. The great city upholsterers generally consider six feet as barely sufficient for a person rising in business, and assisting occasionally at official banquets.

Mrs Fry's * system is well spoken of by Mr Bigge; and its useful effect in promoting order and decency among floating convicts fully admitted.

In a voyage to Botany Bay by Mr Read, he states that, while the convict vessel lay at anchor, about to sail, a boat from shore reached the ship, and from it stepped a clerk of the Bank of England. The convicts felicitated themselves upon the acquisition of so gentlemanlike a companion; but it soon turn-

* We are sorry it should have been imagined, from some of our late observations on prison discipline, that we meant to disparage the exertions of Mrs Fry. For prisoners before trial, it is perfect; but where imprisonment is intended for punishment, and not for detention, it requires, as we have endeavoured to show, a very different system. The Prison Society (an excellent, honourable, and most useful institution of some of the best men in England) have certainly, in their first Numbers, fallen into the common mistake, of supposing that the reformation of the culprit, and not the prevention of the crime, was the main object of imprisonment; and have, in consequence, taken some false views of the method of treating prisoners—the exposition of which, after the usual manner of flesh and blood, makes them a little angry. But, in objects of so high a nature, what matters *who* is right?—the only question is, *What* is right?

ed out that the visitant had no intention of making so long a voyage. Finding that they were not to have the pleasure of his company, the convicts very naturally thought of picking his pockets; the necessity of which professional measure was prevented, by a speedy distribution of their contents. Forth from his bill-case, this votary of Plutus drew his nitid Newlands; all the forgers and utterers were mustered on deck; and to each of them was well and truly paid into his hand, a five pound note; less acceptable, perhaps, than if privately removed from the person, but still joyfully received. This was well intended on the part of the Directors: But the consequences it is scarcely necessary to enumerate; a large stock of rum was immediately laid in from the circumambient slop boats; and the materials of constant intoxication secured for the rest of the voyage.

The following account of pastoral convicts is striking and picturesque.

'I observed that a great many of the convicts in Van Dieman's Land wore jackets and trowsers of the kangaroo skin, and sometimes caps of the same material, which they obtain from the stock-keepers who are employed in the interior of the country. The labour of several of them differs, in this respect, from that of the convicts in New South Wales, and is rather pastoral than agricultural. Permission having been given, for the last five years, to the settlers to avail themselves of the ranges of open plains and vallies that lie on either side of the road leading from Austin's Ferry to Launceston, a distance of 120 miles, their flocks and herds have been committed to the care of convict shepherds and stock-keepers, who are sent to these cattle ranges, distant sometimes 30 or 40 miles from their master's estates.

'The boundaries of these tracts are described in the tickets of occupation by which they are held, and which are made renewable every year, on payment of a fee to the lieutenant-governor's clerk. One or more convicts are stationed on them, to attend to the flocks and cattle, and are supplied with wheat, tea and sugar, at the monthly visits of the owner. They are allowed the use of a musket and a few cartridges to defend themselves against the natives; and they have also dogs, with which they hunt the kangaroos, whose flesh they eat, and dispose of their skins to persons passing from Hobart Town to Launceston, in exchange for tea and sugar. They thus obtain a plentiful supply of food, and sometimes succeed in cultivating a few vegetables. Their habitations are made of turf and thatched, as the bark of the dwarf eucalyptus, or gum-trees of the plains; and the interior, in Van Dieman's Land, is not of sufficient expanse to form covering or shelter.—*Report*, pp. 107, 108.

A London thief, clothed in kangaroo's skins, lodged under the bark of the dwarf eucalyptus, and keeping sheep, fourteen thousand miles from Piccadilly, with a crook bent into the

shape of a picklock, is not an uninteresting picture; and an engraving of it might have a very salutary effect,—provided no engraving were made of his convict master, to whom the sheep belong.

The Maroon Indians were hunted by dogs—the fugitive convicts are recovered by the natives.

'The native blacks that inhabit the neighbourhood of Port Hunter and Port Stephens, have become very active in retaking the fugitive convicts. They accompany the soldiers who are sent in pursuit, and, by the extraordinary strength of sight they possess, improved by their daily exercise of it in pursuit of kangaroos and opossums, they can trace to a great distance, with wonderful accuracy, the impressions of the human foot. Nor are they afraid of meeting the fugitive convicts in the woods, when sent in their pursuit, without the soldiers; by their skill in throwing their long and pointed wooden darts, they wound and disable them, strip them of their clothes, and bring them back as prisoners, by unknown roads and paths, to the Coal River.

'They are rewarded for these enterprises by presents of maize and blankets; and, notwithstanding the apprehensions of revenge from the convicts whom they bring back, they continue to live in Newcastle and its neighbourhood; but are observed to prefer the society of the soldiers to that of the convicts.'—*Report*, p. 117.

Of the convicts in New South Wales, Mr Bigge found about eight or nine in an hundred to be persons of respectable character and conduct, though the evidence respecting them is not quite satisfactory. But the most striking and consolatory passage in the whole Report, is the following.

'The marriage of the native-born youths with female convicts are very rare; a circumstance that is attributable to the general disinclination to early marriage that is observable amongst them, and partly to the abandoned and dissolute habits of the female convicts; but chiefly to a sense of pride in the native-born youths, approaching to contempt for the vices and depravity of the convicts, even when manifested in the persons of their own parents.'—*Report*, p. 105.

Every thing is to be expected from these feelings. They convey to the mother country the first proof that the foundations of a mighty empire are laid.

We were somewhat surprised to find Governor Macquarrie contending with Mr Bigge, that it was no part of his, the Governor's, duty to select and separate the useless from the useful convicts, or to determine, except in particular cases, to whom they are to be assigned. In other words, he wishes to effect the customary separation of salary and duty—the grand principle which appears to pervade all human institutions, and to be the most invincible of all human abuses. Not only are

Church, King, and State, allured by this principle of vicarious labour, but the pot-boy has a lower pot-boy, who, for a small portion of the small gains of his principal, arranges, with inexhaustible sedulity, the subdivided portions of drink, and, intensely perspiring, disperses, in bright pewter, the frothy elements of joy.

There is a very awkward story of a severe flogging inflicted upon three freemen by Governor Macquarrie, without complaint to, or intervention of, any magistrate; a fact not denied by the Governor, and for which no adequate apology, nor any thing approaching to an adequate apology, is offered. These Asiatic and Satrapical proceedings, however, we have reason to think, are exceedingly disrelished by London Juries. The profits of having been unjustly flogged at Botany Bay (Scarlett for the plaintiff) is good property, and would fetch a very considerable sum at the Auction Mart. The Governor, in many instances, appears to have confounded diversity of opinion upon particular measures, with systematic opposition to his Government, and to have treated as disaffected persons those whom, in favourite measures, he could not persuade by his arguments, nor influence by his example, and on points where every man has a right to judge for himself, and where authority has no legitimate right to interfere, much less to dictate.

To the charges confirmed by the statement of Mr Bigge, Mr Bennet adds, from the evidence collected by the Jail Committee, that the fees in the Governor's Court, collected by the authority of the Governor, are most exorbitant and oppressive; and that illegal taxes are collected under the sole authority of the Governor. It has been made, by colonial regulations, a capital offence to steal the wild cattle; and, in 1816, three persons were convicted of stealing a wild bull, *the property of our Sovereign Lord the King.* Now, our Sovereign Lord the King (whatever be his other merits or demerits) is certainly a very good natured man, and would be the first to lament that an unhappy convict was sentenced to death for killing one of his wild bulls on the other side of the world. The cases of Mr Moore and of William Stewart, as quoted by Mr Bennet, are very strong. If they are answerable, they should be answered. The concluding letter to Mr Stewart, is, to us, the most decisive proof of the unfitness of Colonel Macquarrie for the situation in which he was placed. The Ministry at home, after the authenticity of the letter was proved, should have seized upon the first decent pretext of recalling the Governor, of thanking him in the name of his Sovereign, for his valuable services (not omitting his care of the wild bulls) and of dismissing him to half pay—and insignificance.

As to the Trial by Jury, we cannot agree with Mr Bennet, that it would be right to introduce it at present, for reasons we have given in a previous Article, and which we see no reason for altering. The time of course will come when it would be in the highest degree unjust and absurd, to refuse to that settlement the benefit of popular institutions. But they are too young, too few, and too deficient for such civilized machinery at present. 'I cannot come to serve upon the Jury,—the waters of the Hawksbury are out, and I have a mile to swim,—the kangaroos will break into my corn,—the convicts have robbed me,—my little boy has been bitten by an ornithorynchus paradoxus,—I have sent a man fifty miles with a sack of flour to buy a pair of breeches for the assizes, and he is not returned.' These are the excuses which, in new colonies, always prevent Trial by Jury; and make it desirable for the first half century of their existence, that they should live under the simplicity and convenience of despotism,—such modified despotism (we mean) as a British House of Commons (always containing men as bold and honest as the Member for Shrewsbury) will permit, in the Governors of their distant colonies.

Such are the opinions formed of the conduct of Governor Macquarrie by Mr Bigge. Not the slightest insinuation is made against the integrity of his character. Though almost every body else has a job, we do not perceive that any is imputed to this gentleman; but he is negligent, expensive, arbitrary, ignorant, and clearly deficient in abilities for the task committed to his charge. It is our decided opinion, therefore, that Mr Bennet has rendered a valuable service to the public, in attacking and exposing his conduct. As a gentleman and an honest man, there is not the smallest charge against the Governor; but a gentleman, and a very honest man, may very easily ruin a very fine colony. The colony itself, disincumbered of Colonel Lachlan Macquarrie, will probably become a very fine empire; but we can scarcely believe it is of any present utility as a place of punishment. The history of emancipated convicts, who have made a great deal of money by their industry and their speculations, necessarily reaches this country, and prevents men who are goaded by want, and hovering between vice and virtue, from looking upon it as a place of suffering—perhaps leads them to consider it as the land of hope and refuge, to them unattainable, except by the commission of crime. And so they lift up their hands at the Bar, hoping to be transported,—

'Stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum
Tendebantque manus, ripæ ulterioris amore.'

It is not possible, in the present state of the law, that these

enticing histories of convict prosperity should be prevented, by one uniform system of severity exercised in New South Wales, upon all transported persons. Such different degrees of guilt are included under the term of convict, that it would violate every feeling of humanity, and every principle of justice, to deal out one measure of punishment to all. We strongly suspect that this is the root of the evil. We want new gradations of guilt to be established by law—new names for those gradations —and a different measure of good and evil treatment attached to those denominations. In this manner, the mere *convict*, the *rogue and convict*, and the *incorrigible convict*, would expect, upon their landing, to be treated with very different degrees of severity. The first might be merely detained in New South Wales without labour or coercion; the second compelled, at all events, to work out two-thirds of his time, without the possibility of remission; and the third be destined at once for the Coal River. If these consequences steadily followed these gradations of conviction, they would soon be understood by the felonious world at home. At present, the prosperity of the best convicts is considered to be attainable by all; and transportation to another hemisphere is looked upon as the renovation of fallen fortunes, and the passport to wealth and power.

Another circumstance, which destroys all idea of punishment in transportation to New South Wales, is the enormous expense which that settlement would occasion, if it really was made a place of punishment. A little wicked tailor arrives, of no use to the architectural projects of the Governor. He is turned over to a settler, who leases this sartorial Borgia his liberty for five shillings per week, and allows him to steal and snip, what, when, and where he can. The excuse for this mockery of all law and justice is, that the expense of his maintenance is saved to the Government at home. But the expense is not saved to the country at large. The nefarious needleman writes home, that he is as comfortable as a finger in a thimble! that though a fraction only of humanity, he has several wives, and is filled every day with rum and kangaroo. This, of course, is not lost upon the shop-board; and, for the saving of fifteenpence per day, the foundation of many criminal tailors is laid. What is true of tailors, is true of tinkers and all other trades. The chances of escape from labour, and of manumission in the Bay, we may depend upon it, are accurately reported, and perfectly understood in the flash-houses of St Giles; and, while Earl Bathurst is full of jokes and joy, public morals are thus sapped to their foundation.

ART V. *Cottage Economy*. By WILLIAM COBBETT. Small 8vo. pp. 207. Stereotype Edition. London, Clement, 1822.

THIS is an excellent little book—written not only with admirable clearness and good sense, but in a very earnest and entertaining manner—and abounding with kind and good feelings, as well as with most valuable information: And as we have never scrupled openly to express our disapprobation of Mr Cobbett's conduct and writings, when we thought him in the wrong, we shall scarcely be suspected of partiality in the gratitude we now profess to him, and the endeavour we make to assist his exertions for the benefit of by far the most numerous and important part of society—the labouring classes. His work is addressed to them;—*our* observations must be understood as principally intended to impress upon the wealthier orders of the community the duty of promoting among their dependents and neighbours the circulation and perusal of such really useful publications.

Nothing can be more just than the fundamental position upon which this work proceeds—that all substantial improvement in the character and conduct of the poor, must begin with an amendment of their condition; they must be enabled to live more comfortably, and they will soon have a greater respect for themselves, and more just ideas of their duties to the community. By comfortable living, it is hardly necessary to remark, we mean only a sufficiency of plain food, plain clothing, and lodging both weather-proof and warm enough for the preservation of health. Luxuries are out of the question, excepting a little variety in their simple fare may be deemed such; and even necessaries in sufficient quantities they cannot enjoy without the strictest economy, joined to unremitting labour. Whoever assists them, therefore, either in turning their labour to better account, or, which is if possible more important, in turning those hours to profit which are not devoted to ordinary labour, or in making their scanty means go further towards supplying their wants, or in obtaining from the same means a more wholesome and agreeable living, is a real benefactor to the community, and not only provides for its physical wants, but raises the moral and intellectual character of its members. Upon one or two points we certainly differ with Mr Cobbett, but rather in the manner of stating the questions, than upon their merits; for a little explanation will show, that he himself, in reality, holds the same doctrine, or rather, that the dispute is chiefly

about words. In general, thinking very highly of his book, we shall proceed to make the reader better acquainted with it, reserving for the conclusion our observations upon the controversial matter, and adverting now to things upon which a difference of opinion can hardly exist.

We entirely agree with our author, in a doctrine which runs through his whole book, that the food of the labourer should consist of good wholesome Bread and a certain portion of meat and beer, the two latter articles varying in quantity according to the season of the year, and being most abundant, of course, at harvest time. That bread is preferable to vegetables, even to potatoes, and that beer is by much the best beverage for labouring men, are positions which cannot be too strongly inculcated upon the poor; and we earnestly entreat the attention of those to whom the poor naturally look, for guidance and aid, while we show how well these positions are founded. Unquestionably there is a good deal in taste; and habit may have the effect of making men prefer a worse kind of food. But if it can be clearly shown to be more expensive, less nourishing, and less healthy, reason should gradually wean men from its use. No one doubts the usefulness of dissuading the poor from drunkenness, or even from drinking any quantity of spirits in preference to malt liquor. Is it less useful, or more hopeless, to recommend such a change in their food as must conduce both to economy and health? But we are about to join Mr Cobbett in preaching, not merely bread and meat against potatoes, but beer against spirits of all sorts, and tea, or any other slops that may be substituted for it, and in holding a certain portion of beer to be among the necessaries of a labourer's life.

Whether potatoe culture is the best husbandry, that is, the best adapted to the interest of the landowner, is not the question we have here to discuss. If, indeed, a people be content to have a bare existence, living more like beasts than men, then an acre of land may possibly fetch more rent by being devoted to raise this produce, and so to feed more wretched creatures than if it were applied to create human food. We mention this as possible; but we are by no means sure of its truth; for certainly the labour bestowed on other things than raising the crop, must pay the rent, and that labour will be far inferior in efficacy to the work of well fed men. But even if it were true that more may be got for land by thus tilling it, can there be a greater curse to a country than that its inhabitants should be so degraded? For a necessary condition of the question (admitting every thing that can be said in favour of the landlord's profit) is, that the labouring classes should be in such a state,

so grovelling in their ideas and tastes, as to be satisfied with the very lowest quantity and worst kind of nutriment on which soul and body can be kept together. It hardly requires the near neighbourhood of the Irish to illustrate the consequences of such a system; but, putting all moral considerations out of the question, the history of that unhappy people shows, that any nation living on potatoes is hardly less liable to pestilence than the people of the Levant, both from the impoverishment of their blood, the filthiness of their habits, and the direct tendency of a diseased crop to engender typhus fever. In our view of the subject, then, it signifies absolutely nothing even to admit that no other culture could draw nearly so much profit from the soil. Let it be assumed, that, by this means, land may be made to yield five or six pounds an acre of rent, our answer is plain; it does so by the people who till it being afflicted with a brutalizing propensity to live comfortless and degraded, consuming their existence in feeding and sleeping and killing like animals, and, like animals, propagating a race as grovelling as themselves. Nay, we can imagine a people sunk in carelessness of human enjoyments still more humiliating, and enabling the lords of the soil to derive a still larger profit from its produce. They might go wholly naked instead of half naked, as they now do; salt and a mouthful of milk, and, from time to time, a bit of butter or fat, might be spared; the mite given to the priest might be withheld; and life might be, by possibility, sustained upon some more vile root, and taken in half the quantity; nay, we know not that they might not dwell in caves, or burrow under ground; and why should not vermin of all kinds, and even their own species, when driven by misery out of existence, be devoured by the more wretched survivors? It wants but a still further degradation of the appetites and tastes of men to beget these somewhat baser habits of life; and then the landlord, having always the means in his hands of affording them sustenance, and their estimate of what is sustentation regulating their own share of the produce, the residue, which is his rent, would be augmented. Yet who could for an instant listen to this rise of rent as any argument whatever in favour of such further degradation of the species? So we hold the utmost that can be asserted in favour of the rents derived from potatoe husbandry to be futile, and we are comparatively indifferent to the way in which the question of fact may be decided. For we are contending that the people ought not to put themselves in the situation which alone can enable such rents to be obtained. Mr Cobbett, however, with the same conviction of the fundamental objections to this food, denies

its superior economy; and it is fit we should state his estimates.

He first calculates the relative produce of land under wheat and potatoes. An acre will, he says, produce 300 bushels of of the latter, and, on an average, 32 of the former. A bushel of wheat weighing 60 pounds, will give 65 pounds of household bread, beside the bran; so that the acre will yield 2080 pounds of good bread; while the same acre in potatoes will only give at 56 pounds a bushel 16,800, * of which only one-tenth is found to be nutritious matter, equal to bread; so that a fourth part more nutriment is derived from the wheat than from the potatoe crop. Then the expense of seed and planting are about equal; but the potatoes require cultivation during their growth, which the wheat does not, and a large cost for gathering, housing, and keeping, beside that of loss by frost; and they yield nothing in the place of straw, which, from the wheat crop, may be worth four or five pounds an acre. 'Then comes (says our 'author) the expense of *cooking*. The thirty-two bushels of 'wheat, supposing a bushel to be baked at a time (which would 'be the case in a large family) would demand *thirty-two heatings 'of the oven*. Suppose a bushel of potatoes to be cooked every 'day, in order to supply the place of this bread, then we have '*nine hundred boilings of the pot*; unless *cold potatoes* be eaten 'at some of the meals; and, in that case, the diet must be '*cheering* indeed! Think of the *labour*; think of the *time*; think 'of all the peelings, and scrapings, and washings, and messings 'attending these *nine hundred boilings of the pot!* For it must 'be a considerable time before English people can be brought 'to eat potatoes in the Irish style; that is to say, scratch them 'out of the earth with their paws, toss them into a pot without 'washing; and, when boiled, turn them out upon a dirty board, 'and then sit round that board, peel the skin and dirt from one 'at a time, and eat the inside.'

He next calculates upon the market prices of the two articles; and in this every consumer may readily follow him. When wheat is ten shillings the bushel, he reckons potatoes at two. A bushel of the former gives 65 pounds of bread, and ten of bran; a bushel of the latter five pounds and a half of nutritious matter, equal to bread; so that for ten shillings expended on wheat, you have 60 pounds of bread (setting the bran and five pounds of bread against the expenses of grinding and baking) while,

* The author says 1830 pounds nutriment; but his calculation would make it 1680—his error being unfavourable to his own argument.

for the same sum laid out in potatoes, you have only 27½ pounds of nutriment, beside having the cost of cooking and salt. In short, he reckons the wheat as half the cost of the potatoes. We may observe, that the experiments made upon the nutritious qualities of different kinds of food, do not place potatoes so much lower than bread, as this calculation assumes; but even, if we supposed the difference to be only half as great as Mr Cobbett states, there is a very considerable advantage on the side of wheat.

The advantage of using bread in preference to roots, is not, however, the only inference deduced from these statements; that of families baking their own bread, follows equally from them, and from attending to the economy of this most useful process. It appears, that when wheat is selling for 7s. 6d. per bushel, the whole cost of a bushel of fine bread baked at home, or 18 quartern loaves and a half, is 8s. 4d.; for the same loaves the London baker charges about 14s. 8d., and the country baker about 13s. 4d.; being a saving on the transaction of 5s. in country, and 6s. in town—beside the inestimable benefit of always eating the purest and best bread; and allowing a shilling for heating the oven (or baking at a publick one) and half a bushel for the week's consumption, the labourer may thus save about five guineas a year, the sixth part of his wages. The saving is much greater, however; because, if he bakes at home, he may use coarse bread, as equal parts of rye and wheat, or of rye, wheat and barley, which is extremely palatable, very wholesome, and as nutritious as any bread can be. For a variety of exhortations to baking, in language always plain, and often very striking, we must refer to the book; but we shall give the following characteristick passage with which he concludes, after going through a minute description of the process, which we can confidently assure the reader will quite suffice to teach any one, hitherto ignorant of it—a remark applicable to all the directions contained in this little volume.

'And, what is there, worthy of the name of *plague*, or *trouble*, in all this? Here is no dirt, no filth, no rubbish, no *litter*, no *slop*. And, pray, what can be pleasanter to *behold?* Talk, indeed, of your pantomimes and gaudy shows; your processions and installations and coronations! Give me, for a beautiful sight, a neat and smart woman, heating her oven and setting her bread! And, if the bustle do make the sign of labour glisten on her brow, where is the man that would not kiss that off, rather than lick the plaster from the cheek of a dutchess?

And, what is the *result?* Why, good, wholesome food, sufficient for a considerable family for a week, prepared in three or four hours. To get this quantity of food, fit to be *eaten*, in the shape of

potatoes, *how many fires*; what a washing, what a boiling, what a peeling, what a sloping, and what a messing! The cottage everlastingly in a litter; the woman's hands everlastingly wet and dirty; the children grimed up to the eyes with dust fixt on by the potatoe-starch, and ragged as colts, the poor mother's time all being devoted to the everlasting boilings of the pot! Can any man, who knows any thing of the labourer's life, deny this?' pp. 77, 78.

We come now to the other fundamental proposition in favour of Beer. Our author does not argue so much for this beverage generally, as for it in preference to others, assuming that some must be used. We fear there are many parts of the country where the labourer seldom lifts his thoughts higher than water, unless it be towards a little milk. But there can be no doubt, that unless his family be numerous, he should, at all times, be able, from his wages, with a strict economy, to partake of this liquor, which is not only, moderately used, highly conducive to his recreation, but also to his health and strength. Undoubtedly however, the first step to obtain it, is rigid abstinence from all other liquors, an entire abandonment of spirits in every place, especially at the publick-house, an avoidance of that receptacle of riot, idleness, and extravagance, altogether, and in its quality of alehouse, as well as ginshop—and a prohibition, absolute and uncompromising, of tea. Against that herb, our author makes vigorous and successful war; and, in this too, we are wholly disposed to unite our forces with him. To suppose that it is adapted to refresh or invigorate men for hard bodily labour is preposterous. We greatly question its efficacy in repairing any frame however delicate, after any kind of exertion, however refined; but to fancy it calculated for the relief of a ploughman, or a mower, or a reaper, is laughable. And yet we grieve to think, that partly owing to the distresses of the bad times, which drove so many labourers to the use of stimulants,—which, for example, inoculated whole districts of manufacturers with a taste for opium,—partly owing to the pressure of taxes upon malt, and the high prices, combining to lower the quality of beer,—and partly, perhaps, to the influence of the women in their families, a very considerable progress has been made of late years in substituting for good wholesome ale and small beer, the vilest compound that ever offended the senses and mocked the appetite, which passes under the name of tea, with hardly any pretensions to the character. That there is much nourishment in ale, and even in small beer, will not be denied; that the best tea has none, seems equally clear. What remains to recommend it, then, but a tendency to affect the nerves, which the substi-

tutes for it actually in use among the poor certainly possess to a more pernicious degree? We venture to assert, that when a labourer fancies himself refreshed with a mess of this stuff, sweetened by the coarsest black sugar, and by azure blue milk, it is only the warmth of the water that soothes him for the moment, unless perhaps the sweetness may be palatable also. Mr Cobbett regards it as unwholesome. We do not go so far, unless indeed some of the deleterious herbs be used, which have often been proved to be employed in adulterating it; but that whatever tendency it may have to affect the nerves is bad, can hardly be denied. We only conceive that, with hard-working men, this must be counteracted. In every thing else that he urges against it, we entirely go along with him, and, among other matters, in the following lively picture of its effects on the economy of a cottage. He is estimating the cost of the tea plan.

'And now, as to its *cost*, compared with that of *beer*. I shall make my comparison applicable to a year, or three hundred and sixty-five days. I shall suppose the tea to be only five shillings the pound; the sugar only seven pence; the milk only two pence a quart. The prices are at the very lowest. I shall suppose a teapot to cost a shilling, six cups and saucers two shillings and sixpence, and six pewter spoons eighteenpence. How to estimate the firing I hardly know; but certainly there must, in the course of the year, be two hundred fires made that would not be made, were it not for tea drinking. Then comes the great article of all, the *time* employed in this tea-making affair. It is impossible to make a fire, boil water, make the tea, drink it, wash up the things, sweep up the fire place, and put all to rights again in a less space of time, upon an average, than *two hours*. However, let us allow *one hour*; and here we have a woman occupied no less than three hundred and sixty-five hours in the year, or thirty whole days, at twelve hours in the day; that is to say, one month out of the twelve in the year, besides the waste of the man's time in hanging about waiting for the tea! Needs there any thing more to make us cease to wonder at seeing labourers' children with dirty linen and holes in the heels of their stockings? Observe, too, that the time thus spent is, one half of it, the best time of the day. It is the top of the morning, which, in every calling of life, contains an hour worth two or three hours of the afternoon. By the time that the clattering tea tackle is out of the way, the morning is spoiled; its prime is gone; and any work that is to be done afterwards lags heavily along. If the mother has to go out to work, the tea affair must all first be over. She comes into the field, in summer time, when the sun has gone a third part of his course. She has the heat of the day to encounter, instead of having her work done and being ready to return home at an early hour. Yet early she must go, too; for there is the fire again to be made, the clattering tea tackle again to come forward; and, even in the longest day she must

have *candle light*, which never ought to be seen in a cottage (except in case of illness) from March to September.' pp. 13–15.

His whole calculation is, that between eleven and twelve pounds a year are consumed by tea drinking; and he shows, that for between seven and eight pounds, the labourer may brew beer enough to drink two quarts a day in his family from October to March inclusive, three quarts in April and May, four quarts in June and September, and five quarts in July and August. The cost of brewing utensils is not more than the savings in the first year. When the poor man does not brew, but trusts to the alehouse, he must first drink such stuff as the brewers chuse that the publican shall sell; next, he must pay all the cost and profit of the brewer; then he must pay that of the publican, including his license stamp; and he must also pay nine or ten shillings a barrel beer duty, which is altogether saved by brewing at home, it being one part of the just and humane policy of our law, that the rich, who almost alone are the private brewers at present, should pay no duty upon the ale consumed by themselves and their pampered domestics, or at least only the malt-tax of 20s. a quarter, while the poor, who buy from the publican or the common brewer, must pay both that and the beer duty, or about 50s. a quarter. But the remedy is in the hands of the poor man. He has only to brew himself, and he obtains, free from all but the malt-tax, good strong ale, or excellent, palatable, refreshing small beer, with no considerable trouble, and at a most reasonable charge. We speak from what we know to have actually happened, when we say, that the directions for brewing, given in this little book, are such as to enable any person of ordinary understanding to do this. We know, that where brewing never succeeded before, and where there was no previous preparation from the habits of the people, as in the neighbourhood of great cities, the use of Mr Cobbett's instructions has enabled mere novices to attain complete success from the first.

It has been proposed in Parliament to throw open the retail trade in beer as the only effectual means of improving the quality of the liquor made by common brewers, and as equally conducive to the morals and comfort of the poor, by enabling them to buy beer without sending for it, or, as more frequently happens, going for it to the alehouse. By the supreme wisdom of our law (notoriously the perfection of human reason), the power of keeping an alehouse is confined to certain individuals selected by the Justices, to whom this is a most valuable branch of patronage, very liable, we fear, to be abused for political purposes. The pretext for this is the paternal care of the peo-

ple's morals, endangered by the multiplication of publick houses, inasmuch (it is sagely held) as a man will drink more when there are four alehouses within his reach, than when there are only two,—and more, for a like reason, we suppose, when there are four glasses upon a given table, than when there are only two; for certainly, whatever qualities the tippler may have, he is no more to be charged with ubiquity than with having several mouths; and a man capable of being in only one place at once can hardly be expected to benefit by the existence of several alehouses, more than a man endowed with a single mouth can avail himself of several cups at a time. However, be the reasoning sound or laughable on which the licensing system is built, its professed object is to keep men from the alehouse. Then comes the other branch of the law in the glory of its wisdom; and because consistency is a natural adjunct of perfect reason, it drives the poor to the alehouse, whether they will or no, by providing, that none but publicans shall sell beer by retail; innocently assuming, no doubt, that the poor labourer having gone to the alehouse to fetch a pot of beer, will stand there a model of stoical self-denial, with averted head, demanding his modicum of liquor, throwing his pence across the threshold, which he can on no account cross, and suddenly hurry back from the cheerful blaze, the jovial sounds, the perfumed atmosphere, which reign within, to consume his purchase in solitude, or under his own cottage roof. Why he should not be suffered to buy his pot of beer, as well as his loaf of bread, at a common shop, has never yet been explained. Indeed, not a shadow of a reason was urged against Mr Brougham's bill, except that the brewers would be injured by it; not that it was ever pretended that the law, absurd as it is, ever gave them, or that any one ever dreamt of their having, a monopoly, but only that arrangements having been made by the law for one purpose, the brewers had contrived to engraft a kind of monopoly on those arrangements. Perhaps the legislature may not continue to sanction so enormous an oppression of the poor, and so great a grievance to the distressed farmers, who suffer severely from the restricted consumption of barley, and the consequent impossibility of turning to that culture much land now unprofitably employed in attempts to raise wheat. A great good will result from the change; but, in the mean time, the poor have the remedy in their own hands; let them brew, and they at once get good and chep beer, as far as the cost of the manufacture goes, and save three parts in five of the tax, supposing no further reduction of it to be effected. An old and sensible farmer from Sussex, examined before the

Agricultural Committee, stated, that when he began business forty years ago, there was not a labourer's family that did not brew their own beer; and now there is not one that does, unless by chance the malt be given them.

We have thus shown how, for less than 8*l.* a year, a family may be well supplied with this most essential article; and as at the prices which make that easy, wages still amount to about 31*l.* a year for a single labourer; and as for thirteen or fourteen pounds more he can provide abundance of excellent bread, by baking for himself, the residue of his earnings, with what his wife can do, and the eldest of his children and himself at extra hours, should not only furnish plain clothing, but a little animal food to the whole family. The greater part of what remains of Mr Cobbett's work, is devoted to pointing out various resources by which the labourer and his family may extend their little gains, and, by honest industry and moderate skill, agreeably as well as usefully bestowed in hours of relaxation, both add to the fund from which their purchases are to be made, and supply them directly with meat of home growth. The most elaborate article is that on keeping cows; from whence he would make it appear, that, by a judicious planting of cabbages and turnips on a quarter of an acre, a cow may be kept. Into the details of this we cannot enter; but we fear that the calculations are run too near, when it is considered that the failure of any point involves the loss of the cow, and almost ruins the poor man. The advantage, however, is so great of accomplishing this object; the direct benefit to the family, from the produce of the butter, and the use of the skim-milk, is so valuable; and the moral effect of having so material a property, are so precious, that perhaps a sacrifice of part of the beer allotted, except in harvest time, might be well bestowed to obtain it.

The keeping of Pigs is inferior in importance to no other Chapter of this work. Of course, he advises the cottager not to breed himself, because too much care and expense is required in breeding the sow and the young farrow; and until four months old, and in the spring, the pig cannot be said to be safe. At this age and time, then, he should be bought. But we purpose to give Mr Cobbet's account of his treatment afterwards, as an excellent sample of the very entertaining style in which the whole book is written, and which may well interest and amuse those who never dreamt of reducing any of its rules to practice. We may premise, that the last anecdote, and the sarcasms suggested by it, are wholly for the meridian of America. As far as regards the good Methodists of this island, we are persuaded they will join in the laugh at this piece of wag-

gery of the author, having really nothing themselves to fear from any application of it.

'The cottager's pig should be bought in the spring, or late in winter; and, being then four months old, he will be a year old before killing time; for it should always be borne in mind, that this age is required in order to insure the greatest quantity of meat from a given quantity of food. If a hog be more than a year old, he is the better for it. The flesh is more solid and more nutritious than that of a young hog, much in the same degree that the mutton of a full-mouthed wether is better than that of a younger wether. The pork or bacon of young hogs, even if fatted on corn, is very apt to *boil out*, as they call it; that is to say, come out of the pot smaller in bulk than it goes in. When you begin to fat, do it by degrees, especially in the case of hogs under a year old. If you feed *high* all at once, the hog is apt to *surfeit*, and then a great loss of food takes place. Peas, or barley-meal, is the food; the latter rather the best, and does the work quicker. Make him *quite fat* by all means. The last bushel, even if he sit as he eats, is the most profitable. If he can walk two hundred yards at a time, he is not well-fatted. Lean bacon is the most wasteful thing that any family can use. In short, it is uneatable, except by drunkards, who want something to stimulate their sickly appetite. The man who cannot live on *solid fat* bacon, well fed and well cured, wants the sweet sauce of labour, or is fit for the hospital. But, then, it must be *bacon*, the effect of barley or peas (not beans) and not of whey, potatoes, or *messes* of any kind. It is frequently said, and I know that even farmers say it, that bacon, thus made, *costs more than it is worth!* Why do they take care to have it then? They know better. They know well, that it is the very *cheapest* they can have; and they, who look at both ends and both sides of every cost, would as soon think of shooting their hogs as of fatting them on *messes;* that is to say, for *their own use*, however willing they might now-and-then be to regale the Londoners with a bit of potatoe-pork.

'About *Christmas*, if the weather be coldish, is a good time to kill. If the weather be very mild, you may wait a little longer; for the hog cannot be too fat. The day before killing, he should have no food. To kill a hog nicely is so much of a business, that it is better to pay a shilling for having it done, than to stab and hack and tear the carcass about. I shall not speak of *pork;* for I would by no means recommend it. There are two ways of going to work to make bacon; in the one you take off the hair by *scalding*. This is the practice in most parts of England, and all over America. But the *Hampshire* way, and best way, is to *burn the hair off*. There is a great deal of difference in the consequences. The first method slackens the skin, opens all the pores of it, makes it loose and flabby, by drawing out the roots of the hair. The second tightens the skin in every part, contracts all the sinews and the veins in the skin, makes the flitch a

solider thing, and the skin a better protection to the meat. The taste of the meat is very different from that of a scalded hog; and to this chiefly it was that Hampshire bacon owed its reputation for excellence. As the hair is to be *burnt* off, it must be *dry*, and care must be taken, that the hog be kept on dry litter of some sort, the day previous to killing. When killed, he is laid upon a narrow bed of straw, not wider than his carcass, and only two or three inches thick. He is then covered all over thinly with straw, to which, according as the wind may be, the fire is put at one end. As the straw burns, it burns the hair. It requires two or three coverings and burnings, and care is taken, that the skin be not, in any part, burnt or parched. When the hair is all burnt off close, the hog is *scraped* clean, but never touched with *water*. The upper side being finished, the hog is turned over, and the other side is treated in like manner. This work should always be done *before day-light*; for, in the day-light, you cannot so nicely discover whether the hair be sufficiently burnt off. The light of the fire is weakened by that of the day. Besides, it makes the boys get up very early for once at any rate, and that is something; for boys always like a bonfire.

'The *inwards* are next taken out, and, if the wife be not a slattern, here, in the mere offal, in the mere garbage, there is food, and delicate food too, for a large family for a week; and hogs-puddings for the children, and some for neighbours' children who come to play with them; for these things are by no means to be overlooked, seeing that they tend to the keeping alive of that affection in children for their parents, which later in life will be found absolutely necessary to give effect to wholesome precept, especially when opposed to the boisterous passions of youth.

'The butcher, the next day, cuts the hog up; and then the house is *filled with meat!* Souse, griskins, blade-bones, thigh-bones, spare-ribs, chines, belly-pieces, cheeks, all coming into use one after the other, and the last of the latter not before the end of about four or five weeks. But, about this time, it is more than possible, that the Methodist parson will pay you a visit. It is remarked in America, that these gentry are attracted by the squeaking of the pigs, as the fox is by the cackling of the hen. This may be slander; but I will tell you what I did know to happen. A good, honest, careful fellow, had a spare-rib, on which he intended to sup with his family, after a long and hard day's work at coppicing. Home he came at dark with his two little boys, each with a nitch of wood that they had carried four miles, cheered with the thought of the repast that awaited them. In he went, found his wife, the Methodist parson, and a whole troop of the sisterhood, engaged in prayer, and on the table lay scattered the clean-polished bones of the spare-rib! Can any reasonable creature believe, that, to save the soul, God requires us to give up the food necessary to sustain the body! Did Saint Paul preach this! He, who, while he spread the Gospel abroad, *worked himself*, in order to have to give to those who were unable to work? Upon what, then, do

these modern Saints, these Evangelical gentlemen, found their claim to live on the labour of others?' pp. 148–153.

The concluding chapter of the book is devoted to a variety of matters, each less important, indeed, than those already discussed, but all of them deserving the utmost attention, because all enlarging the resources of the poor. These are the care of bees, geese, ducks, turkeys, and fowls; pigeons, rabbits, goats, and ewes; the making of rush-lights; the growing of mustard; the management of dress, furniture and fuel; and an excellent receipt for making yeast. The rearing of some of the animals now enumerated, he says, may not be attended with *much* profit, as of pigeons and rabbits; but they are pleasing from their beauty or their domestic manners, and are objects of delight to children, to whom they give early habits of fondness for animals, and of setting a value on them, which he very wisely considers as most important.

'A very considerable part of all the *property* of a nation consists of animals. Of course a proportionate part of the cares and labours of a people appertain to the breeding and bringing to perfection those animals; and, if you consult your experience, you will find, that a labourer is, generally speaking, of value in proportion as he is worthy of being intrusted with the care of animals. The most careless fellow cannot *hurt* a hedge or ditch; but, to trust him with the *team*, or the *flock*, is another matter. And, mind, for the *man* to be trust-worthy in this respect, the *boy* must have been in the *habit* of being kind and considerate towards animals; and nothing is so likely to give him that excellent habit as his seeing, from his very birth, animals taken great care of, and treated with great kindness by his parents, and now and then having a little thing *to call his own.*' p. 186.

Agreeing entirely in these sentiments, we must add that one other reason why we prize such early habits in children is, their tendency to soften and improve the character. Every thing that counteracts the harshness apt to be engendered by a hard life in the poorer classes, becomes of the greatest value, and should be cherished by the sagacious moralist all the more, because the legislator is so shamefully prone to neglect it, and, indeed, rather to combine with want and toil in extinguishing the softer feelings of our nature. It must not, however, be supposed, that no gain arises from even the humblest of these occupations; it is rather surprising to find them so valuable, even on the score of mere profit—thus, from four rabbits (three does and a buck), which really cost nothing to keep, there may be obtained 120 rabbits a year, or a dish of meat once in three days. A remark as sensible as those just cited, and on a subject which our author always readily steps aside to inculcate,

here occurs. This, says he, is a much larger quantity of food than any man will get by spending half his time in the pursuit of *wild* animals, to say nothing of the toil, the tearing of clothes, and the danger of pursuing the latter.

We close our account of the contents of this volume, by extracting the receipt for yeast; with this view, that a diffusion of it may emancipate some persons from the thraldom of the common brewer, always galling, and, with their new-fangled pretensions, becoming hardly bearable. Poor people who bake are very often, as we know, in country places, obliged to buy their beer instead of brewing, because they are refused yeast if they do not deal with the brewer, or his creature the publican. Yet the means of providing this article are so simple, that any one who can bake can at once supply herself with it for a year.

'In Long Island they make *yeast cakes.* A parcel of these cakes is made *once a year.* That is often enough. And, when you bake, you take one of these cakes (or more, according to the bulk of the batch), and with them raise your bread. The very best bread I ever eat in my life was lightened with these cakes.

'The materials for a good batch of cakes are as follows: 3 ounces of good fresh Hops; 3½ pounds of Rye-Flour; 7 pounds of Indian Corn Meal; and one Gallon of water.—Rub the hops, so as to separate them. Put them into the water, which is to be boiling at the time. Let them boil half an hour. Then strain the liquor through a fine sieve into an earthen vessel. While the liquor is hot, put in the Rye-Flour; stirring the liquor well, and quickly as the Rye-Flour goes into it. The day after, when it is working, put in the Indian-Meal, stirring it well as it goes in. Before the Indian-Meal be all in, the mess will be very stiff; and it will, in fact, be *dough*, very much of the consistence of the dough that bread is made of.—Take this dough; knead it well, as you would for *pie-crust.* Roll it out with a rolling-pin, as you roll out pie-crust, to the thickness of about a third of an inch. When you have it (or a part of it at a time) rolled out, cut it up into cakes with a tumbler-glass turned upside-down, or with something else that will answer the same purpose. Take a clean board (a *tin* may be better), and put the cakes *to dry in the sun.* Turn them every day; let them receive *no wet*; and they will become as hard as ship biscuit. Put them in a bag, or box, and keep them in a place *perfectly free from damp.*—When you bake, take two cakes, of the thickness above-mentioned, and about 8 inches in diameter; put them in hot water, *over-night*, having cracked them first. Let the vessel containing them stand near the fire-place all night. They will dissolve by the morning, and then you use them in setting your sponge (as it is called) precisely as you would use the yeast of beer.' pp. 201, 202.

Note, that white pea-meal, or barley-meal, will do as well as Indian-meal.

We trust that none of our readers will think we have bestowed too much space upon these topics. Let it be remembered, that after procuring raiment and shelter, almost the whole time and attention of the bulk of the people in every community, is of necessity devoted to the procuring sustenance, that their comfort depends exactly on the greater or less degree of abundance, and the better or worse quality in which this sustenance is obtained. Whatever therefore, by how little soever an addition, enables them to increase its quantity, and mend its composition, brings a solid improvement to their condition, and helps the great business of their whole lives. The points to which the book before us directs their attention, are of the greater importance, because no cultivation of the economy recommended can be attended with the counteracting check which follows close behind so many other improvements in the labour of the poor, a fall of their wages. Whoever should teach the reaper to do his work in half the time, would at the same time teach the farmer to give him half the wages, nay, a general practice of working farm work two or three hours extra would not increase his hire, but he will receive as much wages if he industriously brews and bakes, and tends useful animals at by hours, as if he consumed these and his earnings together, at the alehouse. Nor do we even see, in their remote influence upon population, any risk from the utmost attention that can be bestowed upon the cares and contrivances in question. On the contrary, the prudent, regular, and virtuous habits connected with them, are likely rather to restrain than to encourage improvident connexions.

Anxious, then, that the full benefit of such instructions should be communicated to the poor, we most earnestly exhort all persons in easy circumstances, who live in the country, and such as superintend the concerns of their poorer neighbours in towns, to diffuse the knowledge of the subject among the labouring classes. A present is better than a lecture; at least it makes a most excellent accompaniment to one. Let them distribute these little books; and if one or two of the remarks on Methodists offend, or are likely to prevent the perusal from doing the good it ought, let them either draw their pen through those few lines, or tell the persons to whom they are giving the book, that Mr Cobbett has prejudices on that score, from some instances he has perhaps observed of hypocrisy; and, that they may pass on to the rest of the book. We could indeed wish Mr C. himself to remove this difficulty, and perhaps one or two more, of which a word presently. All the passages alluded to would not fill one page.

Our next hope is, that the affluent would bestow their bounty always in such a way as to improve the receivers more permanently than too many at present think of doing. Clothing and medicine, distributed judiciously in the inclement season, is unexceptionable; when the poor are actually in want of food, no one can object to giving supplies of it. But of what real service is it (except to make a figure in newspaper paragraphs) for Lord this, or Squire that, to give so many fat beeves and barrels of strong ale to the cottagers of his villages, and so many messes that may be cooked into plumb-puddings, or mince pies? The money thus lavished in a single meal, perhaps an intemperate one, would be most usefully employed, and render the poor people a lasting service, if given in the form of baking, or brewing apparatus, or other household utensils, or of domestic animals provided at the proper season. Give a cottager's family one or two hearty Christmas dinners of beef, pudding, and beer or spirits; they are none the better for it four and twenty hours after, only (which is certainly something) they have had the jollity of the day. But give them a pig, of a good kind and in the right season; you add to their comforts for perhaps half the year, lend them the stimulus of property to exertion and good conduct, ensure them many days jollity of a better kind, at the slaughtering, and probably put them in circumstances to want no similar gift the next year, and to let your bounty go to some other quarter, where it may produce as good effects. There is another easy way of benefiting the poor without any expense, which ought never to be lost sight of; they may be assisted in acquiring some of the knowledge and skill in domestic matters, by the example of their wealthier neighbours. A number of things in gardening, cookery, brewing, baking, rearing of animals, &c. which cannot easily be taught by written instructions, may, in a very short time, be imparted by actually witnessing the operations in question.

We consider it to be, also, highly expedient that lessons such as those to which we have been adverting in this article, should be multiplied and extended. Mr Cobbett has done much good service; but much remains to be added; and we are not without hopes that he will himself carry his plan further. We shall shortly point out a few subjects of great importance.

Various little branches of industry, particularly spinning and knitting stockings, to be performed by the women who do not go a-field, and even in the evenings by those who do, as well as by children who are too young to work at all, and those who

are unable to work a full day's work. Indeed we see nothing, except the ridicule of the thing, to prevent men from passing the long evenings of winter in these occupations, which neither fatigue the body nor mind. But one thing ought always to accompany such work; while the rest of the family are engaged, one should, by turns, read to the workers. This is an arrangement practised in many towns with great success, and is applicable to every stationary trade not attended with noise.

Cookery is an art of first-rate importance to the poor, both as regards the power of economizing food, and of bettering its flavour. Nor is any nation less beholden to its resources than ourselves. Only see from how little a bit of meat, and how small an addition of vegetables, a Frenchman will make a comfortable and highly palatable dish, rendering every part of the bread, which forms the staple of his meal, savoury and agreeable. This is something at all times; in cold or wet weather, it is still more important; and it moreover enables the housewife to save many a piece of skin, gristle, and even meat, now wasted from want of skill. Some plain rules for such cookery, particularly for preparing what the French call a *pot-au-feu*, in which very slow boiling, or stewing on a small fire, is the principal matter, would be a most useful present to the poor; and a little practical lesson from a rich neighbour's cook or kitchen-maid, would be here of great service. Agreeing with Mr Cobbett, generally, as to the bad effects of vegetables, that is, of turning the labouring classes to a vegetable diet, and especially to one of potatoes, we conceive that the cultivation of a few greens, peas, and pot-herbs, is an advantage, but that the most beneficial method by far of using them, and the most economical, is in the way just now hinted at.

The last point of this kind to which we shall advert is by far the most important, we mean the economy of Fuel. In all cold countries, but especially in those which are as wet as ours, full half the health, strength, and comfort of the poor, is involved in that word. We might say a good deal more; but to the extent of half it clearly goes. Compare only the looks, either for health or expression of cheerfulness, of the cottagers, taking every age, in countries where coal is plentiful, and where they burn faggots, you would think they lived at least twice as well; and in fact so it is, though they may eat, and probably do, a good deal less; for warmth makes the meal go much further, and renders the want of it far less pinching. In wet weather, above all, and that is half the year, but especially in cold wet, which is above a third part of it, nothing can be more deplorable than the lot of labourers straitened in the means of

drying their clothes. Exercise may keep the body in tolerable heat; but the clothes, of which they have no change, can hardly ever be well dried for weeks at a time. And of the state of a cottage without fire, in a cold and long evening, nothing more needs be said than Mr Cobbett has written in his remarks on the necessity of providence in laying up fuel before the weather breaks.

'Fire is a capital article. To have no fire, or a bad fire, to sit by, is a most dismal thing. In such a state, man and wife must be something out of the common way to be in good humour with each other, to say nothing of colds, and other ailments which are the natural consequence of such misery. If we suppose the great Creator to condescend to survey his works in detail, what object can be so pleasing to him as that of the labourer, after his return from the toils of a cold winter day, sitting with his wife and children round a cheerful fire, while the wind whistles in the chimney and the rain pelts the roof? But, of all God's creation, what is so miserable to behold or to think of as a wretched, half-starved family, creeping to their nest of flocks or straw, there to lie shivering, till sent forth by the fear of absolutely expiring from want?' p. 199.

Now, some fuel must at all events be laid up by the cottager; but we would fain draw his attention, and that of persons who can instruct him, to the means of economizing it. We believe there is no cold country where so much is wasted, and so little contrivance is used in making it go far. Count Rumford's improvement, of contracting chimneys and throwing the fire forward into the room, has been of some service; but it is extremely inadequate to meet the evil. What we anxiously recommend is the use of Stoves. Of the efficacy and economy of these no one can doubt, who has either seen them used, or reflects upon their principle. All that is required is, that the windows and doors should be tight (and any thing that teaches so easy an improvement is of itself a benefit); and then the stove, being lighted twice a day, in the morning and evening, and the damper let down when the fire is quite burnt out, the apartment contains a body of heated air, so that every part of it is equally warm, instead of the stations near the fire being like a furnace, and those a few feet from it like a cellar, as must happen in cold weather, with the fire of an open chimney. In very cold countries, the use of stoves is necessary, because our mode of heating rooms would have no effect in subduing the rigour of the climate—and their *universal* adoption in such places is a complete answer to any objection from the difficulty or expense of erecting them. Double windows may there be required; but we should think that here the heat might be retained with a single frame; though the great saving of fuel

would well repay the additional glass. To heat the stove in the morning might not always be necessary, unless when there were young children to remain in the house: but it might be lit at the dinner hour, and the dinner cooked at the same time; and another heating, but a much shorter one, before night-fall, would be sufficient to receive the labourer after his work, and

'To warm him, late returned from field at eve.'

We have no manner of doubt that, if ingenious men turn their attention to this subject (and a more important one there is not), with a view of ascertaining the cheapest construction, combining an attention to the comfort of the room, the facility of a little simple cookery, and the convenience of drying clothes, a plan may be devised, perfectly suited to the climate as well as the habits of the people, and the adoption of which, in most parts of the country, but especially in those where coals abound not, will operate a greater change in the comforts of the poor than has been introduced within the memory of man.

Another field, far too extensive to be here even glanced at, is opened, by reflecting how cruelly the folly and rapacity of many of our laws now press upon the poor. Some half dozen alterations might be easily made, without changing anything that can be called parts of the system, or injuring even any considerable portion of our golden deity, revenue, to which so many sacrifices are made;—alterations which would be felt as blessings in every cottage throughout the country. But we know this is forbidden ground. To change is acknowledging that things were not in a state of perfection before, and our rulers cannot bear to think of such condescension. We, therefore, are confining our attention to improvements which may be urged by sensible persons, in easy circumstances, among their neighbours, without any aid from the Government or the Legislature. And we now close our suggestions with recommending the labouring classes to the more particular attention of literary men, who may well devote somewhat more of their time to instructing them in their duties, never forgetting their rights. Works of amusement let them have by all means; but we look also to what they, God be praised, have learnt to think more essential, the hard food of useful instruction. Many excellent works are too costly and too voluminous for the labouring man's purse and time; many of them abound in matter abstruse to him, and which a little familiar explanation would render intelligible and interesting. No man can be more worthily employed than by preparing cheap editions, or abridgments of these, accompanied with explanations and reflexions suited to the times we live in. Very far, indeed, from us, be the vile, pitiful cant, of excepting politicks from these publications. On the contrary, we expressly

mean to say, that there is no one subject so important, even to the poorest man alive, after the wants of the returning day have been provided for. We trust, then, that the publications in question will very generally be of a political caste; and that the commentaries upon the events and the wisdom of former times will always bear an immediate reference to the events and the WISDOM of the present day; never, for an instant, losing sight of the fundamental maxim of our Constitution, that the poor man has a right to make his voice heard in the management of public affairs, and to join in keeping a check over those who are intrusted with the national concerns.

This last topic leads us, before concluding, to express our regret, that Mr Cobbett should have interspersed his excellent book with some remarks neither well founded, nor consistent with the general tone of it, in disparagement of education. He undervalues sending children to school, and holds, that the true education for a labourer's child is to teach him to labour, steadily, carefully, skilfully,—to do as many useful things as possible,—and to make industry, sobriety and cleanliness, habitual. Who can doubt this? But is it at all inconsistent with sending them to school, and, beside all those things which they may acquire by example, giving them the means of learning a variety of other matters extremely useful to them, and improving both to their characters and understandings? Indeed, the best answer to such remarks (which the author does not, after all, dwell upon) is to remind him, that the very benefits to be derived from his own instructions, in the most practical details of a cottage's economy, can only be reaped, by those he addresses, through the very acquirement of reading, which he is disparaging.

Moreover, we have a word to say upon the old topic, so great a favourite with this writer, his invectives against Mr Malthus, founded entirely upon the misunderstanding of that virtuous and enlightened man's principles. For, after all, Mr Cobbett is nowise at variance with him. His whole advice to the poor, is to preserve their independence, by industry, and economy, and skill; to buy nothing they cannot pay for; to live honestly, by their own means, and not thievishly upon others; to trust to their own exertions, and not rely upon the parish dole. With these principles constantly inculcated to them, in the ordinary affairs of life, would he have them discard all prudence, providence, independence of spirit, and honesty of dealing, in the most important transaction of their whole existence, and rush into a connexion, which at least doubles, and, probably, will increase five or six fold all their wants, without once considering how those augmented demands are to be satisfied? Cer-

tainly not,—must be the answer. A man is still less justified in making an improvident marriage than an improvident bargain, because it is worse to have a family whom you cannot support than to contract a debt which you can with difficulty pay. But then, if Mr Cobbett admits this, he and Mr Malthus are agreed; for it is utterly untrue that Mr Malthus ever dreamt of any other voluntary checks to population, and no one who has read his works can fancy it. Nay, we think Mr Cobbett has gone a good deal further than Mr Malthus (though not at all further than is correctly true), in handling this subject; as where he says, that if a labouring man 'have more than four children, some of them ought to be doing something,' p. 57. Mr Malthus never carried his anxiety as to children further than the marriage contract. He seems to have thought (as will certainly, in most cases, happen), that the marriage once made, children must come as they may. But Mr Cobbett seems to go a good way beyond this degree of providence and moral restraint; otherwise, how is a labouring man to comply with the rule of having only four young children at once? If the husband and wife live together, the chances are, that they will have six or seven before any one is capable of helping in any way. Does he then mean that they ought not to live together? This may be very right; it may be a rigorous derivation, for any thing we know, from the principle, carried to the extremity of its application. But let it be remarked, that the inference is not made by Mr Malthus, nor is any thing like such a check ever contemplated by him.

Last of all, we do wish that Mr Cobbett would extend the usefulness of his books for the poor, by leaving out those flings at Methodists, to which we have already alluded—and which only tend to shut many a door against wholesome instruction, at which it would otherwise be sure of entering. We also differ with him wholly upon the utility of religious tracts distributed among the poor, always assuming, that these shall not be of the base or ludicrous kind, which some silly persons, and some designing ones, try to disseminate, and, making it one condition of our approval, that other mental nourishment shall be freely administered also. We are by no means so bigotted as to require, that he should tack portions of theological instruction to his Cottage Economy. But on his part we request a like concession; and entreat him to avoid the disputed matters, both on Education, Methodism, and Tracts, and send out his lessons without a clog, which must obstruct their course. We heartily join with him in a pursuit which we firmly believe is calculated to better the condition of the people, to raise their character, and to increase their weight in the country;—and we are truly desirous that so momentous a concern should experience no hinderance.

ART. VI. *An Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture; with an Historical View of the Rise and Progress of the Art in Greece.* By GEORGE, EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T. &c. London, Murray. 1822.

IT is observed by Madame de Staël, 'that Architecture is the only art which approaches, in its effects, to the works of Nature;' and there are few, we believe, who have not at some period of their lives felt the truth of the observation. The cathedral of York, the dome of St Paul's, or the interior of St Peter's, are scarcely classed in our recollection with the glories of human creation; and the impression which they produce, is less akin to admiration of the talent of an artist, than to the awe and veneration which the traveller feels when he first enters the defiles of the Alps.

It has often been a matter of regret to persons of taste in this country, that an art, so magnificent in its monuments, and so powerful in its effect, has been so little the object of popular cultivation; nor is it perhaps easy to understand, how a people so much alive to the grand and the beautiful in the other departments of taste, should so long have remained insensible to the attractions of one of its most interesting branches. Many causes have, doubtless, conspired to produce this effect; but among these, the principal, we are persuaded, is to be found in the absence of any *monuments of approved excellence* to form the taste, and excite the admiration of the Public. And, in this respect, there is an important distinction, which is often overlooked, between architecture and the other departments of art or literature.

In poetry, painting, or sculpture, the great works of former times are in every body's hands; and the public taste has long ago been formed on the study of those remains of ancient genius, which still continue, notwithstanding the destruction of the people who gave them birth, to govern the imagination of succeeding ages. The poetry of Virgil, and the eloquence of Cicero, form the first objects to which the education of the young is directed; the designs of Raphael and Correggio have been multiplied, by the art of engraving, to almost as great an extent as the classical authors; and casts at least, of the Apollo and the Venus, are familiar to every person who has paid the smallest attention to the beauty of the human form. It is on the *habitual* study of these works that the public taste has been formed; and the facility of engraving and printing has extended our acquaintance with their excellences, almost as far as knowledge or education have extended in the world.

But with architecture, the case is widely different. Public edifices cannot be published and circulated with the same facility as an edition of Virgil, or a print of Claude Lorrain. To copy or restore such monuments, requires an expenditure of capital, and an exertion of skill, almost as great as their original construction. Nations must be far advanced in wealth and attainment before such costly undertakings can be attempted. And if the superstition of an earlier age has produced structures of astonishing magnitude and genius, they are of a kind which, however venerable or imposing, are not calculated to have the same effect in chastening the public taste, with those which arose in that auspicious period when all the finer powers of the mind had attained their highest exaltation. It thus unfortunately happens, that architecture cannot share in the progress which the other fine arts are continually making from the circulation and study of the works of antiquity; and successive nations are often obliged to begin anew the career which their predecessors have run, and fall inevitably into the errors which they had learned to avoid.

The possibility of multiplying drawings or engravings of the edifices of antiquity, or of informing distant nations of their proportions and dimensions, has but little tendency to obviate this disadvantage. Experience has shown, that the best drawings convey no sort of conception of architectural grandeur, or of the means by which it is produced. To those, indeed, who have seen the originals, such engravings are highly valuable, because they awaken and renew the impression which the edifices themselves have made; but to those who have not had this advantage, they speak an unknown language. This is matter of common observation; and there is no traveller who has returned from Greece or Italy, who will not confirm its truth. It is as impossible to convey a conception of the exterior of the Parthenon, or the interior of St Peter's, by the finest drawings accompanied by the most accurate statement of their dimensions, as to give the inhabitants of a level country, a true sense of the sublimity of the Alps, by exhibiting a drawing of the snowy peaks of Mont Blanc, and informing him of its altitude according to the latest trigonometrical observations.

Even if drawings could convey a conception of the original structures, the taste for this art is so extremely limited, that it could have but little effect in obviating the disadvantage of their remote situation. There is not one person in a hundred, who ever looks at a drawing, or if he does, is capable of deriving the smallest pleasure from the finest productions of that branch of art. To be reduced to turn over a portfolio of engravings,

is proverbially spoken of as the most wretched of all occupations in a drawing-room; and it is no uncommon thing to see the productions of Claude, or Poussin, or Williams, abounding in all the riches of architectural ornament, passed over without the slightest indication of emotion, by persons of acknowledged taste in other respects. And yet the same individuals, who are utterly insensible to architectural excellence in this form, could not avoid acquiring a certain taste for its beauties, if they were the subject of *habitual* observation, in edifices at home, or obtruded upon their attention in the course of foreign travelling.

Besides this, the architect is exposed to insurmountable difficulties, if the cultivation of those around him has not kept pace with his own, and if they are incapable of feeling the beauty of the edifices on which his taste has been formed. It is to no purpose that his *own taste* may have been improved by studying the ruins of Athens or Rome; unless the taste of *his employers* has undergone a similar amelioration, his genius will remain dormant, and his architectural drawings be suffered to lie in unnoticed obscurity in the recesses of his portfolio. The architect, it should always be remembered, cannot erect edifices as the poet writes verses, or the painter covers his canvass, without any external assistance. A great expenditure of capital is absolutely essential to the production of any considerable specimen of his art:—and therefore, unless he can communicate his own enthusiasm to the wealthy, and unless a growing desire for architectural embellishments is sufficient to overcome the inherent principle of parsimony, or the interested views of individuals, or the jealousy of public bodies, he will never have an opportunity of displaying his genius, or all his attempts will be thwarted by persons incapable of appreciating it. And unfortunately the talents of no artist, how great soever, can effect such a revolution; it can be brought about only by the *continued observation of beautiful edifices*, and the diffusion of a taste for the art, among *all the well educated classes of the people.*

The states of antiquity lay so immediately in the vicinity of each other, that the progress of architecture was uninterrupted; and thus people of each nation formed their taste by the study of the structures of those to whom they lay adjacent. The Athenians, in particular, in raising the beautiful edifices which have so long been the admiration of the world, proceeded entirely upon the model of the buildings by which they were surrounded, and the Temple of Jupiter Panthellenicus in the Island of Ægina, which is said to have been built by Æacus before

the Trojan War, remains to this day to testify the species of edifices on which their national taste was formed. The Ionic order, as its name denotes, arose in the wealthy regions of Asia Minor; and when the Athenians turned their attention to the embellishment of their city, they had, in their immediate vicinity, edifices capable of pointing out the excellences of that beautiful style. The Romans formed their taste upon the architecture of the people whom they had subdued, and adopted all their orders from the Grecian structures. Their early temples were exactly similar to those of their masters in the art of design; and when the national taste was formed upon that model, they combined them, as real genius will, into different forms, and left the Colyseum and the baths of Dioclesian as monuments of the grandeur and originality of their conceptions.

In modern times the restoration of taste first began around the edifices of antiquity. 'On the revival of the art in Italy,' says Lord Aberdeen, 'during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the great architects who adorned that country naturally looked for instruction to the monuments with which they were surrounded,—the wrecks and fragments of Imperial Rome. These were not only successfully imitated, but sometimes even surpassed by the Italian artists; for Bramanti and Michael Angelo, Palladio and Bernini, designed and executed works which, although of unequal merit, may fairly challenge a comparison with the boasted productions of the Augustan age.' Italy and France, accordingly, have reaped the full advantage of their local proximity to the monuments of former genius; and the character of their buildings evinces a decided superiority to the works of architects in other states.

In the south of Europe, therefore, the progress of architecture has been uninterrupted, and each successive age has reaped the full benefit which the works of those which preceded it was fitted to confer. But the remoteness of their situation has deprived the inhabitants of the north of Europe of this advantage; and, while the revival of letters and the arts has developed the taste of the people of this country, in other respects, to a very great degree, their knowledge of architecture is yet in its infancy. In this city the most remarkable proofs of this deficiency were annually exhibited till a very recent period. The same age which was illustrated by the genius of Sir Walter Scott, and Campbell, and Dugald Stewart, witnessed the erection of Nelson's Monument and St George's Church.

The extraordinary improvement in the public taste, which has taken place since the peace of 1814 opened the Continent to so large a proportion of our population, evinces, in the most

unequivocal manner, the influence of the *actual sight* of fine models in training the mind to the perception of architectural beauty. That architecture is greatly more an object both of study and interest than it was ten years ago, is matter of common observation; and the most convincing proof of the extension of a taste for its excellences is to be found in the rapid increase and extensive circulation of engravings of the most interesting ruins on the Continent, which has taken place of late years. These engravings, however incapable of conveying an adequate idea of the originals to those who have never left this country, yet serve as an admirable auxiliary to the memory, in retaining the impression which they had produced on those who have had that advantage; and, accordingly, their sale is almost entirely confined to persons of that description.

Nor is the improvement less gratifying in the style of the edifices, and the genius of the architects who have arisen during that period. The Churches of Marybone and St Pancras in London, notwithstanding some striking defects, are by far the finest buildings which have been raised in the metropolis since the days of Sir Christopher Wren. The new street in front of Carlton House, including the Quadrant, contains some most beautiful specimens of architecture, although the absurd rage for novelty has disfigured it by other structures of extraordinary deformity. The buildings which adjoin, and look into the Regent Park, are the most chaste and elegant examples of the application of the Grecian architecture to private edifices; which the metropolis can boast. Nor is the improvement less conspicuous in our own capital, where the vicinity of freestone quarries of uncommon beauty, and the advantages of an unrivalled situation, have excited a very strong desire for architectural embellishment. It is hardly possible to believe that Waterloo Place, the Royal Terrace, Leopold Place, and the Melville Monument, have been erected in the same age which witnessed the building of Lord Nelson's Monument on the Calton Hill, or the recent edifices in the Parliament Square. The remarkable start which the genius as well as taste of our architects has taken since the public attention was drawn to this art, affords a striking proof of the influence of popular encouragement in fostering the conceptions of native genius, and illustrates the hopelessness of expecting that our artists will ever attain to excellence, when the taste of the people does not keep pace with their exertions.

But the causes which have recently given so remarkable a stimulus to architectural exertion are *temporary* in their nature. It is impossible to expect that the Continent will always be

open to our youth, or that the public attention can be permanently directed to the arts of peace, with the interest which is so remarkable at this time. Other wars may arise which will shut us out from the south of Europe; the interest of politics may again withdraw the national attention from the fine arts; or the war of extermination, of which Greece is now the theatre, may utterly destroy those monuments which have so long survived to direct or improve the world. From the present aspect of affairs on the Continent, there seems every reason to apprehend, that one or both of these effects may very soon take place. These circumstances render it the more desirable, that some steps should be taken to *fix* in this Island the fleeting perception of architectural beauty which is now prevalent, and, if possible, render our people independent of foreign travelling, or of the borrowed aid of foreign edifices.

Lord Aberdeen, like all other travellers of taste, speaks in the highest terms of the impression produced by the unrivalled edifices of ancient Greece; and contrasts the pure and faultless taste by which they are distinguished, with the ephemeral productions which in modern times have arisen, in the vain attempt to improve upon their proportions.

'If we seek for the manifestation of pure taste in the monuments that surround us, our search will but too often prove fruitless. We must turn our eyes towards those regions,

> Where, on the Egean shore, a city stands,
> Built nobly!

Here,—it has been little understood, for it has been rarely felt; its country is Greece,—its throne, the acropolis of Athens.

'By a person writing on the subject of architecture, the name of Athens can scarcely be pronounced without emotion; and, in the mind of one who has had the good fortune to examine at leisure its glorious remains, impressions are revived, which time and distance can never obliterate. It is difficult to resist the desire of fondly dwelling on the description of monuments, to the beauty of which, although they have been long well known, and accurately described, we feel that no language can do full justice. But, as it is not the purpose of this Inquiry to give those practical or detailed instructions in the art, which may be so much better obtained from other sources, I will only observe in this place, what it is of consequence to keep in view, because no descriptions or representations, however accurate, can give adequate notions of the effect of the originals, that, notwithstanding the lapse of ages, the injuries of barbarism, and of fanatical violence, Athens still presents to the student the most faultless models of ornamental architecture; and is still, therefore, the best school for the acquisition of the highest attributes of his art.' pp. 35, 36.

Speaking of the numerous attempts at novelty, which have been made in modern times, he observes,

'It may be observed in general, that few of those numerous changes of taste which an insatiable desire of novelty, or the caprice of fashion, may have sanctioned for a time, have been ultimately successful; for these ephemeral productions, however warmly supported, have been found successively to vanish before the steady and permanent attractions of Grecian beauty; and we shall probably feel disposed to admit, that the ornamental details of the standard models of antiquity, combined and modified by discretion and judgment, appear to offer a sufficient variety for the exercise of invention and genius in this province of the art.' p. 30.

And comparing these with the remains of Grecian architecture, he observes,

'The precious remains of Grecian art were long neglected; and the most beautiful were, in truth, nearly inaccessible to the Christian world. It is almost in our own time that obstacles, formerly insurmountable, have been first vanquished; and that the treasures of art, still unfortunately in the custody of ignorance and barbarism, have not only been visited, but have been accurately measured and delineated. Henceforth, therefore, these exquisite remains should form the chief study of the architect who aspires to permanent reputation; other modes are transitory and uncertain, but the essential qualities of Grecian excellence, as they are founded on reason, and are consistent with fitness and propriety, will ever continue to deserve his first care.' pp. 215, 216.

A sense of the truth and justice of these observations has produced a very general desire, in both ends of the Island, to *restore* some one of the great models of antiquity in this country, in a situation where it might be universally accessible, and have its due weight in the improvement of the public taste. Such an opportunity lately presented itself, in consequence of the subscription formed for the erection of a NATIONAL MONUMENT at Edinburgh; and it has been eagerly embraced by a number of persons interested in the progress of art in this country. The design of these gentlemen is to restore the Parthenon of Athens on the Calton Hill; and, as the project has not only been much canvassed in both ends of the Island, but made the subject of an application for Parliamentary assistance, and as it is fraught with such important consequences as to be a matter of national interest, we trust we shall be forgiven for introducing a few observations on the reasons which have led to its adoption, and the consequences which it is likely to produce.

These REASONS are chiefly the following.

The subscribers in Edinburgh have a limited sum only at

their disposal. Forty thousand pounds is the utmost which, by the greatest exertions, they can hope to realize. With so small a sum it is in vain to aim at distinction in any of the ordinary styles of architecture. If the Gothic be adopted, the unapproachable grandeur of the English cathedrals will sink their edifice at once into insignificance and contempt. If the Corinthian or Ionic style be selected, and a church in the modern form be made the model of the edifice, the splendour of St Peter's or St Paul's will entirely obscure the structure in this metropolis; and it will be the boast of the Italians, that every provincial town in their country contains more costly structures than the National Monument of Scotland. But the Parthenon could be restored on the Calton Hill for 40,000*l.* By adopting the Doric temple, therefore, and by that measure *alone*, is it in the power of the Subscribers to compensate the disadvantages of a narrow kingdom and a barren soil; and, by placing the Temple of Athens on the Acropolis of Edinburgh, to confer a distinction on this city which no southern capital can boast, though adorned by the riches of kingdoms ten times our superiors in extent, population, and resources.

Edinburgh presents, in the most remarkable manner, the *means* of carrying this project into execution. The freestone in its vicinity is equal, in texture and durability, to the marble of Pentelicus, of which the Parthenon was formed; and the expense of erecting such an edifice would not, in consequence, be one-tenth of what would be incurred in London. Alone, of all the European capitals, this city contains a rocky eminence, precisely similar to that on which the Parthenon stands; and offers a finer situation for the display of the peculiar beauties of the Grecian temple, than even the Acropolis, which its able authors selected as peculiarly adapted for that purpose.

By erecting the Parthenon on the Calton Hill, and faithfully adhering to the architecture of the original, it is *quite certain* that a splendid edifice will be produced. The original has stood the test of public admiration for above 2000 years, and is still regarded as unique, both in the grandeur of its conception, and the delicacy of its execution. The great skill of the stone-masons in this city, and the success with which they have recently imitated the most delicate carving, both in the Grecian and the Gothic style, furnish the best ground for hoping that they will be equally fortunate in carrying this design into execution, and that the restoration of the Grecian edifice could never have been attempted, in modern times, in more favourable circumstances. But any original design is subject to *uncertainty* in its effect; and, without undervaluing the genius of

modern artists, it may well be doubted whether any new structure is likely to equal the effect of the work of Phidias. It is no doubt *possible* that an original design, more beautiful than the Parthenon, may be formed; just as it is possible that a more beautiful poem than the Georgics, or a finer statue than the Apollo, may be produced. But the chances are certainly very much against the occurrence of such an event. It is hardly to be expected that we can at once succeed in eclipsing a structure which all the genius of man, for the last two thousand years, has sought in vain to rival. At any rate, in the formation of a public monument which is to survive for centuries, it is absurd to incur the risk of chance, when certainty is in our hands. No prudent man in private life would refuse 20,000*l.*, in order to take a lottery ticket which would give him a chance for the 20,000*l.* prize.

By adopting this design, the Committee conceive that they are conferring a lasting obligation upon the Fine Arts. The people in this Island are *beginning* only to acquire a taste for the beauties of architecture; for although many men of the greatest genius have existed amongst us, and adorned the country with their works, the popular mind has hitherto been too much occupied with objects of political interest to pay much attention to these productions. A taste for architectural beauty was, previous to the peace of 1814, confined almost entirely to artists and travellers; and although the extraordinary increase of the latter class, since that period, has augmented to a very great degree the number of persons who take an interest in, and are qualified to judge on, these subjects, yet this only demonstrates the more clearly the influence of the remains of ancient art in forming such a taste; and furnishes the strongest reason for restoring, in these northern regions, a relic of antiquity, which is not only too far removed to have any material influence on the public taste in this part of the world, but, from its peculiar situation on the citadel of Athens, and on a military position of much importance, is exposed to the most imminent hazard of destruction from the wars of which that country is now the theatre. By doing so, the Committee conceive that they are giving the greatest impulse to the *National Genius*, and are laying the surest foundation of our own future eminence in the arts of *original design*; conferring thereby the same important benefit upon the people of this country, which the possession of the remains of antiquity has so long afforded to the inhabitants of modern Italy; and giving our architects the same means of making rapid progress in original design which the Italian artists obtained from the ruins with

which their country was adorned, and which Raphael and Michael Angelo derived from the study of the Grecian sculpture.

These reasons become more weighty, when it is recollected, that, of every other species of architecture, great and splendid examples are already to be found in this Island, while of the Doric temple alone *no model* yet exists to form the taste of our people, or rouse the emulation of our architects. This renders it the more desirable, that the present opportunity, never likely to recur, should not be lost, of realizing in this Island the most perfect model of that style which the world has yet seen, and of spreading over our whole people that warm perception of its beauty, which has hitherto been confined to artists who have studied its proportions, or travellers who have explored its remains.

The edifices with which the Calton Hill is surrounded, are in the *same style of architecture* as the Temple which it is now proposed to place on its summit; and consequently, no injury to the unity of the general effect is to be apprehended from the adoption of such a measure. The palace of Holyrood-house, the dome of St George's, the Melville monument, the University, St Andrew's church, the Register house, and the Observatory, which form the leading objects in looking from this eminence, are all in the Grecian style. The approach to the proposed site of the Monument through Waterloo Place, is adorned by colonnades of remarkable beauty, copied from the temple of Erychtheus at Athens; and the new streets which are building on the northern and eastern sides of the Hill, are enriched by Doric columns of the finest proportions, and exhibit perhaps the most beautiful fronts in the Grecian style of which the Island can boast. The new and beautiful edifice about to be raised on the Mound for the public societies, is in the same order; and the traveller, returning from Sicily or Athens, is astonished to find the genuine Grecian architecture revived with a degree of spirit and fidelity in this metropolis, of which no other city in the empire can boast. Nor is it difficult to foresee that this order will continue to be the prevailing style in future times; the enormous expense of Gothic ornament rendering buildings of that description too costly for our age, when the church has no longer the wealth of provinces at its command. What, then, can be more appropriate than, in the centre of a city which already bears the Grecian character, to place the most superb monumental edifice of which ancient Greece can boast?

Lastly, There seems something in the Doric temple, in a pe-

culiar manner, becoming a monument of *martial glory*. Every other species of architecture has been appropriated, by the necessities or the luxury of men, to some particular purpose, and is associated, in our minds, with its peculiar destination. The lofty aisles, and fretted roof, and graceful pinnacles of the Gothic, recal the recollection of the piety of feudal times; and the feelings of religion rush unbidden into the mind, when we enter an edifice of that sacred description. The riches of the Corinthian, or the elegance of the Ionic order, have been applied to the pomp of metropolitan magnificence; and the Façade of the Louvre, the Piazza St Marco, or the interior of St Peter's, recur to the recollection as examples of the proper destination of buildings of that character. But the Doric temple has hitherto been applied, in modern Europe, to no purpose of utility; *we* have no religious ideas connected with its establishment; and its form is associated with no other recollections, but the animating remembrance, that it was the National Monument which the Athenian people raised to the protecting goddess of the republic, on the glorious termination of the Persian war. What other style is there so befitting a structure, which is to record the heroism of modern times? or what associations can so well accord with the Monument, which is to animate our descendants to emulate the deeds of their forefathers, as the recollection, that the same form warmed the patriotism of the Athenian people, and that to its shrine her orators turned, when they wished to rouse the citizens to a spirit worthy of their ancient renown?

Every other species of architecture, excepting the triumphal arch, is applied by daily use to some purpose of domestic life; and its *beauty* is connected in our minds with the *utility* which we experience from its adoption. But, to use the words of a late publication, 'The Grecian temple has no such destination. 'It admits of no habitable interior—we are not required to en-'ter into the fane—it is a *monument which we are to contemplate* '*from without*; and which appears in its pride, when considered 'as part of the surrounding landscape.'* Can any description accord more completely with the particular destination of a monument, which the spectator is 'not intended to enter,' and which is meant to be 'seen in its pride, as part of the surrounding landscape?'

Such are some of the reasons which, in Edinburgh, have decided almost all those who feel interested in the progress of art, or the embellishment of their metropolis, in favour of

* Quarterly Review, No. 54, p. 312.

the adoption of this design, and given birth to so ardent a desire for its accomplishment. The opinion, however, of the men of taste in London, is well worthy of attention; and it is therefore necessary to bestow some consideration on the reasons which are advanced in the publication just quoted on the other side.

The argument which is most commonly urged against the restoration of the Parthenon, is, that it is degrading to *copy* the architecture of another people. It is both humiliating to our artists, it is said, and injurious to the progress of art, to imitate what has been already done. The Romans never copied; but, borrowing merely the general forms of the Grecian architecture, moulded them into different combinations, which gave a different character to their style of building. Such also should be the course which we should adopt.

This very plausible argument proceeds upon an inattention to the *successive steps* by which excellence in the fine arts is attained, and a mistaken conception of the height to which we have already ascended in our taste or knowledge of architecture. It is quite true that the Romans did not copy the Grecian temples; and that the modern Italians have not thought of attempting a restoration of the Colyseum, or the Pantheon. But it is to be recollected, that *the originals were within their reach, and had already exercised* their salutary influence on the public taste. The ancient Romans had only to go to Pestum, Agrigentum, or Syracuse, to behold the finest Grecian temples; and their warlike youth, in the course of the military expeditions to which all the citizens were liable, had perpetually in their Eastern dominions, the Grecian edifices placed before their eyes. Michael Angelo, Poussin, and Claude Lorrain, lived amidst the ruins of ancient Rome, and formed their taste from their earliest youth, upon the *habitual* contemplation of these monuments. For them to have copied these buildings, with a view to the restoration of the public taste, would have been as absurd as for us to copy York or Lincoln Cathedrals, in order to revive an admiration for the Gothic architecture.

But is there no difference between the situation of a people, who, like the ancient Romans and modern Italians, had the great models of antiquity continually before their eyes, and that of a people, who, like the inhabitants of this Island, have *no models* in the Doric style, either to form their taste, or guide their exertions, and who have no means of reaching the remains of that order which exist, but by a journey of many thousand miles? Of the influence of the study of ancient excellence in improving the taste, both of architects and the people, no one

acquainted with the subject can entertain the smallest doubt; and it is stated in the strongest terms by the author, whose observations have just been mentioned. 'Amidst the ruins of 'Rome, the great Italian architects formed their taste. They 'studied the relics of ancient grandeur, with all the diligence of 'enthusiasm; they measured the proportions, and drew the de-'tails, and modelled the members. But when their artists were 'employed by the piety or magnificence of the age, they never '*restored* the examples by which they were surrounded, and 'which were the objects of their *habitual study*. The archi-'tects did not linger in contemplation of their predecessors; for-'mer generations had advanced, and they proceeded.' *

Now, such being the influence of the remains of antiquity in guiding the inventions, and chastening the taste of modern artists, is there no advantage in putting our architects in this particular *on a level with those of Italy*, and compensating, in some degree, by the restoration of the finest monument of ancient genius, the local disadvantages with which a residence in this remote part of the world is necessarily attended? By doing this, we are not precluding the development of modern invention; we are, on the contrary, laying the surest foundation for it, by bringing our artists to the point from which the Italian artists took their departure. When this is done, the inventive genius of the two nations will be able to commence their career with equal advantages. Till it is attempted, we can hardly hope that we shall overtake them in the race.

Suppose, that instead of possessing the Colyseum and the Pantheon within their walls, and having made their proportions the continual subject of their study, the Roman artists had been obliged to travel into the interior of Asia to visit their ruins, and that this journey, from the expense with which it was attended, had been within the reach only of a few of the most opulent and adventurous of their nobility; can there be the slightest doubt that the fine arts in that city would have been greatly indebted to any Roman Pontiff who restored those beautiful monuments in his own dominions? And yet this benefit is seriously made a matter of doubt, when the restoration of the Parthenon is proposed in a part of the world, where the remains of ancient genius are placed at the distance of two thousand miles.

The greatest exertions of original genius, both in literature and arts, by which modern Europe has been distinguished, have been made in an age when the worth of ancient times

* Quarterly Review, No. 54. p. 335.

was thoroughly understood. The age of Tasso and Machiavel *followed* the restoration of letters in Italy. If we compare their writings with those which *preceded* that great event, the difference appears almost incalculable. It was in the study of Grecian and Roman eloquence, that Milton trained himself to those sublime conceptions, which have immortalized his name. Raphael and Michael Angelo, gave but slight indications of original genius, till their powers were awakened, and their taste refined by the study of the Grecian sculpture. Statuary, in modern times, has nowhere been cultivated with such success as at Rome, amidst the works of former ages; and Chantry has declared, that the arrival of the Elgin Marbles in the British Museum, is to be regarded as an era in the progress of art in this country. Architecture has attained its greatest perfection in France and Italy, where the study of the remains of antiquity which those countries contain, has had so powerful an influence on the public taste. Those who doubt the influence of the restoration of the Parthenon, in improving the efforts of original genius in this country, reason in opposition not only to the experience of past times, in all the other departments of literature and art, but to all that we know of the causes to which the improvement of architecture itself has been owing.

It is no answer to this to say, that drawings and prints of these edifices are open to all the world; and that an architect may study the proportions of the Parthenon as well in Stuart's Athens, as on the Calton Hill of Edinburgh. An acquaintance with drawings is limited to a small number, even in the most polished classes of society, and to the middling and lower orders is almost unknown; whereas, public edifices are seen by all the world, and obtrude themselves on the attention of the most inconsiderate. There are few persons who return from Greece or Italy, without a considerable taste for architectural beauty; but during the war, when travelling was impossible, the existence of Stuart's Athens and Piranesi's Rome, produced no such effect. Our architects during the war, had these admirable engravings constantly at their command; but how wretched were their conceptions before the peace had afforded them the means of studying the originals! The extraordinary improvement which both the style of our buildings, and the taste of our people have received, since the edifices of France and Italy were laid open to so large a proportion of the country, demonstrates the superior efficacy of actual observation, to the study of prints, in improving the public taste for architectural beauty. The engravings *never become an object of interest* till the originals have been seen.

The recent attempts to introduce a new order of architecture in this Island, demonstrate, that we have not as yet arrived at the point, where the study of ancient models can be dispensed with. In the new street in front of Carlton House, every thing which is formed on the model of the antique is beautiful; every thing in which novelty has been attempted, is a deformity. It is evident, that more than one generation must pass away, before architecture is so thoroughly understood as to admit of the former landmarks being disregarded.

It is next said, that though the Grecian temple appeared to the greatest advantage under the bright sun and in the dry climate of Attica, yet that a very different effect may be anticipated if it is transplanted into a northern region. That every nation has a style of architecture suited to its character, habits, and situation; and that it is absurd for us to place a Grecian temple on the Calton Hill, as it would be for the Greeks to place a Gothic cathedral on the Acropolis.

It has been already observed, that it is utterly impossible to erect a Gothic monument, because the enormous expense attending its ornaments renders it hopeless, with the limited funds which are at the disposal of the Committee, to attain even to mediocrity in that style. Till the Committee are possessed of the wealth which raised Fonthill or Yorkminster, they must relinquish all thoughts of a monument of that description.

But besides this, it is a total mistake to imagine, that Edinburgh is a Gothic town, or that it still retains the feudal character which it once bore. That character has totally changed since Scotland became a part of the United Kingdom; and the same revolution in its laws and government, which levelled the pride of its feudal nobility, has changed the aspect of its metropolis. Those who make this observation have fallen into the same error in this particular, which is so common to English travellers, who, considering Scotland always as the country of romance, expect to see Highland bonnets and the Highland tartan on every peasant they meet. Sir W. Scott's beautiful description of Edinburgh, as seen by Lord Marmion from Blackford Hill, has been quoted; and it has been asked how, while the 'huge Castle holds its state' any other species of edifice can accord with the scene? But if they who make this observation would read a few pages farther, they would find the same poet's description of Edinburgh in its *present garb*, and the features which he there pourtrays, are as much in unison, as its former appearance was at variance, with the character of the Doric temple.

Stern then, and steel-girt was thy brow,
Dun-Edin! *O, how altered now,*

When safe amid thy mountain court,
Thou sit'st like empress at her sport;
And liberal unconfined and free,
Flinging thy white arms to the sea,
For thy dark cloud, with umbered lower,
That hung o'er cliff and lake and tower,
Thou gleamst against the western ray,
Ten thousand lines of brighter day.

The long lines of light which are here so beautifully described, accord perfectly with the features of the Grecian edifice. Nor is it possible to imagine a more appropriate as well as beautiful ornament to our metropolis, than the pillars of the Athenian temple, rising above the bright lines of building which are placed round its base, and glittering in the rays of the setting sun.

In looking from the Calton Hill, there is not a single ancient Gothic structure to be seen except the High Church, and the ruins of Holyroodhouse Chapel; while all the modern structures, with the exception of the two Episcopal Chapels, are Grecian. To hold, that these insulated edifices should chain the architecture of this metropolis for ever to the Gothic style, is to debar men from all variety or improvement in their designs. If this argument be well founded, Sir Christopher Wren committed a grievous error in fixing on the Grecian order for the matchless dome of St Paul's, because the pinnacles of Westminster Abbey existed to remind the spectator of the Gothic origin of the English nation; and the Façade of the Louvre, is to be regarded as a deformity to Paris, because the towers of Notre Dame are associated with the chivalrous days of the French monarchy; and Palladio did wrong in adorning the Piazza St Marco with the riches of the Grecian entablatures, because the church of St Mark rises in barbaric magnificence at the eastern extremity of the square.

The belief that a Grecian temple cannot look beautiful, but in the climate and under the sun of Attica, is a total mistake. The clear atmosphere which prevails during the frosts of winter, or in the autumnal months, in Scotland, is as favourable to the display of architectural splendour, as the warm atmosphere of Greece. The Melville Monument in St Andrew's Square, appears noways inferior to the original in the Roman capital. The grey and time-worn temples of Pestum are, perhaps, more sublime than the Grecian structures which still retain the brightness and lustre by which they were originally characterized. Of all the edifices which the genius of man ever conceived, the Doric Temple is most *independent* of the adventitious advan-

tages of light and shade, and rests most securely on the intrinsic grandeur and solidity of its construction.

To say, that every people have an architecture of their own, and that the Gothic is irretrievably fixed down upon this Island, is a position unwarranted either by reason or authority. A nation is not bound to adhere to barbarous manners, because their ancestors were barbarous; nor is the character of their literature to be fixed by the productions of its earliest writers. It is by its works in the period of its meridian splendour, that the opinion of posterity is formed. The bow was once the national weapon of England, and to the skill with which it was used, our greatest victories have been owing; but that is no reason why it should be adhered to as the means of national defence after fire-arms have been introduced. If we must make something peculiar in the National Monument, let it be the peculiarity which distinguishes the period when architecture and the other fine arts have attained to their highest perfection, and not the period of their infancy. But the feudal and castellated forms arose during an age of ignorance and civil dissension. To compel us to continue that style as the national architecture, would be as absurd as to consider Chaucer as the standard of English literature, or Duns Scotus as the perfection of Scotch eloquence. We do not consider the writers in the time of the Jameses as the model of our national literature. Why then should we confer that distinction on the architecture which arose out of the circumstances of that barbarous period?

The last consideration which is urged against the adoption of the Parthenon is, that it is impossible to copy the sculpture by which the original is adorned; that if it were, the dress of modern war is unfit for such an exhibition; and, therefore, that the objects proposed cannot be attained.

This argument proceeds on a misapprehension of the importance of sculptured ornament in the Doric architecture; and its absurdity is demonstrated, by the observations which the Reviewer himself has made upon the peculiar beauty of that order.

'The Doric Temple,' he obsefves, 'is a monument which 'we are not required to enter, and which is seen in its glory, 'when forming part of the surrounding landscape.' But when 'seen as part of the surrounding landscape' the sculpture which enriches the frieze of the temple *cannot be seen.* At the distance of 200 yards, it is invisible. If the Parthenon is placed on the Calton Hill, nobody will be able to tell, without ascending to its summit, whether the sculpture has been restored or not. According to the Reviewer's *own admission*, therefore, the prin-

cipal effect of the Grecian temple will be preserved *though the sculpture is not restored.*

In the next place, experience proves, that the Reviewer's observation in this respect is well founded, and that the architectural grandeur of the Parthenon is independent of its sculptured ornament. At this moment, when bereaved of the figures of Phidias, it is still the admiration of the world. It is not necessary to go to Attica to be convinced of the truth of this observation. Mr Williams's beautiful drawing, in which the Parthenon, *without its sculpture*, forms so remarkable a feature, proves, that even without that addition, it would be an unrivalled addition to the architectural riches of the empire.

In the third place, many of the finest Doric remains in existence, *never had any sculpture at all.* The temple of Neptune, preferred by many competent judges * to that of Minerva at Athens, has no sculpture on any part of its surface. The same is true of the other temples of Magna Græcia, and of those of Agrigentum in Sicily. The metopes, therefore, however beautiful, are not an essential part of the Doric temple, and may be omitted without injury either to its character or effect.

Lastly, although there might be an impropriety in copying, on the restored Parthenon, the Procession or the Centaurs which are to be found on the original, yet it does by no means follow, that some appropriate and beautiful figures may not be introduced. The genius of modern sculptors would find an extensive field for exertion, in conceiving figures fit for such an edifice, and in unison with its peculiar destination. It is no answer to this to say, that the dress of Horse Guards and Grenadiers is ill adapted for effect in marble. That is perfectly true; but the expression of heroism is the same in all ages of the world; and the artist must have but little invention who cannot surmount such inconsiderable obstacles. The figures of Marshall Saxe at Strasburg, of President Forbes at Edinburgh, and of Sir Isaac Newton at Cambridge, demonstrate how soon such difficulties yield to the conceptions of real genius.

The stone-masons at Edinburgh are capable, under the tuition of an experienced artist, of executing any species of sculpture, with a delicacy and spirit to which nothing comparable has yet been produced in the Island. The combination of architecture with statuary never could be commenced under such advantages as under the direction of the able sculptors whom this country has already produced, and with such workmen to execute their designs as now exist in this city. If it be said,

* Particularly Lusieri, the man in existence, perhaps, best qualified to judge on the subject. See Eustace.

that such an edifice will not be the Parthenon, the answer is, that the architecture will be the same, and that, if not the original, it will be the most beautiful thing in the world next to it. At the distance of two hundred yards, the difference between the two could not be perceived; and the objection of the impropriety of making any change on an ancient edifice comes with a peculiarly bad grace from those who are so urgent for creating an *entirely new species of architecture* from the materials which the ancients have left us. Nor can the Subscribers be justly accused of trusting too much to chance, by leaving a trifling part of the edifice to be embellished by modern genius, when the opponents of the measure are so solicitous that the *whole building* should be formed upon a new and problematical design.

For these reasons, we are compelled to differ with the Noble author, whose very interesting Essay is prefixed to this article, in regard to the expediency of restoring the Parthenon in the National Monument of Scotland. From the taste which his work exhibits, and from the obvious superiority which he possesses over ourselves in estimating the beauties of Grecian architecture, we draw the strongest argument in favour of such a measure. It was from a study of the ruins of ancient Greece, that Lord Aberdeen acquired the information and taste which he possesses on this subject, and gained the superiority which he enjoys over his untravelled countrymen. If they had the same means of visiting and studying the originals which he has possessed, we should agree with him in thinking, that the genius of the age should be directed to new combinations. But when this is *not* the case, we must be content to proceed by slower degrees; and while nineteen-twentieths of our people do not know what the Parthenon is, and can perceive nothing remarkable in the finest models of architectural excellence, we must not think of forming new orders. It is enough if we can make them acquainted with those which already exist. The first step towards national excellence in the fine arts, is to feel the beauty of what has already been done; the second is, to excel it. We must take the first step before we attempt the second. Having laid the foundation of national taste in architecture, by restoring the finest model of antiquity on the situation of all others the best adapted for making its excellences known, we shall be prepared to form new edifices, and possibly to surpass those which antiquity has left. But till this is done, there is every reason to apprehend, that the efforts of our artists will be as ineffectual in attaining true beauty, as the genius of our writers was in attaining real excellence, until the restoration of the classical authors gave talent its true direction, and public taste an unexceptionable standard.

ART. VII. 1. *Remarks on the Consumption of Public Wealth by the Clergy of every Christian Nation, and particularly by the Established Church in England and Wales, and in Ireland, with a Plan for Altering its Revenues, &c. &c.* Third Edition. London. 1822.

2. *The Rights of the English Clergy Asserted, and the Probable Amount of their Incomes Estimated, in a Letter to the Author of 'Remarks on the Consumption of Public Wealth,' &c.* By AUGUSTUS CAMPBELL, A. M. Rector of Wallasey in the County of Chester. London and Liverpool. 1822.

THE first of the Pamphlets has passed in a short time through several editions, and has excited a degree of attention, to which, as a work either of research or acuteness, it is by no means entitled. The writer has indeed collected as many errors as to matters of fact, as a man with small diligence and great felicity could be expected to bring within a reasonable compass; and he has founded on his misconceptions a proposition so crude, that, but for the apparent goodness of his intentions, we should suppose him to be a person whose business it was to prepare bills for members of Parliament. But as these talents of the author as to fact and speculation, are by no means rare, even in degree, it is not to them as much as to his subject, that he has been indebted for somewhat of popularity. He has harped the right string. The matter on which he has touched, interests in a remarkable degree the reflecting and the ignorant, the passion and the wisdom of the nation.

We shall mention one error into which the writer fell in the first edition of his pamphlet, both because he and those who have corrected him, seem to be yet ignorant of the cause of his mistake; and because it is connected with a fact really illustrative of the state of the Church Establishment of England. A paper was ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 28th May 1812, entitled an 'Abstract of the Total Number of 'Parishes in each Diocese of England and Wales, *containing a* 'Population *of* 1000 *Persons and upwards*; the number of 'Churches and Chapels *therein*; number of Persons they will 'contain; and the number of Dissenting Places of Worship 'therein.' The result was, that the number of parishes *of this description* was 1881; the population of them 4,937,782; their Churches and Chapels 2533; the persons these places would contain 1,856,108; and the Dissenting places of worship in the

same parishes 3488. Two or three different writers having carelessly taken this return to apply to all the parishes of England, instead of those parishes which contain 1000 persons and upwards—gravely, and in pamphlets professing to give information, set forth 2533 as *all* the Churches and Chapels in England and Wales! The fact, as every one knows, is, that with very few exceptions, there is a church in every parish. In the returns of residents and non-residents in 1809, 1810 and 1811, the highest number of dilapidated churches is 56. The total number of parishes in England and Wales is 10,693, and the number of chapels, as is evident from the return upon which the author stumbled, is in the more populous parishes very considerable. But what is really of importance in this return, is the proof which it affords of the unequal division of ecclesiastical duties in England, and of the necessity of a reform in the Church, and of the means of effecting it.

The Reverend Augustus Campbell has read a monstrous book of a Dr Morgan Cove, a prebendary of Hereford, from which he has borrowed every thing that is bad in his pamphlet, and every thing that is good in it, except an air of gentleness and candour. The Doctor seems to have a mind fitted to assimilate the absurd ideas of all other people; and having had the misfortune to write a pamphlet in favour of tithes, some twenty years ago, he has since collected all the opinions coinciding with his own, that he has met with in his loose reading, and has put forth the result in an octavo; and, with the conscience of a tithe-gatherer, he charges eighteen shillings for this strange agglomeration of absurdity. * Dr Morgan Cove, (what is there that has not been worshipped?) is a perfect worshipper of tithes. 'It hath been usually inferred,' saith the Doctor, 'that they took their rise from the light of reason and nature,' p. 26. The Phenicians paid tithes, the Egyptians paid tithes, the Hindoos paid tithes (*quære*) the Greeks and Romans paid tithes. 'Apollo,' he tells us, 'was emphatically styled the Tithe-taker, or receiver, or crowned with tithe,'—an attribute to which that of his being the author of light seems to be but secondary and subservient. The Doctor's mind, however, misgives him as to the light of reason and nature; and, after mature deliberation, he leans to the idea, that the particular consecration of the Tenth-part to the Clergy, was the consequence of 'some unrecorded revelation made to Adam,' which, he says, is not only 'a most ra-

* An Essay on the Revenues of the Church of England, &c. By the Reverend M. Cove, D. C. L. &c. &c. 1810.

tional, but *the most probable* solution,' p. 33. To what parish church Adam paid his tithe, the Doctor has not ascertained nor does he, we think, show his accustomed vigilance in not adverting to the fact, that if Adam paid tithe, he must have paid it to himself,—a practice which, if followed by his descendents in this Island, would lead to consequences most pernicious to the Establishment.

Mr Campbell is a good sort of man, who talks in a plaintive tone of the virulent attacks made upon the Clergy, and of the persecutions to which they are subjected. As he has been deeply imbued in the learning of Dr Cove, he is quite unsound on the subject of tithes. Though he enumerates the countries in which tithes have existed, and exist no longer, and though he calls these 'the Naboth's vineyard of revolutionary leaders and needy statesmen;' he, in the same page talks, in the language of Dr Cove, of the hardship of compelling 'the clergy 'to exchange a permanent landed security, unextinguishable 'without the extinction of the land itself (viz. tithe), for an un-'certain and fluctuating security, perhaps not durable in itself, 'even from the operation of redeeming the national debt, and 'at all times exposed to annihilation by the breath of political 'convulsion and distress.' How that which has been extinguished in most of the countries in which it has existed, and which is peculiarly liable to be extinguished whenever revolutions succeed, or needy statesmen are powerful, can be inextinguishable, is a riddle which Apollo the tithe-taker himself would hardly be able to solve. The clergy who flatter themselves with the inextinguishable nature of their security, and the sacred rights of their establishment, may find, by the examples of nearly all the countries of Europe (for in a very small part of it do tithes continue to be paid) that in times of 'political convulsion and distress,' nothing is sacred that is opposed to the interests of the community, and nothing secure that is not founded on its good will.

Our object is not to follow the author of the Remarks or Mr Campbell into calculations of the amount of the revenues of all the clergy in the world; in which nothing is more easy than to make conjectures, and nothing more difficult than to approach to correctness. Our humbler task is, by adducing some instances of the inconsistency, prodigality, and utter futility of the measures which have been hitherto taken as to the Church of England and Ireland,—of the manner in which the claims of the State have been evaded and its bounty wasted—to show the necessity of inquiry, and the facility of at least a very considerable reform of the Establishment.

Before, however, we proceed further, we must remove a preliminary difficulty which Mr Campbell and some others throw in our way, by denying the power of the Legislature consistently with the rules, on the maintenance of which the security of all vested rights depends, to make any general change in the existing Church Establishment, or at least any such change as should divert any part of the revenues from the purposes to which they are now applied. The propositions of Mr Campbell, and he may be taken as a fair representative of the class of advocates to which he belongs, are these—1. 'The property of the Church is as much *private* property as that of any corporation, *or* any individual in the realm;' and the condition upon which it is held, of performing certain ministerial duties, no more makes it public property than the condition of performing certain military and civil offices does that of the laity, (pp. 5 and 6). 2. 'The Church, in *her* corporate capacity,' cannot be compensated by any money payment to existing ecclesiastics, as individuals, for the seizure of the reversion of the Church property.

According to these propositions, the Legislature would be completely *estopped* from the appropriation of any part of the revenues of the Church, however enormous and mischievous they might have become, till *she*, in her corporate capacity, made her appearance to give her assent to the bill. Perrin Dendin, as Rabelais informs us, saw the *grand bon homme*, Council of Lateran, in his large red hat, and the Lady, Pragmatic Sanction his wife, in an ample petticoat of shot silk; but as there is no prospect that the venerable Church of England should manifest herself in a similar manner, we should be reduced to this miserable condition, that though the clergy should be more tired of receiving than the laity of paying, still generation after generation of Rectors and Vicars must, for the sake of the Church *in her corporate capacity*, be vexed with the receipt of tithes from their unwilling flocks. But the truth is, that the second proposition cuts the throat of the first. The present race of ecclesiastics have no right to dispose of the reversion of the Church property. We admit it. They have no concern at all with that reversion; and therefore it is, that the property of the Church is not private property; therefore it is, that when *their* vested interests have been provided for, the Legislature has the fullest right to dispose of it without consulting the wishes of any ecclesiastical functionaries.

Much of the fallacy of the reasoning which would oppose an insuperable bar to the reform of the Church lies in the confusion of corporations with individuals, of the mere creations of

the law with the beings for whose behoof law was created. A corporation is nothing, independently of the men of flesh and blood who derive an advantage from its existence. We do not recognise in practical legislation 'the abstract idea of a Lord Mayor.' Those who actually hold any income, or have the reversion of it legally secured to them, whether as members of a corporation or not, have a claim to full compensation when a legislative act deprives them of their legal rights. But, subject to this rule, a corporation, like every thing else created by law, can be altered or destroyed by law, and without affording any very dangerous precedent. Though, by the destruction or alteration of the structure of a corporation, the distribution of property must be in some degree changed, the change can cause no alarm to the holders of the property, because there is no suffering,—no one deprived of a vested right, or disappointed of a just expectation. 'You 'cannot compensate the Church in her corporate capacity.' Why?—but for this very melancholy reason, that, where there is no one that suffers loss, there can be no one to receive compensation. Mr Campbell may bestow upon the Church, in her corporate capacity, the same fond attentions which the Prologue of the German play bestows upon the ghost of its grandmother; but the old gentlewoman is quite impassive in the matter of tithe-pigs. Mr Campbell talks of 'the caprice of the Legislature;' but really no caprice would be equal to that of the Church in her corporate capacity, if she would prevent all reforms, because we do not give her a compensation which it is impossible for her to receive. It is said of Tom Thumb, that 'he made 'the giants first, and then he killed them.' But Mr Campbell will have it, that the Legislature must make giants which it cannot destroy, and that society must suffer for ever under the immutable tyranny of its own fictions. We are sadly afraid, from the experience of the Pension Bill, that these brothers of the Church may claim the same privilege; and that we may hear it said, that no sinecure is to be abolished even after the death of all who have vested interests in it, because we cannot compensate the corporation of placeholders, at least without substituting for the sinecure that is abolished something that is equally mischievous to the community.

We have attributed to Mr Campbell and the other champions of the intangibility of the Church, the only meaning which their expressions will bear. If, however, they contend, that the great importance of the religious instruction of the people gives the Church a claim to inviolability, we reply, that this is the very argument for a systematic attention to it. We should think it strange to hear it argued, that, because of the importance of a

Secretary of State's office, or a Revenue Board, its establishment should be suffered to continue, in whatever state of confusion time or neglect might have thrown it; that though one half the clerks should be too poor to be enabled to attend to their duties, and the other half so overpaid as to be tempted to neglect them,—though some of them had no desks to write on, and others desks which they never occupied,—though one half the business was ill done, and the other not done at all,—still our great anxiety for the duties that were neglected should not tempt us to mend the matter, but to compel us to let it alone, or to heap money upon the functionaries, under the certainty that it would be misapplied.

The course which has been actually pursued towards the Churches of England and Ireland, in modern times, has not been very unlike this hypothetical absurdity. They have been like the daughters of the horseleech; their cry has been, '*Give! give!*' The Legislature, acting upon this supposition, that money, no matter how unskilfully applied, would secure the performance of the duties of any office, has shown singular alacrity in complying with this demand. A brief history of the application of the hereditary revenue of the Crown, and subsequently of Parliamentary grants to the augmentation of ecclesiastical revenues, will show as much rapacity on the part of the Clergy, and as wasteful an expenditure of the property of the people on the Church, as was ever exhibited in the darkest times of Romish superstition.

It is well known, that, by the statute 26. Henry VIII. chap. 3. the first-fruits and tenths of spiritual preferments (which had formerly been paid to the Pope, or some other spiritual persons) were given to the King. The First Fruits were the revenues and profits for one year of every such preferment, and were to be satisfied or compounded for on good security by each incumbent, 'before any actual or real possession, or meddling with the 'profits' of a benefice. The Tenths were a yearly rent of a tenth part of all the revenues and emoluments of all preferments, to be paid by each incumbent at Christmas. These revenues were, as the statute phrases it, 'united and knit to the Im-'perial Crown for ever.' By the same statute, a provision was made for a commission to be issued by 'the King's Highness, 'his heirs and successors, *from time to time*, to search for the '*just* and *true* value of the said first fruits and profits;' and similar means were provided for ascertaining the value of the tenths. In consequence of this statute, which was suspended during the papistical reign of Mary, but revived by the 1st of Elizabeth, a valuation was made, which is supposed to have been at the time an accurate one, of the yearly profits of the eccle-

siastical preferments; and, according to this valuation, the first fruits and tenths were, as the 1st of Elizabeth has it, well and justly answered and paid, 'without grief or contradiction of the 'Prelates and Clergy of the realm, to the great aid, relief, and 'supportation of the *inestimable* charges of the Crown;' which inestimable charges may then possibly have amounted to a two-hundredth part of their present yearly sum.

Under this valuation, which, in course of time, became quite unequal to the real emoluments of the preferments, these charges continued to be paid till the 2d year of Queen Anne, 1703, when an act was passed, reciting the Queen's most religious and tender concern for the Church of England, stating, that a sufficient settled provision for the Clergy in many parts of the realm had never yet been made, and giving to a corporation, which was to be erected for the augmentation of small livings, the whole of the first fruits and tenths. Her Majesty, however, in her religious and tender concern, was completely overreached by the Clergy. The professed object of the Queen was to increase the provision of the poor Clergy; the real and only immediate effect of it was to release the rich Clergy from a charge to which, by law, they were liable. We have before mentioned, that a provision was made in the statute of Henry VIII. for revising, from time to time, the valuations under which the first fruits and tenths were paid. It was not improbable, that the Clergy were apprehensive, as the nation was then (in 1703) engaged in an expensive war, that such a revision might be made; and in persuading the Queen to renounce her hereditary revenue for the sake of 'her poor Clergy,' they contrived, most effectually, to secure themselves by the following ingenious clause, the last in the statute in question.

'VI. And whereas four bonds for four half-yearly payments 'of the first fruits as the same are rated, and also a fifth bond 'for a *further value or payment* in respect of the same first fruits, 'have been required and taken from the Clergy, to their great 'and *unnecessary* burden and grievance: for remedy thereof, be 'it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the '25th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1704, one bond 'only shall, in such case, be given or required for the four pay-'ments of the said first fruits: *which* said *first fruits, as well as* '*the tenths* payable by the Clergy, shall hereafter be answered 'and paid by them, according to such rates and proportions 'only as the same have heretofore been usually rated and paid: 'and no such fifth bond already given shall, from and after the 'said 25th day of March 1704, be sued or recovered.'

This clause is so ingeniously constructed, that it has actually puzzled some abridgers of the statute; and its real meaning has

escaped many. The marginal abridgment in the Statute-book gives it 'one bond only to be taken for the four payments of the first fruits'—than which, nothing can be more reasonable—or more different from the real import of the clause. If the real purpose of this act of Anne had been to augment the small livings, nothing could have been more reasonable than to do it, by enforcing the legal claim for the first fruits and tenths on the holders of the larger benefices. The scandalous poverty of some livings (for there were then 1071 which did not exceed 10*l.* a year) would then have speedily disappeared: but, as the old and insufficient rate of payment was fixed and made perpetual, the most religious Queen went to her grave without seeing any effect from her bounty; as, in consequence of the incumbrances upon the fund, and the impossibility of increasing its produce, it was not till 1714 that the governors of the bounty were enabled to make their first grants.

The Clergy may say, perhaps, that this clause, though it relieved the greater benefices in an indirect and fraudulent manner, was yet substantially proper, because the payments, according to the rate of Henry VIII., had been continued so long, that to have raised them would have been cruel and unjust. But, in the first place, the Clergy well know, that in the case of their own claims against the laity, this argument *ad misericordiam* is never permitted to avail. A composition, an accustomed rate of payment for tithes, which had continued from the time of Henry VIII., or even from the time of Henry III. to this day, would not be permitted to stand an hour after it was the wish of the clergyman to set it aside. This is no matter of mere speculation; day by day *rank moduses*, as they are called, compositions which, though they have continued from time out of mind, yet bear evidence of not having existed before the return of King Richard from the Holy Land, are set at nought. No *modus* for hops, or any product which has been introduced into England since the 12th century, will stand. There was very recently an instance of some sinecure priests of a cathedral (Exeter) succeeding in setting aside, in a court of law, a composition for tithe, which confessedly had existed for centuries, and on the faith of the continuance of which, the land must have been bought, and sold, and inherited, and rented,—because there were presumptions against that extreme antiquity which is necessary to make a *modus*. Even in the case of real compositions, *i. e.* of land granted in lieu of tithes, a practice which was restrained by the 13th Elizabeth, whenever the evidence of the agreement has been lost, or when, as sometimes happens, it is not worth while to institute the expensive in-

quiries necessary to get at it, the composition is set aside, that is to say, the parsons take the tithes, and keep the land. It is pleasant to see the rich clergy who thus enforce their own privilege against prescription, establishing in so short a time a prescription against the King, and finally making use of it to frustrate the effect of the royal bounty to their poorer brethren. In the *second* place, there could have been not even a pretence of suffering, if *the actual incumbents* had been exempted from the payment of the tenths (first fruits would have been, of course, out of the question), according to the real value. But then translations, and that continual shifting from benefice to benefice, in which the Church delights quite as much as in the immutability of its institutions, would have been checked.

The cunning of the rich clergy, in thus shifting from themselves the burthen of contributing to the relief of their poorer brethren, is only to be matched in degree by the folly shown in the application of the diminished revenue which this trick of theirs still left for the improvement of small livings. At the time when Queen Anne's Bounty Fund was established, there were, according to the returns, which were not quite accurate, 5597 livings in England and Wales with incomes not exceeding 50*l.* They were thus classed.

Not exceeding 10*l.* -	1071
20*l.* -	1467
30*l.* -	1126
40*l.* -	1049
50*l.* -	884
	5597

The sum which the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty had to apply to the augmentation of these livings, averaged about 13,000*l.* a year. Any rational being would suppose, that, under such circumstances, the Governors and the Legislature, by whom the disposal of the money was directed and superintended, would have made some inquiry into the circumstances of the different livings. Some of these livings were of very small extent, and scarcely any population; and might therefore have been advantageously united with one another, or with other parishes. The specific evil which was to be remedied, was set forth in the preamble to the statute of Anne, in these words. That 'diverse mean and 'stipendiary preachers are in many places entertained to serve 'the cures, and officiate there, who, depending for their ne-'cessary maintenance upon the good-will and liking of their 'hearers, have been, and are thereby under temptation of too 'much complying and suiting their doctrines and teaching to

tation (though its value remains low). Wilkock, a rectory with 28 people, has had *three*. In Hereford, Hopton Cangeford has received 1000*l.* for 35 people. Monmouth 200*l.* for 3503.

Even in cities where the scattered condition of the population could afford no pretext against the union of parishes, the same plan of augmentations has been pursued. In Winchester, *separate* augmentations have been given to seven parishes, the population of all which united would have amounted only to 2376, and would consequently have formed a very manageable and rather small town parish. In short, the whole of the returns (printed by the House of Commons in 1815, No. 115) teem with instances of the most foolish extravagance—just such a result as the original conception of this clerical *little-go* would have led any rational being to anticipate. The conviction is irresistibly forced upon us, that nothing could have been further from the minds of those who superintended this plan, than to secure a competent provision for all the members of the Church, and to remove the poverty of some of its members,—which is, by a strange manner of reasoning, made a defence for the needless profusion with which the public wealth is lavished upon others. Indeed we are led to suspect that 'the Church, in her corporate capacity,' looks upon the poverty of some of her members, as sturdy beggars look upon their sores,—she is not seriously displeased with the naked and excoriated condition of her lower extremities, so long as it excites an ill-judged compassion for the whole body, and secures her impunity in idleness and over-feeding.

We are sometimes told that the poverty of a large body of the parochial clergy is such, that it is out of the power of the higher clergy, even by the surrender of their whole revenues, to remedy it. The statement we have given shows most clearly, that this poverty is to be attributed, in the first place, to the fraudulent subtraction of the higher clergy from the burthen of contributing to the relief of their poor brethren; and, in the second place, to the absurdity of the ecclesiastical division of the kingdom, which, on the slightest effort of the Clergy, would have been remedied by the Legislature. If the first fruits and tenths had been paid subsequently to the gift of Queen Anne, according to the rate which the law provided for, and as they had been paid 'without grief and contradiction,' *i. e.* according to the real value of the benefices, instead of a million and half, at least 30 millions would have been received from those taxes;—a sum not only quite sufficient to have removed the poverty of all the poor livings in the kingdom,* but to have

* In 1809.

established schools in every parish of England, and to have left a large surplus for any other useful purposes.

In the course of these augmentations, no security has been taken against non-residence or plurality. The Governors go on, therefore, increasing the incomes of two small livings, in order to make each of them capable of supporting a resident clergyman, while after, as well as before the augmentation, one incumbent may hold them together—reside on neither—and allow only a small part of the accumulated income to a curate, who performs the duties of both! Those who complain of the poverty of the Clergy, pretend to suppose that no security for residence is necessary; and that, as soon as the small livings are raised high enough, non-residence will disappear as a matter of course. For instance, Dr Cove says, 'All her sons' (the Church of England's sons) 'employed in her offices, are, with few excep-'tions, ever intent upon their appropriate duties, and would be 'still more diligent in the discharge of those duties, were each 'of them possessed of a *more enlarged and comfortable independ-'ence*, and furnished with more suitable places of abode.' This, unfortunately for the Doctor, is an assertion more capable of being brought to the test, than the 'unrecorded revelation' to Adam in favour of tithes. We have returns of small livings, and we have returns of non-residence. In the diocese of Rochester, there are only six livings under 150*l.* a year; and of those six, not one is returned under 110*l.* Of the 107 benefices returned in that diocese, there were in 1809 but 50 with resident incumbents—less than half the livings. In the diocese of Chester, where the livings under 150*l.* a year are numerous, 377 out of 592 being of that description, a considerably larger proportion of the benefices have resident incumbents than in Rochester: there are 327 residents. In the other dioceses, the number of poor livings bears no regular proportion to that of non-residents. The fact is, that under the discipline of the Church of England, where there are so many grounds of exemption, or of license for non-residence, the only persons who may be expected to reside, are those whose narrow incomes make their residence in their own parsonages a matter of necessity or convenience. But as two or three small livings may be held by the same person, the incumbents of them may, on the face of the returns, appear as negligent as their richer brethren.

The history of the evasion of the payment of first fruits by the clergy in Ireland, is striking in point of audacity, on account of the peculiar state of the Church in that part of the kingdom. The enormous incomes of the Irish bishopricks are

pretty well known, and have been brought into general notice of late years; but it is not so distinctly known what duties these functionaries have to perform. Mr Campbell says, 'the power, 'the influence, and the wealth of some of the bishops may be 'great; but from my heart, I believe, that these are dearly 'bought, not only by the *anxiety*, but the *actual labours* both 'of *body* and *mind*, which arises from their official duties.' *Nolo Episcopari*, is a phrase easily to be accounted for by this appalling picture; but we suspect, from a few notorious facts, that Mr Campbell's imagination has exaggerated the horrors of a bishoprick, and that a bishop even in England is not so broken down with hard work as the rector of Wallasey supposes. The bishop of St David's, for instance, in addition to the actual labours of body and mind attached to his bishoprick, is able to undertake the arduous duties of a prebendary of Durham. The present bishop of Landaff adds to his episcopal duties those of Dean of St Pauls. The late bishop of Lincoln (Tomline) did the same, and Lincoln is the largest diocese in England. The late bishop of Bristol (Mansell), besides holding a living or two, was master of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he generally resided. In fact, whatever offices *can* be held with bishopricks *are held* with them; and as it would not be polite, nor, we believe, just, to suppose these Right Reverend Pluralists neglect the duties of any of their offices, we must conclude, that a bishoprick alone must be a very supportable burden. We mean a bishoprick in England. Now, the duties of a bishop, who is the general superintendant of the clergy and church-people in his diocese, must have some reference to the number of these two classes. In England, the number of benefices within the different dioceses are various, from 1319 in Lincoln, to 107 in Rochester, averaging about 420 parishes to a bishoprick. The fabric of the Church of Ireland is very different in the proportions of the higher and lower parts, and resembles, more than any thing else, a regiment of volunteers raised in the same country, which contained sixteen Lieutenant-colonels, two drummers, and a private. The following is a Table of Bishops, Parishes and Clergy.

PROVINCE of ULSTER.

	Parishes or unions of parishes.
Diocese of Armagh	78 (The Archbishop's.)
— Clogher	44
— Derry	54
— Down & Connor	79
— Dromore	23
— Kilmore	33

Diocese of	Meath	101
——	Raphoe	31
——	Andagh attached to the Archbishoprick of Tuam	25

443 with 351 incumbents resident, or near enough to do the duty.

PROVINCE of LEINSTER.

		Parishes or unions of parishes.
Diocese of	Dublin	87 (The Archbishop's.)
——	Kildare	43
——	Ossory	59
——	Leighlin & Ferns	92

Parishes 281 with 189 incumbents residing on their parishes, or near enough to do the duties.

PROVINCE of MUNSTER.

		Parishes or unions of parishes.
Diocese of	Cashel	57 (The Archbishop's.)
——	Waterford & Lismore	52
——	Cloyne	77
——	Cork & Ross	77
——	Limerick & Ardfert	105
——	Killaloe & Kilfenora	51

Parishes 419 with 281 incumbents resident, or, &c.

PROVINCE of CONNAUGHT.

		Parishes or unions of parishes.
Diocese of	Tuam	24 (The Archbishop's.)
——	Clonfert & Kilmacduagh	14
——	Elphin	37
——	Killala & Achonry	20

Parishes 95 with 65 incumbents resident.

come of every ecclesiastical preferment in Ireland, produces, on the average, less than 500*l.* a year. *

In 1808, Sir John Newport, who has laboured for the good of his native country with a degree of diligence and discretion as well as zeal, not common in Irish statesmen, moved for leave to bring into the House of Commons a bill to authorize a new and complete valuation, which, even with the exceptions that he proposed to make in favour of the small livings, would have produced between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* a year. This motion was rejected, on the ground of the *hardship* of such a tax as the First Fruits. *How*, or upon whom, the hardship was to operate, neither our own inquiries, nor the imperfect notices left us of the debate, enable us to perceive. We need scarcely say, that this new valuation of the first fruits would not affect any one actually in possession of a living; and we should certainly object to the measure, if it were accompanied by a clause compelling a clergyman to accept a living whether he would or no. But as we apprehend Sir John Newport had not *compulsory induction* in view, the hardship must consist in this,—that a clergyman taking a living, however much he received beyond his deserts, would get less than he desired! In consequence of the trifling amount of the present fund, various sums, from 10,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* have been yearly voted in aid of it; and not much short of *half a million* has been bestowed in this way since the Union. This, perhaps, is the most wanton of all the misapplications of public money during an unexampled course of profligate expenditure. In Ireland, the Church, in the aggregate, was overgorged with wealth; and there was not the slightest difficulty in making its riches contribute to the necessities of its poorer members, without injustice to individuals. According to Dr Beaufort, out of 2244 parishes which make up the parochial unions of 21 dioceses, 293 are in the gift of the Crown, 1391 of the Bishops, 21 of the University, 367 of private persons: 95 are impropriate, and without churches or incumbents. Thus, 1684 are in the hands of the Crown, or of nominees of the Crown. In respect, therefore, of more than two-thirds of all the parochial benefices of Ireland, besides all the dignities, there could not be the least pretence that 'property' would be encroached on, or valid rights infringed, by the sequestration of all or any part of the incomes, on the first vacancies. Let us take, then, the absurd hypothesis, that the ideal

* The produce in ten years, from 1801 to 1810 inclusive, was 4942*l.* 10s. 6d. We have not seen the subsequent returns. Mr Hume states them at 3000*l.* in ten years.

body, the Church, has an indefeasable right to the property which the clergy enjoy, we must at least admit that this property may be laid out *for the benefit of the Church.* The most extravagant advocate of the vested rights of a fictitious entity can hardly go the length of asserting, that the Legislature should not have the power of directing the income of a corporation to be expended in the manner most conducive to the end for which that corporation was originally established. If, therefore, the building of churches, and the purchasing of glebes, were the most urgent of the wants of the Church, it would have been, according to any mode of considering church property, not only a justifiable, but the only proper mode of disposing of the incomes of the useless bishopricks and overpaid livings, to apply them to the relief of these necessities. But in the conduct pursued towards the Irish Church, we have the monstrous spectacle of a corporation not only claiming inviolability for the riches which destroy its health and threaten its existence; but (because those riches are distributed with preposterous inequality) extorting from an overtaxed people more money to supply the local deficiencies of that which is so excessive as a whole. When we think, that in some years more than the whole of the produce of the hearth-tax, or one third of the net produce of the pestiferous window-tax, was applied in aid of the enormous funds of the Church; when we reflect that this was done in a country which tithes, and taxes, and local assessments were keeping in a constant state of confusion and blood, we are lost in wonder at the audacity which could advocate, and the folly which could submit to the extortion of this additional portion of the public property, for the use of an establishment of which the wealth has always been the weakness.

There is one quality without which this imposition upon the nation could never have been successfully carried on, a quality with which 'the Church, in its corporate capacity,' seems bountifully endowed—we mean cool and intrepid assurance both of assertion and demand. In the case of no other service to which public money is applied, would a demand be made upon the people for increased supplies, without an *attempt* at least to show that the sum-total of money expended is insufficient to procure the services required: quite otherwise in the Church. In the Irish diocesan returns of 1807 and 1819, we have some remarkable instances of the manner in which 'the Church' appeals to the nation for pecuniary help, at the moment that it affords evidence of its own superfluous opulence. We have before mentioned the condition of the be-

nefices in the diocese of Derry as to glebe land, which, according to the average rent of land in that district, 18s. per acre, (according to Mr Wakefield and others) would give an income of 300*l.* a year for each clergyman, besides *all* the tithes. In addition to this, the Bishop of Derry has lands, which, if they were out of lease, would, it is estimated, produce 120,000*l.* a year. In 1807, the head of this diocese, in which the Church property, over and above the tenth part of the gross produce of the land, must be worth not much short of *three millions*, had to answer the circular query,—'By what mode may the condition of 'such livings, as are of a value too small to afford to resident in-'cumbents the means of comfort, be improved?' In answer, the Bishops, after mentioning the inadequacy of the First Fruits Fund, (we have shown how that has happened), says, 'There is 'at present no other mode of improving such livings; but the 'funds may be increased by *the bounty of the King in Parlia-'ment.*' For the building and repair of churches, he says, 'Vestries should be empowered to lay on large sums, payable in '*gales*;'—to lay on large sums, payable, not by the clergy, but by the laity. It never once occurred to this Bishop, that any part of the profits of the overgrown benefices which he enumerated, should, as they became vacant, be applied to these purposes; nor does it occur to any one of the twenty-two Archbishops and Bishops in Ireland. 'The bounty of the King in Parlia-'ment,' and 'gales,'—a demand upon the treasury of the state, then engaged in an expensive war—or a heavy and unequal tax upon the inhabitants of particular districts—to these, or any other modes of getting the money, except the obvious and proper one, the Bishops have no objection.

We do not wish it to be inferred that Ireland is covered with rich livings. Indeed, in some places, the livings are so lamentably poor, that (as is expressed in the returns with the modesty characteristic of the Church) the incomes are 'scarcely suffi-'cient to pay the salary of the curates;' the incumbents themselves, who are non-resident, being reduced to the sad necessity of receiving very little for doing nothing. In one case, for example, the living of the united parishes of Dongore and Kilbride is returned as a 'preferment extremely small—150*l.* a year 'nearly;' but we are relieved from our distress, by looking into another column, and finding that a resident curate does the duty for half the money, the incumbent being non-resident. Indeed, in the more lamentable returns of 1807, we always found the benevolence of the curates stepping in to the aid of the misery of the incumbents. In the diocese of Limerick, according to these returns, the parish of Dromdeely was worth but 20*l.* a year. The incumbent, however, was not resident, and induced

a deputy to perform the duty for thirty shillings! a bargain, however, which was, in reality, less hard than might be supposed, as we find there was no church in the district. The test of the adequacy of the income of a living seems to be, that it affords comfort to the incumbent—after paying the salary of a curate.

In Ireland, there is the same beautiful diversity as to the extent and populousness of livings as in the sister kingdom. The country livings vary from 200 acres to 40,000 acres in extent. In many parishes there are no churches, though, *en attendant*, the tithes are not the less diligently collected. In the bishoprick of Waterford and Lismore, on 52 parochial benefices, there are but 38; and in Limerick with 105 benefices, but 69 churches. In a word, the Irish Establishment, in its present condition, seems calculated to answer no end but to make the Church of England appear excellent in the comparison; a result which it would seem *a priori* to require some ingenuity to bring about.

The question, whether this Establishment should or should not be reformed, is one on which every man whose opinion carries with it the least influence should make up his mind; and as to the answer to it, we who see constantly before us the effects of a Church Establishment constructed on rational principles, can feel no sort of doubt. If it be merely intended by the Irish Establishment to show how rich and flourishing the few may be where the many are wasting in misery and ignorance; if it be intended to show, that 850 men may be happy and idle, while millions are labouring for subsistence in vain, the policy pursued towards it may be allowed to be rational and consistent. If the object be to attach the Irish people to the Protestant creed, the idea of stationing among a savage peasantry a number of beneficed clergymen, whose wealth supplies them with every temptation to desert their duty, and of making them raise their incomes by a tax which involves them in perpetual strife with that peasantry, is perfectly grotesque in absurdity. Whatever may be the supposed effects of a richly endowed Church in maintaining a particular creed, it is evident that it is not the machine for the conversion of a people. In many parts of Ireland there are Church of Ireland clergymen in rich livings, with absolutely no Protestant parishioners. This state of things, though very deplorable for the Church in her corporate capacity, is the best that can be imagined for the Clergyman. So long as his parish continues free of Protestantism, he is free from all the conditions of service which are in other cases attached to the property of the Church. He must hate a convert, as a Justice of Peace hates a poacher. The way to insult him must be to enter his church. Mr Reid, in his recently published Travels in Ireland, relates a story of a moral tor-

ture practised by a Catholic farmer on a beneficed clergyman, by regular attendance at a church, where, but for the presence of this unwelcome visitor, there would seldom have been a congregation. The neophyte soon brought the pastor to terms, and obtained a reduction of his tithes as the price of his relapse to the errors of the Church of Rome. It is evident, that the larger the incomes of the parochial clergy are, the less important the voluntary contributions of their parishioners, the more unmixed will their motive be to keep the Protestant religion out of their parishes.

When we see the quantity of evil inflicted on Ireland by the levying of tithe,—when we see the good prevented, in a hundred ways, for the want of that wealth which is mischievously lavished on the clergy,—we can hardly believe that a reform of the Church of Ireland will not take place. A reform of that Church is, from the large proportion of its patronage in the hands of the Crown, or the nominees of the Crown, as easy as it is desirable. We Presbyterians can hardly conceive that there will be any one found bold enough to affirm, that a bench of twenty-two bishops, to superintend 860 resident incumbents, and to watch over 4 or 500,000 Protestants of the Establishment, is either useful or ornamental. According to the estimates of Mr Wakefield, the property of *six* of these bishops, * when out of lease, would produce 580,000*l.* a year,—a sum which would give an income of 650*l.* a year for each of the resident incumbents of Ireland; or, which would be quite as well, an income of 500*l.* for each of the clergy, and a fund for the establishment of a school in every parish in Ireland. All this could be done, and the tithes, as far as they are paid to the clergy, could be rapidly abolished by the mere sequestration of six bishopricks as they became vacant, without injury to the feelings, or violation of the rights of any man. The details by which it would be necessary that such a plan should be filled up, are very simple and obvious. When this reform should be accomplished there might still remain sixteen bishops to superintend a smaller number of Protestant clergy, and a smaller number of Protestant laity, than *one* bishop is very easily able to superintend in England. We do not mean to insinuate that they *should* be allowed to remain; but as our purpose is to do good, we would show, in passing, that even after an incalculable benefit had been conferred on Ireland, the Episcopal establishment might still remain extravagantly large, and form a very pretty fund for the purposes of Parliamentary influence,—the real purposes for which it is suffered to exist.

* Armagh, Derry, Kilmore, Clogher, Waterford, Cloyne.

As to the Church of England, an inquiry into its actual condition must appear equally desirable to those who do, and to those who do not think highly of its efficiency and utility. The smallness of the incomes of many of its livings is not complained of so loudly by any persons as by its most zealous friends. Now, if this clamour be meant as any thing more than a pretext for the maintenance of the extravagant parts of the Establishment, by making the members of it who are made inefficient through poverty, a set-off against those who are made inefficient through opulence, the general means of remedying the evil are obvious, and nothing but an inquiry is required to develop the details. The Table which we referred to above as the cause of the mistake of the author of the 'Remarks,' as to the numbers of places of worship in England, shows that, in 1812, the 1881 parishes, to which it referred, contained 4,937,782 people, so that each of those parishes had 2650 inhabitants on the average. The 8812 remaining parishes contained 5,564,718 inhabitants, or about 630 people, each as the average. In 1809 there were 3998 livings under 150*l.* a year; and there were also in the same year, out of 11,194 livings from which returns were made, 7358 cases of non-residence. Though we have shown, by the comparison of the state of different dioceses, that the smallness of the livings is not the real cause of the prevalence of non-residence, it is at least one of the pretexts for it. The consolidation of small parishes, where circumstances admit of it, would at once remove this pretext, and the poverty of the greater part of the small livings; and the sequestration of some of the superfluous dignities of the Church, or the levying of first fruits and tenths, according to their real value, upon the overpaid preferments which might hereafter become vacant, would speedily raise the incomes of the remainder. The different distribution of the Church patronage,—the property of advowsons, to which we always suppose attention to be paid, renders a general reform in England a less easy and straightforward work than in Ireland. According to Bishop Watson's computation, in his Charge, 1809, seven-tenths of the patronage of parochial livings were in the hands of lay individuals or lay corporations; three-tenths being in the hands of the Crown, of ecclesiastical corporations (chiefly composed of nominees of the Crown), and of the Universities; and the greater part of the poor livings are the property of individuals. These circumstances, however, though somewhat untoward, oppose no insurmountable obstacles to reform. It is the interest of the patrons to submit to a consolidation of poor livings, making arrangements for alternate presentations; because, as a mere matter of merchandise, two livings of this de-

scription would be worth considerably more in their united, than in their divided state.

Whatever other steps may be taken with respect to the Church of England, a Parliamentary inquiry into its condition is imperatively called for. It is called for, if it needs reform, to show the degree in which reformation is needed, and the way in which it may be effected. It is called for, if it needs no reform, to show that the imputations on it are unfounded. It is needed to prevent the repetition of the waste of the public money, of which we had such gross instances, when, in the time of the greatest drain on our resources, 100,000*l.* was granted yearly for the augmentation of poor livings, in utter ignorance of the manner in which the fund already available for that purpose had been mismanaged. It can only be resisted by those who, conscious of the grossness of the abuses by which they profit, think the Church alone cannot bear that exposure to the light, to which every other institution in the country is happily subjected.

ART. VIII. *Negro Slavery; or a Creed of some of the more Prominent Features of that State of Society, as it exists in the United States of America and in the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica.* 8vo. pp. 117. London, Hatchard. 1823.

THE publication of this most interesting and important tract, gives us the opportunity of at once expressing our regret, we might almost say remorse, at having so long delayed to follow up the statements and warnings repeatedly given in former pages of our Journal, upon the crying sin of this country, the Slavery of our Colonial Population, and lamenting that we have so little space left for any thing like an attempt to handle the subject as it deserves.

During the whole course of the controversy upon the Abolition, protracted as it was for so many dreadful years of suffering to a whole quarter of the world, by the interested hostilities of some,—the luke-warm, faint-hearted, alas! we fear we may add the interested, support of others, nothing was more remarkable than the attempts of one party to involve their adversaries in the consequences of mixing Abolition with Emancipation, and the careful disavowal, by these adversaries, of any such doctrine. In truth, the best friends of the stability of the colonial system, were those who desired to prevent any new slaves from being added to the mass of servitude, wretchedness and discontent, already existing in those ill-fated set-

tlements; and no man who really understood the merits of the question, ever dreamt of promoting an immediate emancipation of the slaves already imported into, or born in, the Colonies. But here it is fit to observe what were the grounds of this opinion. We hold it to be altogether impossible for any rational being to maintain the abstract right of one class of men to keep another in the state of slavery. Upon this point, it is most material to state, that no doubt whatever can exist. If one man, or a class of men, pretend to absolute dominion over the mass of their fellow-creatures,—although what is called political power alone may be in question, and no attempt made to exercise a mastery over the persons of individuals,—it is quite manifest that the people are fully justified in rising up and overthrowing their oppressors, and, if it be needful, in utterly destroying them. But far more unrighteous is the horrible attempt at making a property of men, holding them in the state of personal slavery, and treating them as cattle or as inanimate objects, the absolute property of the owners. To terminate a state so repugnant to every principle, so abhorrent to all the feelings of our nature, is clearly and undeniably not merely a right, but an imperative duty. Why, then, it may be asked, did the Abolitionists uniformly disavow all views of emancipation?—Because, we would answer, *the interest of the slaves*, as well as of the masters, required this consummation to be postponed. If the interests of the masters only had been in question, no man capable of reasoning could for a moment pretend that the benefit—the pecuniary profit of one man in a hundred, or say only in ninety, ought to be thought of, when put in competition with the property, limbs, liberty, ease, and life of all the rest of the community. But it was unhappily too true, that the accursed system had given birth to a state of things in which a sudden retracing of our steps must have brought evils still more horrible than could flow from persisting for a while in our path; it was plain that the attempt suddenly to free our enslaved negroes must produce to themselves greater misery than could arise from continuing them in their present state, miserable though it be; it was admitted on all hands, that slavery (nor could a worse stain be stamped upon it) unmanned its victim, and, by incapacitating him from enjoying freedom, made an endurance of thraldom in some sort indispensable to his existence. This reason alone, let it never be forgotten, reconciled the abolitionists, some of them most reluctantly, a few scarcely at all, to continuing, for however short a time, the present iniquitous and cruel system. The *interests of the negroes alone* was given as the reason for it; the maintenance of slavery being uniformly considered as an evil of the greatest mag-

nitude; and only to be endured because of its necessity, and because of the greater evils which a sudden change must entail upon its victims.

But he would commit a most grievous mistake indeed, who should imagine that the abolitionists, even for a moment, lost sight of the condition and the fair claims of the negro population, the bulk of our fellow-subjects in the colonies. Their whole reasonings were at all times directed towards their comforts and happiness. Of their main arguments, that which regarded the improvement in the lot of those hapless creatures, ranked next after that which denounced the crying and unbearable enormity of tearing men and infants by violence from their homes, and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere. As long as you permit the planter to have an unstinted supply of new slaves (it was argued), so long will he neglect his native bands, and so long will every kind of ill treatment accumulate upon their heads. Cut off the supply, and the treatment will naturally be amended, the condition of the negro be improved; and his improvement will fit him for acquiring those rights of a free man which it is the worst effect of slavery to have hitherto rendered him unfit for being intrusted with.

The *ultimate Emancipation* of the negroes, therefore, never was for one moment absent from the contemplation of the friends to the abolition of the Slave Trade. All their arguments distinctly led to this point; they never at any time concealed their looking towards this object; they constantly, and in great detail, traced the steps by which they expected that it would, in the process of time, and through the gradual improvement of the negro race, be safely and easily attained. Men of all descriptions joined in taking this view of the question; and we doubt if one single instance can be produced of a speaker or writer, on the side of the abolitionists, who has not plainly avowed *the freedom of the negroes* as the *ultimate* point towards which all his efforts were directed. No rational person ever thought of at once conferring upon that ill-fated race that freedom which would (through our own detestable enormities) have been converted into a curse, rather than a boon; but no one once doubted that the principal good of the abolition was to be its improving the negro's condition, and gradually raising his character to the level at which he might become fit to enjoy personal freedom.

After a delay which is sufficient to stamp the character of our Legislature with indelible disgrace; a delay altogether its own, seeing that the voice of the Community was, from the beginning, unanimous and loud for the abolition; but after above twenty years deliberation, checkered with every disgusting va-

ety of indifference, double-dealing, and treachery, the great
ep was at length made, and the traffick in slaves abolished.
he friends of the African race now hoped, as well they might,
at the supply of negro labourers being cut off, new care
ould be shown in the treatment of what was somewhat offen-
vely termed, the stock on hand. It seemed reasonable to look
r what had always been predicted as the inevitable result of
e abolition, a reform in the laws of the colonies relating to
ves. With those laws the abolitionists had uniformly re-
ained from interfering. They had even contended that they
ere matters of interior regulation, which the local authorities
ere most competent to deal with; and relying upon the efficacy
the great measure which, by precluding all hope of foreign
pplies, reduced the colonies to the natural state of other
untries, dependent on natural means for their supply of la-
urers, they had reckoned with confident assurance upon the
ost speedy steps being taken for improving the condition of
e slave population. They now looked—earnestly—wistful-
—but in vain—for those measures which were most ob-
ously calculated to promote the great ends in view—laws to
end the treatment of the slaves; to raise their importance in
e community, and bestow on them some chance of jury trial,
giving them the common right of at least being heard as
tnesses in courts of law; to facilitate their manumission; to
nd them to the soil, so as to prevent the severe punishment of
ile from being inflicted at the will of their masters. These,
d many other obvious measures in their behalf, and for the
nefit of their owners, if prejudice would only suffer self-inte-
st to exercise its wonted clearness of vision, were all looked
, but in vain, by the friends of the abolition. One of the
t words which the late revered Sir Samuel Romilly said upon
ubject which, beyond any other, appeared to be always present
his mind, and to have a hold of his feelings, was expressive
his grievous disappointment at so many years having elaps-
, without one single step being taken by the colonies in the
rection which all men had expected them to pursue, as soon
the traffick should cease. He deemed this omission not
rely a sufficient vindication of the mother country's imme-
te interposition, but a ground for loudly calling upon her to
erfere.

Four years and more have now elapsed since the lament-
death of that truly great and amiable man; and at length
heartly rejoice to find, that a disposition to interpose
e authority of the mother country begins to manifest itself,
ere all effectual desires are first made known, among the

body of the community at large. Associations are already formed in London, Liverpool, and elsewhere, with the view of improving and liberating the West Indian population. The work before us proceeds from one of these most praiseworthy bodies, and we earnestly recommend its pages to the attentive perusal of every reader. Its object is to 'furnish the public with a plain, 'authentic, and unvarnished picture of Negro slavery, not as it 'may have existed at some antecedent period of time, but as it 'exists at the present moment, both in the United States of 'America, and in the European Colonies of the West Indies, 'which have been peopled by imported Africans.'

We pass over the first part, which relates to America; and come at once to that horrible picture with which this volume is calculated to awaken, and to haunt and torment the conscience of our own country. Nothing can be more fair than the line of argument pursued by the able and intelligent author. He rejects all the advantages to be derived from the publications of older date, the works of men who wrote early in the controversy, or the evidence of witnesses examined before the Privy Coucil, or the two Houses of Parliament, previously to the abolition; because it might be contended that those testimonies were given thirty or forty years ago, and that the state of things is now materially changed. It does not go so far back as the Reports of Lord Seaforth in 1803, or the work of Dr Pinchard in 1806; and even lays no stress on the cases of Huggins in Nevis, Hodge in Tortola, and Rawlins in St Kitts, some ten or twelve years ago. These horrors, when dragged forth, to the astonishment and indignation of the English world, were alleged to be local, and confined to the smaller islands. Wherefore our author resorts at once to Jamaica, whither all were desired to look for fair samples of West Indian society; and even in that island, he rejects all the cases of estates supposed to be ill managed. His object is to expose the essential vices of the infernal system; and he chuses instances of estates as well managed as the system will permit, and owned by men who, even in England, are distinguished for every kindly feeling and humane propensity.

We have no room for giving such an abstract as the importance of the subject would require, of the evidence collected upon this point. We must therefore rest satisfied with a most earnest recommendation of the work to the attention of our readers; and with adding one or two samples of the facts which it unfolds, from the testimony of eyewitnesses, recently arrived, and speaking of what they had observed and suffered in Jamaica, long after the mother country had commanded the

Slave Trade to cease, and abolitionists had predicted that the lot of the slave would be improved, and planters had proclaimed that cruelty was unknown in the larger islands.

We shall begin with a circumstance related by the Reverend Mr Cooper, a gentleman who was sent out in 1817, by one of the most worthy and intelligent men connected with the West Indies, Mr Robert Hibbert, to superintend the religious instruction of his negroes.

'The state of morals and religion,' he says, 'is as bad as can well be imagined, both among Whites and Blacks. With scarcely any exceptions, all of the former description, residing on plantations, live in a state of open and avowed concubinage with Black or Coloured women. The general profligacy, in this respect, is perfectly notorious and undisguised; and one effect of it is, that the young women on estates, instead of becoming mothers of children, are at an early age made the mere instruments of licentious gratification. It is well known that the morals of nineteen out of twenty White men are ruined before they have been a month in the island. They get into habits of debauchery, and every idea of religion vanishes. Mr Cooper does not recollect to have seen a single White man there, who showed any serious concern about religion, excepting some Missionaries.

'There is no regular marriage instituted amongst the slaves; indeed, the women will say they would not be such fools as to consent to be confined to one man; their engagements, therefore, are merely temporary, and are not considered as at all binding. Mr Cooper never heard of any attempt, by agreement between masters, to bring together on the same plantation a man and wife who lived on different plantations. Nor could it in general be of any very great use to do so, while there is no such thing among them as a marriage-tie.' pp. 53, 54.

But the fact which we are particularly struck with is this; that when a visitor goes to the house even of a decent planter, and stays all night, 'he is accustomed, on going to bed, to de-'sire the domestic who attends him, to bring him a girl, with 'almost as little ceremony as he would ask for a candle.' (p. 53.) Nothing can more strongly paint at once the state of our unhappy slaves, and its miserable effects upon the morals of our white brethren. Acts of cruelty submitted to, unresisted, and with an unavailing struggle, are sad evidence, no doubt, of subjection in the slave, and debasement in his master; but there is here a mere brute exertion of force by one human being over another. What shall we say of such an entire forgetfulness of the human, or even sentient nature of the unhappy negro, as is presented by the picture of white men using negroes merely as the instruments of gratification, without the least regard what-

ever to their feelings; making them at once the partners of their pleasures, and victims of their cruelty? Then, what shall we say of the state of white society, which this incredible degradation of the negro engenders, when things are done with them in decent families, openly, and as matters of course, which in every civilized part of the earth are matters of concealment, mystery and denial, even among the most shamelessly profligate of our kind? Let these things be weighed by our British women; let them, the ornaments of their sex, and distinguished both for their virtues, and for all the delicacies by which virtue is at once protected and adorned, let them figure to themselves a state of society in which one class of themselves should be treated like brute animals, and the other be made the witnesses of such demeanour, without even feeling that their eyes and ears were offended—and then let them ask themselves what punishment they would not rather endure, than continue to live in such a world of pollution?

The punishments of slaves are largely illustrated in these pages.

'Whether the offender be male or female, precisely the same course is pursued. The posteriors are made bare, and the offender is extended prone on the ground, the hands and feet being firmly held and extended by other slaves; when the driver, with his long and heavy whip, inflicts, under the eye of the overseer, the number of lashes which he may order; each lash, when the skin is tender and not rendered callous by repeated punishments, making an incision on the buttocks, and thirty or forty such lashes leaving them in a dreadfully lacerated and bleeding state. Even those that have become the most callous cannot long resist the force of this terrible instrument, when applied by a skilful hand, but become also raw and bloody; indeed, no strength of skin can withstand its reiterated application.' p. 61.

Take the following more particular examples of this practice.

'Two women, who were pregnant, desired to quit the field during rain, on account of their pregnancy. The overseer refused them permission. They went to complain of their refusal to a magistrate, but were stopped in their way by a neighbouring overseer, and by him thrown into the stocks until he sent them back to their own overseer, who put them again into the stocks on their own estate, and had them flogged. Of this proceeding they complained to the attorney. The attorney was of opinion that the overseer had acted with undue severity; but he considered the women to have been highly to blame for attempting to complain to the magistrate; whereas, he said, they ought in the first instance to have complained to him.

'It is common for Negroes, who have been guilty of what is

deemed a serious offence, to be worked all day in the field, and during the intervals of labour, as well as during the whole night, to be confined, with their feet fast in the stocks. In the case of one Negro, who was so confined for some weeks, Mrs Cooper begged hard to obtain a remission of his punishment, but did not succeed. Another Negro, belonging to the estate, was a notorious runaway. Being taken, he was flogged in the usual manner, as severely as he well could bear, and then made to work in the field. During the interval of dinner-time he was regularly placed in the stocks, and in them also he was confined the whole night. When the lacerations, produced by the flogging he had received were sufficiently healed, he was flogged a second time. While the sores were still unhealed, one of the book-keepers told Mr Cooper that maggots had bred in the lacerated flesh. Mr Cooper mentioned the circumstance to the attorney, who did not manifest any surprise on hearing it.

'An old African Negro, well known to Mr Cooper, who appeared to possess a sound and superior mind, and was reckoned the best watchman on the estate, was placed to watch the provision-grounds for the use of the overseer's house. These were robbed, and the robbery being imputed to his neglect, he received a very severe flogging. The old man declared (Mr Cooper does not vouch for the truth of the excuse) that he could not help what had happened, the grounds being too extensive for him to guard them effectually, so that while he was on one side of them, the Negroes could easily steal on the other. This flogging made a great alteration in the old man, and he never seemed well after it. In two or three weeks, another robbery occurring, he received a still more severe flogging than before. One morning, while Mr and Mrs Cooper were at breakfast, they heard a groaning, and going to the window, saw this poor man passing along in a state which made Mrs Cooper shrink back with horror. Mr Cooper went out to him, and found his posteriors, which were completely exposed, much lacerated, and bleeding dreadfully. He seemed much exhausted. He attempted to explain the case, but was incapable from fatigue and suffering. A Negro boy was standing by; the old man pointed to him, and said, "Massa, him tell you." The poor old man, from this time, was never well or cheerful, and he soon afterwards died.' pp. 63–65.

We give one extract more, embracing several miscellaneous, but very important particulars; and again desiring the reader to bear in mind that it is of Jamaica, and of the year 1820, that the Reverend author is speaking.

'A large proportion of all the estates are mortgaged; and estates are frequently sold to pay off the debts upon them. The slaves themselves, too, or a part of them, are often seized for the payment of the master's debts; and this is done without any reference, in a multitude of cases, to family-connexions. It is felt by them as a grievous hardship to be separated from their connexions: it some-

times produces a species of rebellion; and has been known to occasion the death of many, through the distress of mind which it produces.

'Small proprietors often undertake to do work on estates by job, which they employ their slaves to execute. When they are thus sent to different places, they carry their own provisions with them, and usually sleep on the ground under a tent, all huddled together, though sometimes they are accommodated in the sugar-works of the estate, or by the Negroes of the estate in their houses.

'Task-work is very uncommon in Jamaica. It is held to be dangerous to allow the slave much spare time.

'If a Negro is deemed to be incorrigible by plantation-discipline, he is often sent to the workhouse of the parish, where he is chained to another Negro, and employed, with others chained in the same manner, two and two, in repairing the roads during the day, being shut up during the night. This punishment is inflicted without the intervention of any magistrate, by the mere desire of the master or overseer, who may protract it for any length of time.

'When Negroes are sent out in pursuit of runaways, they are usually armed with a cutlass, and are authorized, in case of resistance, to chop, that is, to cut down the runaway. The Maroons are also encouraged by rewards to take up runaways. They carry firearms, and may shoot them if they resist.

'There is on every estate what the Negroes call a Hothouse or Hospital, which a medical practitioner is expected to visit once or twice a week. The Negroes have generally a great dislike to being shut up in this Hothouse, where they are separated from the kindness of their friends, and would prefer being in their own houses, even though in a miserable state.

'White women, who are owners of slaves, will, in general, without any scruple, order their slaves to be flogged; and some of them will even stand by to see them stripped bare, and punished in the usual disgusting manner.

'Just before Mr Cooper quitted the island, as he was walking in the streets of Lucea, the port-town of Hanover parish, in company with the captain of the vessel in which he had taken his passage, they saw an old man who appeared to have been recently flogged. He was standing in the public street with his posteriors exposed and bleeding; and yet he seemed to excite no attention whatever from any one but Mr Cooper and the captain.' pp. 68, 69.

This tract concludes with summing up the general charges against the system as it still exists in Jamaica; against the colonists and their legislatures, for taking no steps to mitigate its evils, to effect its gradual reformation, and prepare for its final destruction. The use of the cart-whip, habitually, not merely for punishment, but as the constant stimulus to labour—the cruelty of the inflictions made for real or imaginary offences,

and the indecent, as well as cruel manner of those inflictions—the inadmissibility of slaves as witnesses in all courts—their liability to be sold as mere chattels, and transferred from hand to hand, without the least regard to their comforts or feelings—the impossibility of their obtaining any instruction, moral or religious—and, finally, the obstacles placed in the way of their manumission—these are the chief heads to which the attention of Parliament and of the country are directed; and we unite our voice with that of the benevolent persons who have published this well-timed work, in imploring and in warning our country, not to regard this appeal with coldness or levity.

We rejoice to find, that, at length, the publick mind is awakened to this momentous question; and that associations are formed with the purpose of diffusing information upon it, and inciting the Legislature to discharge its duty to the country and to humanity. Liverpool, once famous in the enormities of the slave traffick, has now stood foremost as the first to make amends for its horrid fruits. The venerable name of William Roscoe stands at the head of the body there associated, whose pious object it is to adopt all lawful and peaceable measures for mitigating the evils of slavery, and preparing its ultimate abolition. —Every good man must pray for its success.

ART. IX. 1. VIRGINIUS, *a Tragedy, in Five Acts.* By JAMES SHERIDAN KNOWLES. Ridgway. 1820.

2. *The Bride's Tragedy, in Five Acts.* By THOMAS LOVELL BEDDOES, of Pembroke College, Oxford. Rivingtons. 1822.

IN the history of a nation, the progress and vicissitudes of its Literature are but too frequently disregarded. The crowning of kings, and the winning of battles, are recorded with chronological accuracy, and the resources of the country are laid open. The eye of the reader is dazzled with the splendour of courts, and the array of armies: The rise and fall of parties —the trial and condemnation of state criminals—the alternations of power and disgrace, are explained to very weariness. But of the quiet conquests of learning, there is small account. The philosopher must live in his own page, the poet in his verse; for the national chronicles are almost mute regarding them. The historian's bloody catalogue is not made up of units; but deals only with great assemblages of men—armies, fleets, and senates: The king is the only '*One*' included in

the story; but of him, be he a cipher or a tyrant, we are told in a way to satisfy the most extravagant desires of loyalty.

There is in this, we think, an undue preponderance—a preference of show to substance—of might to right. There is at least as much importance to be attached to the acquisition of 'Paradise Lost,' or 'Lear,' as to the gaining of an ordinary victory. Accordingly, *we*, profiting by the historian's lapse, and in order to do those ingenious persons (the poets and philosophers) justice, assume the right of tracing, from time to time, *their* histories upon our pages, and of discussing, with something of historic candour, their good qualities and defects.

In contemplating the great scene of Literature, the Muses are, beyond doubt, one of the brightest groups; and, among them, those of the *Drama* stand out preeminent. To quit allegory—it comes more quickly home to the bosoms of men; it is linked more closely to their interests and desires, detailing matters of daily life, and treating, in almost colloquial phrase, of ordinary passions. It is as a double-sided mirror, wherein men see themselves reflected, with all their agreeable pomp and circumstance, but freed of that rough husk of vulgarity which might tempt them to quarrel with their likeness: while the sins of their fellows are stripped and made plain, and they themselves pourtrayed with unerring and tremendous fidelity.

Certainly dramatic poetry is more quick and decisive in its effects than poetry of any other kind; and this arises partly from its nature, and partly from the circumstances under which it is made public. In the imagination of a person visiting the theatre, there is a predisposition to receive strong impressions. The toil of the day is over, the spirits are exhilarated, and the nerves rendered susceptible by a consciousness of coming enjoyment. All the fences and guards that a man assumes in matters of business or controversy, are laid aside. Even the little caution with which he takes up a book (for we have now got a lurking notion that authors are not infallible) is forgotten: he casts off his care and his prudence, and sets both the past and future at defiance when he enters the limits of a theatre. It is impossible for a person unacquainted with dramatic representation, to understand the effect produced on a mixed mass of the people, when a striking sentiment is uttered by a popular actor. The conviction is instantaneous. Hundreds of stormy voices are awakened, the spirit of every individual is in arms, and a thousand faces are lighted up which a moment before seemed calm and powerless;—and this impression is not so transient as may be thought. It is carried home,

and nursed till it ripens. It is a germ which blossoms out into patriotism, or runs up rank into prejudice or passion. It is intellectual property, honestly acquired; and yet debateable ground, on which disputes may arise, and battles are to be fought hereafter.

Men are often amused, and sometimes instructed, by books. But a tragedy is a great moral lesson, read to two senses at once; and the eye and the ear are both held in alliance to retain the impression which the actor has produced. A narrative poem is perhaps more tempting in its shape than a play, and may fix the attention more deeply in the closet; but it is addressed to a more limited class, and necessarily affects our sympathies less forcibly; for a Drama is an embodying of the present, while an Epic is only a shadow of the past. We listen, in one case, to a mere relation of facts; but, in the other, the ruin of centuries is swept away, and time annihilated, and we stand face to face with 'grey Antiquity.' We see and hear things which we thought had departed for ever; but they are (or seem to be) here again—in stature, in gesture, in habit, the same. We become as it were one of a crowd that has vanished; we mix with departed sages and heroes, and breathe the air of Athens, and Cressy, and Agincourt. Men who have been raised to the stars, and whom we have known but by the light of their renown, are made plain to our senses: they stand before us, flesh and blood like ourselves. We are apt to deny our sympathy to old events, when it is asked by the mere historian of the times; but, when the mimic scene is unfolded before us, we are hurried into the living tumult, without the power (or even wish) to resist.

Schlegel, in his acute and learned Lectures on 'Dramatic Art and Literature,' inquires, '*what is Dramatic?*' A definition is seldom an easy thing. Although we can understand what is called dramatic writing, it may nevertheless be difficult to define it correctly. It certainly does not consist merely in its shape of dialogue, because dialogue may be, and often is, essentially *un*dramatic. Speeches may be shaped, and separated, and allotted, and they may be raised or lowered in expression, as the king, or the merchant, or the beggar, is presented, yet the hue of the author's mind shall pervade them all. Such characters are *not* dramatic: they have no verisimilitude: they are like puppets worked with wires, the mechanism of the brain, but little more. They may startle our admiration, or tease our curiosity, by the ingenuity of the workmanship; but we have no faith in them, and they stimulate us to nothing. In Shakespeare (but he stands in this, as in every thing else, alone), we never see the prejudice of the author peeping out and interfering,—a mistake

and an anachronism in the scene. He is the only one who ever had strength enough to cast off the slough of his egotism, and courage enough to lay his vanities aside, and array with the pure light of an independent intellect, the most airy creations of the brain. Like the prince in the Arabian fiction, he leaves one shape for another and another, animating each and all by turns; not carrying the complexion or tone, or diseases of the first, into the body of the second; and yet superior even to that ingenious metempsychosist, whose original love, if we remember aright, remained unaltered through all the changes that he underwent in story.

It is assuredly difficult,—and argues more than common disinterestedness, to set aside, of our own accord, our right to be heard, and to become the organ and mouthpiece of a variety of men. To invest ourselves for a time with the prejudices, and even with the very speech of statesmen and soldiers, kings and counsellors, knaves, idiots, friars and the like, seems like a gratuitous vexation of the intellect; and yet it must be done. We must give up our privilege to dictate, and lose the opportunity of saying infinitely better things than the parties concerned would utter, if we wish for eminent success in the drama. This is offensive to our self-love; and the truth is, that a vain man can never be a good dramatist. He must *forget himself* before he can do justice to others. We have heard it insisted, that this is neither possible nor desirable. But that it is possible, Shakespeare is a brilliant testimony. And that it is desirable, is equally certain, and, we apprehend, not very difficult of proof. A character (king or peasant) must speak like himself, or like another person, or like no person whomsoever:—which style is the best, we leave to the understanding of the reader. It is true that, without much of that particular faculty which we are inclined to call 'dramatic,' some authors have contrived to pourtray one or two characters with success; but these have been generally mere *beaux ideals*,—mere copies or modifications of themselves. Indeed, we have found, on a strict scrutiny, that their opinions might always be seen darkening one character, and their animal spirits gilding another; and that, whether didactic, or disputatious, or jocose, the fluctuation of their own spirit has been manifest through all the shiftings and disguises of their tale.

Schlegel, in reply to his own question of 'What is dramatic?' says—that it does not consist merely in dialogue, but that it is necessary that such dialogue should operate a change in the minds of the persons represented. If by this he means, that the character itself should be wrought upon and change, we

think that this may be desirable; but the *nature* of the drama is a thing different from the result which it ought to arrive at. This assertion of Schlegel is therefore almost like saying, that argument is not sound (or rather that it is not argument at all) unless it shall produce conviction. In our own literature, at least, it is certain that we often find the personages at the end of the play in precisely the same state of mind as at the commencement. We make a play a succession and change of *events*, and not a change of sentiment. The sentiment of the hearer is indeed, if possible, to be wrought upon, but not necessarily that of any one character of the drama. The character, in fact, is frequently developed in the first scene, and we have nothing afterwards to learn except as to what accidents befal it. If the German critic means to say (for he is not very clear), that the tone of the several speeches in a play should be dependent on each other—that the first should give rise to the second, the second to the third, and so on, we entirely agree with him: For the bright spirit of dialogue can only be struck out by collision; and if the speech, the answer, and the replication, were mere independent and insulated sayings, each character would utter a series of monologues, and no more.

Shakespeare (as in the case of Macbeth and others) sometimes makes his tragedy an absolute piece of biography, and allows his characters to unfold themselves gradually, act by act: he does not, in truth, often bring forward a ready-made villain, whom we may know at a glance; but we have a map of the march and progress of crime or passion through the human heart: our sympathies are not assaulted or taken by surprise, but we move forward, step by step, with the hero of the story, until he perishes before our eyes. This is undoubtedly the perfection of the drama; but it exists in its weakness as well as in its strength; and even in Shakespeare, Iago is much the same person in the fifth act as he is in the first scene, and Richard undergoes little, if any, alteration.

If we were driven to a definition, we should say, that a good drama is—'A story told by action and dialogue, where the spirit and style of the speeches allotted to each character are well distinguished from the others, and are true to that particular character and to Nature.' It must involve a story (or event), or it will not have the strength and stature of a drama; for that is not a collection of scenes loosely hung together without object, but a gradual detail of one or more facts in a regular and natural way. It must have action, or it cannot be fit for representation; and dialogue, or it would be but narration. The speeches must possess character and distinction, without which,

a play would be monotonous, and like the voice of a single instrument breathed through different tubes of one diameter: and that those speeches should be true to the characters to which they are assigned, and (as a consequence) to Nature, must be presumed, until we can show that Nature is wrong, or can find a brighter model to imitate.

The earliest dramatic amusements of modern times (they were common to Italy, and Spain, and England), were of a religious nature, and with us passed under the name of 'Mysteries.' In these, which were stories taken from the Bible and Testament, the characters were sustained by monks, or boys attached to ecclesiastical establishments; and, indeed, the literary part of the Mysteries (such as it is) must have sprung from the same source.

Much discussion has occurred among our industrious and inquisitive brethren in learning, as to whether our Drama is of foreign or English growth. Something plausible may no doubt be urged on each side of the question; but we must rest on circumstantial proof at last: And, after all, the discovery would scarcely compensate for the pains that must be bestowed on the inquiry; for the subject itself is not very important to the interests even of the Drama.

Some derive our dramatic literature at once from the tragedies of the ancient Greeks; some from the comparatively modern entertainments which the Jews and early Christians were accustomed to exhibit at Constantinople (Byzantium) and elsewhere: others say that it originated at fairs in the ingenuity of the itinerant dealers, who thus exerted their wits to draw people and purchasers together; while the rest (without referring to this origin) contend only that it is of pure English growth, and has no connexion with any that we have mentioned, nor even with the Mysteries of Italy or Spain. Schlegel himself is, if we remember correctly, of this last opinion.

Now, we can scarcely suppose that our earlier writers were indebted to the classic Grecian models; for the 'Mysteries' have been traced back as far as the twelfth century; and Chaucer, in the fourteenth century, speaks of 'plays of miracles;' at which time we are not aware that the Greek dramatists were known in England. But there is a better reason still against this supposed derivation, which is, that the early English performances bear no resemblance whatever to the tragedies of the Greeks. The latter are fine and polished entertainments, discussing matters of daily life, or immortalizing events in their own history; while the former are meagre didactic matters,

taken solely from sacred history, and destitute of the chorus which forms so striking a feature in the character of the Grecian plays. Had our forefathers imitated Sophocles, or Euripides, or Eschylus, it is but fair to suppose that they would have imitated them entirely; for the taste of the nation was not at the point to suggest *selections* from their style, nor to justify any deviation from their successful system. We must therefore conclude, that the ancient Grecians had little to do (nothing directly) with the birth of our English Drama.

As to the opinion that it began in mimic and buffoonery at fairs, we cannot understand why, if this was the case, the subjects should be of so serious a cast. It is not reasonable to suppose, that the wandering merchants of the time would strive to attract purchasers, by laying before them some signal instance of God's vengeance. If they had mimicked any thing, it would have been the manners or the follies of the time, the gesture or the gait of individuals, or things that were in themselves obviously susceptible of mirth, and readily to be understood by the spectators. But we see nothing of this in the earliest specimens of the English dramatic writers; and without this we cannot well accede to the opinions of Warton or Schlegel, and think that our drama had no connexion with that of foreign countries. In the first place, our English Mysteries were essentially like those of Gregory Nanzianzen and the modern Italians. We had intercourse with Italy and Constantinople; and it is known that the stories of Boccaccio and his countrymen had been brought into England in the time of Chaucer.

If there had not been so decided a resemblance, in point of subject, between the 'Mysteries' of England and the sacred Dramas of Italy and modern Greece, we should have felt inclined to adopt the opinion of Schlegel. It is known that the same ingenious discoveries have been made in different parts of the world which had no acquaintance with each other; and it would have been but equitable to have given the English credit for a drama of their own invention. But, to say the truth, the earliest specimens of English plays do not look like inventions; they are at once too complete for originals, and too rude to be considered as copies from the polished Dramas of Sophocles and his cotemporaries. The first attempt at dramatic writing would naturally be in the form of a monodrame, or a simple colloquy, and not a drama with all its principal and subordinate parts illustrating a fact in history. It is said, indeed, that the Mysteries were composed by the monks, for the purpose of supplanting more vulgar entertainments of a similar nature; yet the fact of no such enter-

tainments having come down to us, may well excite some scepticism; for the person capable of inventing a drama, would also, we should think, be able to record it. It is true, that the most ancient entertainment at Naples is Punch, who has descended, by tradition only, from father to son, and still keeps his place of popularity, in defiance both of improvement and innovation. But Punch was not the origin of the Italian Drama; nor would the fact of his having been so, or of his resemblance to our fair mimicry, alter the question as to the invention of the English 'Mysteries.' After all, however, the matter is not important, and scarcely worth the very small discussion which we have bestowed upon it.

The '*Moralities*' which followed, grew out of the old 'Mystery,' and were the natural offspring of such a parent. They were mere embodyings of the vices and virtues; and though dressed up after a barbarous fashion, made some approach to the models of the ancient Greeks; at least in the titles of their *dramatis personæ*. 'Death,—Kindred,—Strength,—Discretion,' and others, for instance, which occur in the old Morality of 'Everyman,' came nearer to the personages in the Prometheus of Æschylus than the nature of the 'Mysteries' would allow; and in the Morality of 'Lusty Juventus,' the persons of 'Knowledge,—Good Councell,—Sathan the Devyll,' and others, explain at once the nature of their offices, and the entertainment they are likely to afford. These compositions (especially the Morality called 'Hycke-Scorner') possess occasional gleams of dramatic spirit; but, generally speaking, they have little of that quality beyond what is discoverable in the romances and narrative poems of the same period.

The first regular English comedy, 'Gammer Gurton's Needle,' in every sense a very remarkable performance, is said to have been written in the year 1551; and if that statement be correct, the first English tragedy, 'Ferrex and Porrex,' which was the joint composition of Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, and Thomas Norton, was written in the same year. Our business is not now with the comedy. With regard to the latter Drama, it is remarkable rather for its even style and negative merits, than for any one brilliant or sterling quality. It has none of the rudeness of the Dramas which preceded and followed it, but stands by itself, an elegant instance of mediocrity in writing. Without extravagance or flagrant error—without ribaldry, or any of the offensive trash that disgraced those days, it is nevertheless mournfully deficient in spirit and dramatic character. The hue of the authors' minds pervades the whole like a gloom. When Pope praised this tragedy for 'the propriety of sentiments, and gravity of style,' &c. 'so

essential to tragedy,' and which, he says, 'Shakespeare himself perpetually neglected, or little understood,' he proves to us nothing but that he did not understand dramatic writing. Even Milton (and we say this very reluctantly) seems to have had an imperfect idea of true tragedy, when he calls the Greek writers 'unequalled,' and proposes them as models, in preference to our own great and incomparable poet. We have little to object to the 'propriety' of Lord Buckhurst's sentiments, and nothing to the 'gravity' of his style. These things are very good, no doubt; but we have nothing else. There is no character—no variety, which is the soul of dramatic writing. What Lord Buckhurst says might as well be said in a narrative or didactic poem,—in a sermon, or an essay. But in a play, we want true and vivid portraits: we want the life and spirit of natural dialogue: we want 'gravity of style' occasionally, but we also want fancy, and even folly: we want passion in all its shapes, and madness in its many words, and virtue and valour,—not dressed up in allegory, nor tamed down to precept, but true and living examples of each, with all the varieties and inflections of human nature,—not too good for us to profit by, nor too bad for us to dread. Now, we have little of this in 'Ferrex and Porrex.' The play is steril in character, and, with all its good sense, is a dead and dull monotony. The following is one of the most favourable passages; but it will nevertheless afford a fair specimen of the style in which the whole is written. Hermon (a parasite) is addressing the King.

——'If the fear of Gods, and secret grudge
Of Nature's law, repining at the fact,
Withhold your courage from so great attempt,
Know ye that lust of kingdoms hath no law,
The Gods do bear, and well dllow in Kings
The things that they abhor in rascal routes.
When kings on slender quarrels run to wars,
And then, in cruel and unkindly wise,
Commend thefts, rapes, murder of innocents,
The spoil of towns, ruins of mighty realms,
Think you such princes do suppose themselves
Subject to laws of kind, and fear of Gods?
Murders and violent thefts in private men
Are heinous crimes, and full of foul reproach;
Yet no offence, and deck'd with glorious name
Of noble conquests in the hands of kings.' *Act 2. sc. 1.*

We have taken no liberty with this very edifying counsel, except that of altering the ancient spelling. The doctrine requires as little assistance.

After Lord Sackville followed *Edwards*, who, in 1571, wrote

'The Comedy of Damon and Pythias.' It has, notwithstanding its title, some things of tragedy in it; but the serious parts are nearly worthless. The style is rude and bad enough, and the play is filled with anachronisms and inconsistencies; but there is an attempt at character in one or two of the persons of the drama, which serves in some small measure to redeem it. Aristippus is an instance of a philosopher turned courtier; and Carisophus is a specimen of the parasite plant, which we can easily suppose flourished and multiplied as readily at the foot of Etna, as on the banks of the Seine or the Thames, or on the shores of the sea of Archangel. About the same time with Edwards lived and wrote Thomas *Preston*, the author of 'Cambises king of Percia.' This tragedy is remarkable only for its having been referred to, as is supposed, by Shakespeare in Henry the Fourth. The 'vein' of Cambises, however, is but a sorry vein; and is more dull than extravagant. It would probably long since have been forgotten, but for Falstaff's allusion. *Whetstone*, the author of Promos and Cassandra, is scarcely worth a mention, unless it be that Shakespeare has borrowed his subject of 'Measure for Measure' from him;—neither is *Kyd*, who wrote 'Soliman and Perseda,' and the Spanish Tragedy. We say this on the supposition that some other was the author of the scene in the latter play, where Hieronimo is discovered mad. There is in that scene, indeed, a wild and stern grief, painted with fearful strength, which we must not altogether pass over. The following short extract is powerful and fine.

The Painter enters.

'*Paint.* God bless you, Sir.
Hier. Wherefore? why, thou scornful villain?
How, where, or by what means should I be blest?
Isab. What would'st thou have, good fellow?
Paint. Justice, madam.
Hier. Oh! ambitious beggar, would'st thou have that
That lives not in the world?
Why, all the undelved mines cannot buy
An ounce of Justice, 'tis a jewel so inestimable.
I tell thee, God hath engrossed all justice in his hands,
And there is none but what comes from him.
Paint. Oh! then I see that God must right me for
My murdered son.
Hier. How, was thy son murdered?
Paint. Ay, Sir: no man did hold a son so dear.
Hier. What! not as thine? that's a lie
As massy as the earth: I had a son,

Whose least unvalued hair did weigh
A thousand of thy sons, and he was murdered.
Paint. Alas! Sir, I had no more but he.
Hier. Nor I, nor I: but this same one of mine
Was worth a legion. But all is one; Pedro,
Jaques, go in a doors, Isabella, go,
And this good fellow here, and I
Will range this hideous orchard up and down
Like too she lions reaved of our young.'

Besides these, there are some others who may be said to have flourished before the time of Shakespeare—*Wilmot*, who wrote 'Tancred and Gismonde'—*Greene*, the author of 'James the Fourth'—*Legge*, who is said to have written 'Richard the Third'—the celebrated John *Lily* the Euphuist—George *Peele*, who wrote 'David and Bethsabe' and 'Mahomet and Hiron,' and some other dramas,—and last, but not least, Christopher Marlow. These authors, with the exception of Peele and Marlow (for Lily's plays can scarcely be considered within the limit of our subject) may be passed over without further mention. The lines of Peele are sweet and flowing, but they have little imagination and no strength; and he is without a notion of dialogue. He would have written pastorals perhaps smoothly and pleasantly, but the passions were altogether above him. One of his plays, 'Mahomet and Hiron,' is probably the source from which ancient Pistol has derived a portion of his learning. David and Bethsabe reminds us of the Old Mysteries: its style, however, is different, and it has some lines that have undoubtedly great beauty. In Bethsabe's apostrophe to the air, she says—

'Deck thyself in loose robes,
And on thy wings bring delicate perfumes'—

which is delicacy itself; nor can the following lines in the same play (describing a fountain) be denied the merit of being extremely graceful.

'The brim let be embraced with golden curls
Of moss that sleeps with sounds the waters make,
With joy to feed the fount with their recourse:
Let all the grass that beautifies her bower
Bear manna every morn instead of dew;
Or let the dew be sweeter far than that
That hangs like chains of pearl on Hermon hill.'

But *Marlow* was undoubtedly the greatest tragic writer that preceded Shakespeare. The spirit of extravagance seems to have dwelt in his brain, and to have imped him on to the most extraordinary feats: but his muse had a fiery wing, and bore him over the dark and unhallowed depths of his subject in a

strong and untiring flight. This poet is less remarkable for his insight into human character, than for his rich and gloomy imagination, and his great powers of diction,—for whether stately, or terrible, or tender, he excels in all. His 'mighty line' was famous in his own time, and cannot be denied even now: yet he could stoop from the heights of a lawless fancy, or the dignity of solemn declamation, to words of the softest witchery. He certainly loved to wander from the common track, and dash at once into peril and mystery; and this daring it was which led him naturally to his sublimity and extravagance. Unfortunately Marlow is never content with doing a little, nor even with doing enough; but he fills the cup of horror till it overflows. There is a striking instance of this in his tragedy of 'Lust's Dominion,' which seems written from a desire to throw off a tormenting load of animal spirits. There is a perpetual spurning at restraints, a warring with reason and probability throughout the whole of the play. Eleazar, the Moor, is a mad savage who should have been shut up in a cage, and the queen, his paramour, with him; and the whole dialogue (though there are some strong well-sustained passages) is as unequal and turbulent as the characters.

Of all the plays of Marlow, 'Faustus' is the finest, and 'Edward the Second' perhaps the most equal. The 'Jew of Malta' we cannot admire, (though there is in it certainly the first hint of Shylock); and Tamburlaine, generally speaking, is either fustian or frenzy. However, the poet's idea of the horses of the sun—

> 'That blow the morning from their nostrils,'

is magnificent, and his description of Tamburlaine's person

> '(Such breadth of shoulders as might mainly bear
> Old Atlas' burden'—)

recals, not unpleasantly, to our mind the description of the great 'second spirit' of Milton. * 'Faustus' is the story of a learned man who sells himself to the devil, on condition of having unlimited power on earth for twenty-four years; and Mephostophilis (a spirit) is given to him as a slave. These two worthies pass from place to place, enjoying themselves in feastings, and love, and triumphs of various kinds; and, by the aid of Lucifer, they beat priests and abuse the pope to his face, and commit similar enormities in defiance of '*maledicats*' and other formidable weapons of church construction. There are many single lines and phrases in this play which might be selected as

* 'With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest monarchies.'—

incontestable evidence that Marlow was in felicity of thought, and strength of expression, second only to Shakespeare himself. (As a dramatist, however, he is inferior to others.) Some of his turns of thought are even like those of our matchles poets; as when he speaks of

'—— unwedded maids
Shadowing more beauty in their airy brows
Than have the white breasts of the queen of love;'

or of a temple

'That *threats* the stars with her aspiring top;'

and where he refers to a man who has an amiable soul,

'If sin by custom grow not into nature'—

and many others. But Faustus's death is the most appalling thing in the play. It is difficult, however, to give the reader an idea of it by a brief extract—he must read it with its 'pomp and circumstance' about it. Faustus is to die at twelve, and the clock has already struck eleven. He groans forth his last speech, which begins thus—

'O Faustus!
Now hast thou but one bare hour to live,
And then thou must be damned perpetually.
Stand still, you ever moving spheres of Heaven,
That Time may cease, and Midnight never come!
Fair Nature's eye, rise—rise again, and make
Perpetual day; or let this hour be but
A year—a month—a week—a natural day—
That Faustus may repent, and save his soul,' &c.

And now, to pass from the terrible to the gentle, nothing can be more soft than the lines which he addresses to the Vision of Helen, whom he requires to pass before him when he is in search of a mistress. He is smitten at once by her excelling beauty, and thus he speaks:

'Was this the face that launch'd a thousand ships,
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?—
Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss—
Her lips suck forth my soul.....
Here will I dwell, for Heaven is in these lips,
And all is dross that is not Helena.
I will be Paris, and for love of thee
Instead of Troy shall Wittenburg be sacked,
And I will combat with weak Menelaus,
And wear thy colours on my plumed crest.
—Oh! thou art fairer than the evening air,
Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars;
Brighter art thou than flaming Jupiter,
When he appear'd to hapless Semele,
More lovely than the monarch of the sky

In wanton Arethusa's azure arms,
And none but thou shall be my paramour.'—

Following Marlow, but far outshining him and all others in the vigour and variety of his mighty intellect, arose the first of all poets, whether in the East or West—SHAKESPEARE. He had, it is true, many cotemporaries, whose names have since become famous,—men who slept for a time in undeserved obscurity, and who are at last brought forward to illustrate the fashion of their time, and to give bright evidence of its just renown: Yet there is not one worthy of being raised to a comparison with Shakespeare himself. One had a lofty fancy, another a deep flow of melodious verse, another a profound reach of thought; a fourth caught well the mere manners of the age, while others would lash its vices or laud its proud deeds, in verse worthy of the acts which they recorded; but Shakespeare surpassed them all. In the race of fame he was foremost, and alone. He was, beyond all doubt or competition, the first writer of his age or nation. He illuminated the land in which he lived, like a constellation. There were, as we have said, other bright aspects which cast a glory upon the world of letters; but *he alone* had that *radiating* intellect which extended all ways, and penetrated all things, scattering the darkness of ignorance that rested on his age, while it invigorated its spirit and bettered the heart. He was witty, and humorous, and tender, and lofty, and airy, and profound, beyond all men who have lived before or since. He had that particular and eminent faculty, which no other tragic writer perhaps ever possessed, of divesting his subject altogether of himself. He developed the characters of men, but never intruded himself amongst them. He fashioned figures of all colours and shapes and sizes, but he did not put the stamp of egotism upon them, nor breathe over each the sickly hue of his own opinion. They were fresh and strong, beautiful or grotesque, as occasion asked,—or they were blended and compounded of different metals, to suit the various uses of human life; and thus cast, he sent them forth amongst mankind to take their chance for immortality.

The cotemporaries of Shakespeare were great and remarkable men. They had winged imaginations, and made lofty flights. They saw above, below, or around; but they had not the taste or discrimination which he possessed, nor the same extensive vision. They drew correctly and vividly for particular aspects, while he towered above his subject, and surveyed it on all sides, from 'top to toe.' If some saw farther than others, they were dazzled at the riches before them, and grasped hastily, and with

little care. They were perplexed with that variety which he made subservient to the general effect. They painted a portrait—or two—or three only, as though afraid of confusion. He, on the other hand, managed and marshalled all. His characters lie, like strata of earth, one under another; or to use his own expression, 'matched in mouth like bells,—each under each.' We need only look at the plays of Falstaff, where there are wits and rogues and simpletons of a dozen shades,—Falstaff, Hal, Poins, Bardolph, Nym, Pistol, Hostess, Shallow, Silence, Slender,—to say nothing of those rich recruits, equal only to a civil war. Now, no one else has done this, and it must be presumed that none have been able to do it; Marlow, Marston, Webster, Decker, Johnson, Massinger, Beaumont and Fletcher —a strong phalanx, yet none have proved themselves competent to so difficult a task.

It has been well said, that it is not so much in one faculty that Shakespeare excelled his fellows, as in that wondrous combination of talent, which has made him, beyond controversy, eminent above all. * He was as universal as the light, and had riches countless. The Greek dramatists are poor in the comparison. The gloom of Fate hung over their tragedies, and they spoke by the oracle. They have indeed too much of the monotony of their skies; but our poet, while he had the brightness of the summer months, was as various as the April season, and as fickle and fantastic as May.

It is idle to say that the characters of writers cannot be discovered from their works. There is sure to be some betrayal,—(Shakespeare is a wonderful and single exception in his dramatic works—but he has written others)—there is always some mark of vanity, or narrow bigotry, or intolerant pride, when either of these vices darken or contract the poet's heart: there is some moment when he who is querrulous will complain, and he who is misanthropic will pour out his hate; but—passing by the dramas, in which, however, there is no symptom of any personal failings—there is nothing to be found in all his lyrical writings, save only a little repining; and this the malice of his stars may well excuse. The poets and wits of modern times would, we suspect, spurn at the servitude which Shakespeare wore out with patience. But he, rich as he was in active faculty, possessed also the passive virtue of endurance—the philosophy which enabled him to meet misfortune, and to bear up against the accidents of poverty and of the time. It is to the eternal honour of Lord South-

* See Mr Hazlitt's Essay on the characters of Shakespeare.

ampton, that he could distinguish in some measure the worth of our matchless poet, and that he had generosity enough to honour and reward it. So much has been written and said on Shakespeare, that we will not add further to the enormities of criticism. He breathes like a giant under the loads of rubbish which his pigmy critics and commentators have flung upon him. One good editor, with a reasonable knowledge of the manners and diction of the times, would do the world a service by casting aside nine-tenths of the barren dissertation that has been wasted on the subject, and which now remains, like a *caput mortuum*, weighing down the better text of our greatest poet.

After Shakespeare, *Beaumont and Fletcher* have altogether the highest claims to consideration. For, though Ben Jonson was more eminent in some respects, and Massinger better in others, they were, as serious dramatic poets, decidedly superior to both. It is difficult to separate Beaumont from Fletcher; especially as all the plays wherein the former had a share are not certainly known. Beaumont is said to have had the better judgment (to have 'brought the ballast of judgment,') and Fletcher the livelier and more prolific fancy; but as the latter was the sole author of the 'Faithful Shepherdess,' 'Valentinian,' 'Rule a Wife and Have a Wife,' and 'The Two Noble Kinsmen,' * besides being concerned jointly with Beaumont in some of the most serious plays which pass under their joint names, he is entitled on the whole to the greatest share of our admiration. An excellent critic has said of Fletcher, that he was 'mistrustful of nature.' We think rather that he was careless of her. He lets his Muse run riot too often. There is no symptom of timidity about him, (if that be meant:) he never stands on the verge of a deep thought, curbing his wit for propriety's sake. On the contrary, he seems often not to know where to stop. Hence it is that his style becomes dilated, and has sometimes an appearance of effeminacy.

If we may believe the portraits of Fletcher, there was something flushed and sanguine in his personal complexion. His eye had a fiery and eager look; his hair inclined to red; and his whole appearance is restless, and, without being heavy, is plethoric. And his verse is like himself. It is flushed and full of animal spirit. It has as much of this as Marlow's had; but

* 'The Two Noble Kinsmen' is said to have been written by Fletcher and *Shakespeare*; and the early part of the play certainly betrays marks of the great master hand, or else an imitation so exquisite, as to cause our regret that it was not more frequently attempted.

there is not the same extravagance, and scarcely the same power which is to be found in the verse of the elder dramatist. Fletcher, however, had a great deal of humour, and a great deal of sprightliness. There is a buoyancy in his language that is never perceptible in Massinger, nor even in the shrewder scenes of Ben Jonson;—but he had not a wit like Shakespeare, nor a tithe of his ethereal fancy. There is always something *worldly* in Fletcher, and the other poets of his time, which interferes with their airiest abstractions, and drags down the wings of their Muse. We see it in the 'Witch' of Middleton, in the 'Faithful Shepherdess' of Fletcher and others; whereas we do not feel it in 'The Tempest,' nor in 'Macbeth,' disturbing our delusion; and Oberon and Titania and her crew, even when they mix with the 'rude mechanicals,'

'Who work for bread upon Athenian stalls,'

remain to us a golden dream. They meet by moonlight upon the haunted shores of Athens, to make sport with human creatures, to discuss their tiny jealousies, to submit even to the thraldom of an earthly passion; but they still keep up their elfin state, from first to last, unsoiled by any touch of mortality.

Before we part with Fletcher, we will give the reader a passage from his tragedy of 'Philaster,' that will illustrate, more than any thing we can say, both his merits and defects. Bellario (a girl in disguise) addresses the King of Sicily, on behalf of his daughter (Arethusa), who has just been married clandestinely to Philaster. The young couple come in as masquers; and thus the boy-girl intercedes:—

'Right royal Sir, I should
Sing you an epithalamium of these lovers,
But having lost my best airs with my fortunes,
And wanting a celestial harp to strike
This blessed union on, thus in glad story
I give you all. These two fair cedar branches,
The noblest of the mountain, where they grew
Straitest and tallest, under whose still shades
The worthier beasts have made their layers, and slept
Free from the Sirian star, and the fell thunder-stroke,
Free from the clouds, when they were big with humour,
And delivered
In thousand spouts their issues to the earth:—
Oh! there was none but silent Quiet there;
Till never-pleased Fortune shot up shrubs,
Base under-brambles to divorce these branches;
And for a while they did so:—
And now a gentle gale hath blown again,
And made these branches meet and twine together,

Never to be divided.—The God, that sings
His holy numbers over marriage beds,
Hath knit their noble hearts, and here they stand
Your children, mighty king; and I have done.'

With regard to *Massinger*, there can be no doubt, we think, that he was decidedly inferior to Fletcher as a poet; but that he was a more equal writer is very possible, and he had perhaps as great a share of the mere dramatic faculty. His verse has been celebrated for its flow, we believe, by Dr Ferriar; but we cannot, we confess, perceive much beauty in it. It is not rugged and harsh, but it wants music nevertheless; it runs in a tolerably regular current, but it has seldom or never any felicitous modulations. Massinger himself has not much of the fluctuation of genius. We would not be understood to say that carelessness is the necessary concomitant of talent; but merely that Massinger rarely rises much beyond the level on which he sets out. He is less accessible to passion than Fletcher and others, and is not often either very elevated or very profound. His imagination does not soar, like Marlow's, nor penetrate like the dark subtle power of Webster. He has strength, however, and sometimes great majesty of diction. He builds up a character to a stately height, although he does not often endow it with the turns and vacillations of humanity. 'Sforza' is the best which occurs to us at this moment, and is in some measure an exception to our opinion. We do not see any thing improbable in his conduct, more than is justified by the irregularities of human nature. His wild admiration and fierce injunctions are sufficiently consistent; and the way in which he rises upon us, from being the slave of a woman's beauty to the height of a hero and philosopher, has always attracted our deep regard. His return, and his remorse too, are all in character; and though Massinger's forte is by no means the pathetic, the death of Sforza is full of pathos. He sighs forth his breath thus—

'Yet I will not die raging; for, alas!
My whole life was a frenzy.—
Bury me with Marcelia,
And let our epitaphs be'——

and here death cuts short his saying; but the unfinished accents are more touching than the most elaborate and highly strained completion.

We think of *Ben Jonson*, almost as a matter of course, when we name Beaumont and Fletcher and Massinger. He was not equal to his companions in tragedy; but he was superior to them, and perhaps to almost all others, in his terse, shrewd, sterling, vigorous, comic scenes. He had a faculty between wit and hu-

mour (but more nearly allied to the latter), which has not been surpassed. His strokes were sometimes as subtle as Shakespeare's, but his arrowy wit was not feathered. His humour was scarcely so broad and obvious as Fletcher's, but it was more searching, and equally true. His tragedies were inferior to his comedies. He had a learned eye, and set down good things from the book; but he relies upon facts (if we may so speak) instead of Nature, and they do not provide for all the dilemmas to which his heroes are reduced.

Of *Middleton* it may be said, that he had a high imagination, and was an observer of manners and character; and that his verse was rich, being studded with figures and bright conceits. His play of the 'Witch' is supposed by Stevens to have preceded Macbeth; and, if so, there can be no doubt but that Shakespeare made use of it. The relative merits of his witches, and those of Shakespeare, have already been decided by Mr Charles Lambe to our satisfaction. As a play, we prefer, on the whole, our author's 'Women Beware of Women.' Leontio's speech, when he is returning home to his young wife, is a fine compliment to marriage.

Marston was more of a satirist than a dramatic writer. He was harsh in his style, and cynical and sceptical in his ideas of human nature. Nevertheless he was a deep and bold thinker; and he might have filled the office of a court jester, with all the privileges of a motley, for he could whip a folly well. He held up the mirror to vice, but seldom or never to virtue. He had little imagination, and less dilatation, but brings his ideas at once to a point. A fool or a braggart he could paint well, or a bitter wit; but he does little else; for his villains are smeared over, and his good people have no marks of distinction upon them. Yet there are a few touches of strange pathos in the midst of his satire; but they arise from the depth of the sentiment, rather than from the situation of things, or from any strength of passion in the speaker, either of love or pity or despair. Marston appears to us like a man who, having outlived the hopes of a turbulent youth, has learned nothing but that evil is a great principle of human nature, and mingles sparingly the tenderness of past recollections with the bitter consciousness of existing ill.

Decker had a better notion of character than most of his cotemporaries; but he had not the poignancy of Marston, and scarcely the imagination of Middleton, and fell short of the extravagant power and towering style of Marlow. Perhaps, however, he had more of the qualities of a good dramatist than either. He understood the vacillations of the human mind. His men and women did not march to the end of the drama

without turning to the right or to the left; but they gave themselves up to nature and their passions, and let us pleasantly into some of the secrets and inconsistencies of the actual world. His portraits of Mattheo and Bellafront (particularly the former), of Friscobaldo and Hypolito, are admirable. He is almost the only writer (even in his great time) who permits circumstances to have their full effect upon persons, and to turn them from the path on which they set out. He did not torture facts to suit a preconceived character; but varied the character according to events. He knew that to be inconsistent, and to change, was natural to man (and woman), and acted accordingly. As a specimen of the style of Decker, the reader may take the following extract. The Duke (of Milan) and his Doctor and servants are waiting for the revival of Infelicia, who has been thrown, by opiates, into a sleep.

'*Duke.* Uncurtain her.
Softly, sweet doctor . . . You called
For music, did you not? Oh, ho! it speaks,
It speaks. Watch, sirs, her waking; note those sands,
Doctor, sit down. A dukedom that should weigh
Mine own twice down, being put into one scale,
And that fond desperate boy Hypolito
Making the weight up, should not (at my hands)
Buy her i' the other, were her state more light
Than her's who makes a dowry up with alms.
Doctor,—I'll starve her on the Appenine,
Ere he shall marry her. I must confess
Hypolito is nobly born; a man,
Did not mine enemy's blood boil in his veins.
Servant. She wakes, my lord.
Duke. Look, Doctor Benedict.
I charge ye, on your lives, maintain for truth
Whate'er the Doctor or myself aver.
Infel. Oh! God,—what fearful dreams!
Servant. Lady!
Infel. Ha!
Duke. Girl!
Why, Infelicia!—how is't now? ha,—speak!
Infel. I'm well. What makes this doctor here?—I'm well.
Duke. Thou wert not so, e'en now. Sickness' pale hand
Laid hold on thee, e'en in the dead of feasting;
And when a cup, crowned with thy lover's health,
Had touched thy lips, a sensible cold dew
Stood on thy cheeks, as if that Death had wept
To see such beauty altered.'

Chapman (the translator of Homer) was a grave and solid writer; but he did not possess much skill in tragedy, and, in

his dramas at least, did not show the same poetic power as some of his rivals. Nevertheless he was a fine pedant, a stately builder of verse. In his best-known tragedy ('Bussy D'Ambois'), his hero will receive no human help, when dying; but says—

'Prop me, true sword, as thou hast ever done.
The equal thought I bear of life and death,
Shall make me faint on no side: I am up
Here like a Roman statue: I will stand
Till Death hath made me marble. Oh! my fame,
Live, in despite of murder. Take thy wings,
And haste thee where the grey-eyed morn perfumes
Her rosy chariot with Sabæan spices.
Fly, where the Evening, from Iberian vales,
Takes on her swarthy shoulders Hecaté
Crown'd with a grove of oaks.
And tell them all that D'Ambois now is hasting
To the eternal dwellers.'

Webster was altogether of a different stamp. He was an unequal writer; full of a gloomy power, but with touches of profound sentiment and the deepest pathos. His imagination rioted upon the grave, and frenzy and murder and 'loathed melancholy' were in his dreams. A common calamity was beneath him, and ordinary vengeance was too trivial for his Muse. His pen distilled blood; and he was familiar with the hospital and the charnel-house, and racked his brain to outvie the horrors of both. His visions were not of Heaven, nor of the air; but they came, dusky and earthy, from the tomb; and the madhouse emptied its cells to do justice to the closing of his fearful stories. There are few passages, except in Shakespeare, which have so deep a sentiment as the following. Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, has caused his sister (the Duchess of Malfy) to be murdered by Bosola, his creature. They are standing by the dead body.

'*Bosol.* Fix your eye here.
Fer. Constantly.
Bosol. Do you not weep?—
Other sins only speak: Murther cries out;
The element of water moistens the earth;
But blood flies upwards, and bedews the heavens.
Fer. Cover her face: mine eyes dazzle. She died young!
Bosol. I think not so: her infelicity
Seemed to have years too many.
Fer. She and I were twins:
And should I die this instant, I had lived
Her time to a minute.'

We would not be supposed to assert that this writer was without his faults. On the contrary, he had several:—he had a too gloomy brain, a distempered taste; he was sometimes harsh, and sometimes dull; but he had great sentiment, and, not unfrequently, great vigour of expression. He was like Marlow, with this difference—that as Marlow's imagination was soaring, so, on the other hand, was his penetrating and profound. The one rose to the stars, the other plunged to the centre; equally distant from the bare commonplaces of the earth; they sought for thoughts and images in clouds and depths, and arrived, by different means, at the same great end. *Rowley* and *Field* are respectable names of this period; but, as they generally wrote in conjunction with others, we will not attempt to give them an independent reputation. We must not forget, however, that the former was the author of 'The Witch of Edmonton,' and bore for some time the credit of 'The Parliament of Love.'

Ford is sufficiently peculiar in his talent as well as his style, to call for a separate mention. His principal play, of ''Tis Pity She's a Whore,' betrays great powers of pathos, and much sweetness of versification; but they should not have been wasted on such a subject. We are not persons to put the Tragic Muse in fetters, nor to imprison her within very circumscribed limits; but there are subjects (be they fact or fiction) which are nauseous to all except distempered minds. There can be no good gained by running counter to the tastes and opinions of *all* society. There is no truth elicited, no moral enforced; and the boundaries of human knowledge can scarcely be said to be enlarged by anatomizing monstrous deformities, or expatiating upon the hideous anomalies of the species. Ford has not much strength or knowledge of character; nor has he much depth of sentiment, except in pourtraying the passion of love. In that, however, he excels almost all his cotemporaries. He is remarkable, also, for his pathetic powers; yet scarcely for poetry, although his verse is generally sweet and tender. Some parts of the 'Broken Heart' are as finely written as Fletcher, and Penthea herself (the true heroine, after all—a pale passion-flower) exquisitely drawn. The scene, however, in ''Tis Pity She's a Whore,' where Giovanni murders Annabella, is the finest thing that Ford has done; and there he will stand a comparison with any one, except Shakespeare himself. *Tourneur* was the author of one or two tragedies of exceeding merit. He belonged to the age of Fletcher, and Jonson, and Decker, and was worthy of it: but his faculty, though excellent in itself, had not such a peculiar cast as to call for a separate mention. He de-

served more, however, than the couplet with which one of his cotemporaries has libelled his memory.

> ' His fame unto that pitch was only raised,
> As not to be despised, nor over-praised.'

The '*Revenger's*,' and '*Atheist's Tragedies*,' should have saved him from this.

Shirley was a writer of about the same calibre as Ford, but with less pathos. And he was, moreover, the last of that bright line of poets whose glory has run thus far into the future, and must last as long as passion, and profound thought, and fancy, and imagination, and wit, shall continue to be honoured. There may be a change of fashions, and revolutions of power; but the empire of intellect will always remain the same. There is a lofty stability in genius, a splendour in a learned renown, which no clouds can obscure or extinguish. The politician and his victories may pass away, and the discoveries in science be eclipsed; but the search of the poet and the philosopher is for immutable TRUTH, and their fame will be, like their object, immortal.

We have now done with the ancients. We have endeavoured to trace, as well as we could, their individual likenesses: but they had also a general character which belonged to their age, —a pervading resemblance, in which their own peculiar distinctions were merged and lost. They were true English writers, unlatinized. They were not translators of French idioms, nor borrowers (without acknowledgment) of Roman thoughts. Their minds were not of exotic growth, nor their labours fashioned after a foreign model. Yet they were indebted to story and fable,—to science and art—and they had a tincture of learning; but it was mixed with the bloom of fresh inspiration, and subdued to the purposes of original poetry. It was not the staple, the commodity upon which these writers traded; but was blended, gracefully and usefully, with their own home-bred diction and original thought.

During the protectorate of Cromwell, the Drama lay in a state of torpidity. Whatever intellect the time possessed, was exhausted in tirades and discussions, religious and political, where cunning and violence, and narrow bigotry, alternately predominated. The gloom of an ignorant fanaticism lay heavy on the state, and oppressed it; and humour and fancy were put to flight, or sought shelter with the wandering cavaliers of the period. The spirit of the people was bent to arms. They fought for liberty or the crowned cause, as interest or opinion swayed them, while literature suffered in the contest. Milton, the greatest name of that age, was the grandest of the poets, but he had strictly no dramatic faculty. He himself speaks through-

out the whole of 'Samson Agonistes,'—throughout all 'Paradise Lost,'—all 'Comus.' His own great spirit shone through the story, whatever it might be; and whatever the character, his own arguments and his own opinions were brought out and arranged in lucid order. His talent was essentially epic, not dramatic; and it was because the former prevailed, and not the latter, that we are indebted for the greatest poem that the world has ever seen.

After the restoration of the second Charles, the Drama raised its head, but evidently with little of its former character. It had lost its old inspiration, caught directly from the bright smile of Nature. It had none of that fine audacity which prompted the utterance of so many truths; none of that proud imagination which carried the poet's thoughts to so high a station. But it drew in a noisy, and meagre, and monotonous stream of verse, through artificial conduits and French strainers, which fevered and fretted for a time, but, in the end, impoverished and reduced the strength and stature of the English Drama.

Dryden is the principal name of this period, and he was foremost to overturn the system of his forefathers and substitute the French style in its stead. He vaunts, if we remember rightly, in one of his prefaces, of adding new words to our native tongue; and he certainly injured (as well as served) the cause of literature, by sanctioning by his example the prevalent taste of his time. The Restoration, perhaps, cherished and brought to life that bright phalanx of wits, Wycherley, and Congreve, and the rest; but it threw our graver dramatists into the shade. Comedy flourished, but Tragedy died; or, rather, it grew diseased, and bloated, and unnatural, and lost its strength and healthier look. It grew unwieldy, imitative, foreign. The French had studied and copied the Greek drama, and the English studied and copied the French. All fashions came at that time from Paris, and literature was not an exception. Corneille first, and afterwards Racine, who was cotemporary with Dryden, lent their help to put our native dramatists out of the play. In fact, our playwrights found it much easier to imitate the French authors successfully, than to rival their predecessors in England. To this, as well as to the force of fashion, which undoubtedly operated very strongly, may be ascribed the change in our dramatic literature. The declamatory plays of Dryden and the others do not contain a tithe of the original thought that was lavished upon many of the second-rate dramas of the Elizabethan age. The tone of tragedy itself became cold and bombastic, where it was once full of life and simplicity, and the sentiments degenerated with the style. They were heavy and commonplace, or else

were pilfered from the elder writers without acknowledgment, and dressed up in gaudy and fantastic habits to suit the poor purposes of a play-mechanic. It is now well known that Rowe stole the entire plot and characters of his 'Fair Penitent' from Massinger; but it is not so generally known that his production is contemptible in comparison with the original play.

Dryden was a striking and nervous writer. As a satirist, he has scarcely been equalled. As a dramatist, he had great command of language, and was full of high-sounding phrases; but these he showered indiscriminately upon all his characters, whatever their worth or occupation might be. The courtier, the tyrant, the victim, the slave, the cynic, were equally well provided with gorgeous words, and lavished them away alike upon all occasions. Dryden seems to have had a quick insight into one quarter of men's minds, and drew out their foibles and darker traits with the hand of a master; but he could not pourtray a whole character, the good and the ill, and those proper shades of the intellect, those turns and touches of passion, which have made Shakespeare immortal. On the contrary, he had an obliquity of understanding which led him to the discovery of error only. His intellectual *retina* seems to have been too small to receive the whole compass and sketch of man. If he praised, he praised in general, with little discrimination; and his writings have none of the nicer touches of affection or goodness. But, with the lash in his hand, and a knave or a fool to deal with, he was an exemplary person. No culprit could stand against him.

Of all the dramatic writers since the return of Charles, *Lee* may be considered as the first. It is true, that Otway has constructed the *best* drama, and the stage is most indebted to him; but Lee had assuredly more imagination and passion than his rival, although every play which he has written is disgraced by the most unaccountable fustian. There is great tenderness and beauty in 'Theodosius;' and great power, mixed with extravagance, both in 'The Rival Queens' and the 'Massacre of Paris,' and others. This last-mentioned play, which is not, we apprehend, very generally known, shows a skill in character equal to Otway, to whom Lee is commonly decidedly inferior in that respect. As a specimen of the spirit of Lee's dialogue, the reader may take the following from the 'Massacre of Paris.' The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain are speaking of Marguerite (de Valois), who has just left them in a transport of passion.

'*Car.* What have you done, my lord, to make her thus?
Guise. Causes are endless for a woman's loving.
Perhaps she has seen me break a lance on horseback;

Or, as my custom is, all over armed
Plunge in the Seine or Loire; and, where 'tis swiftest,
Plow to my point against the headlong stream.
'Tis certain, were my soul of that soft make
Which some believe, she has charms, my heavenly uncle,' &c.

which he proceeds to discuss in a way to call down the rebuke of the Cardinal upon his amour,

'Not for the sin; that 's as the conscience makes it,'

as his Eminence says, but for the 'love.' To this Guise replies:

'*Guise.* I love, 'tis true, but most for my ambition:
Therefore I thought to marry Marguerite.
But, oh! that Cassiopeia in the Chair,
The regent-mother, and that dog *Anjou*,
Cross constellations! blast my plots ere born.
The king, too, frowns upon me; for, last night,
Hearing a ball was promised by the queen,
I came to help the show; when, at the door,
The king, who stood himself the sentry, stopped me,
And asked me what I came for? I replied,
To serve his majesty: he, sharp and short,
Retorted thus—he did not need my service.
Car. 'Tis plain, you must resolve to quit her;
For I am charged to tell you, she's designed
To be the wife of Henry of Navarre.
'Tis the main beam in all that mighty engine
Which now begins to move——
Guise. I have it, and methinks it looks like *D'Alva*.
I see the very motion of his beard,
His opening nostrils, and his dropping lids;
I hear him croak, too, to the king and queen:
" In Biscay's bay,—at Bayonne
Fish for the great fish;—take no care for frogs;—
Cut off the poppy heads;—lay the winds fast,
And strait the waves (the people) will be still."

Otway, however, on the whole, seems to have shown in his great tragedy ('Venice Preserved') more *dramatic* power than Lee; for although there is a good deal of commonplace in it, and more than enough of prose, that tragedy is certainly entitled to rank very high as a dramatic production. Otway's pretensions to mere poetry were very slight; and his lyrical pieces are entirely worthless. What he effected, he did by a strong contrast of character, by spirited dialogue, and by always keeping in view the main object of the play. He did not dally with his subject, nor waste his strength in figures and conceits, but went straight to the end, and kept expectation alive. It must be confessed, however, that Jaffier and Belvidera are sometimes sufficiently

tedious: But Pierre is a bold and striking figure, who stands out, like a rock, from the sea of sorrow which is poured around him. He is in fact the hero of the play, and like a pleasant discord in music, saves it from the monotony which would otherwise oppress it.

Southern is less tumid than Lee and Dryden, and altogether more free from blemish, but he is a weaker writer than either. His 'Isabella' possesses great pathos, and his dialogue is for the most part natural; but he has little else to boast of. *Congreve* was a wit of the first water, and the most sparkling comic writer perhaps in the circle of letters; and yet he wrote the 'Mourning Bride.' We think that, with his wit, he could not have been insensible to its defects. Of *Rowe, Hughes, Hill, Howard, Murphey, Thomson, Cumberland,* &c. what can we say, but that they all wrote tragedies, which succeeded—we believe. *Addison's* 'Cato' is as cold as a statue, and correct enough to satisfy the most fastidious of critics. We ourselves prefer his Sir Roger de Coverley: But these things are matters of taste. With regard to *Dr Johnson's* 'Irene,' we must say that it would reflect little or no credit upon any writer whatever; and that it detracts from, rather than adds to, *his* deservedly great reputation, is, we apprehend, universally allowed. The author, we believe, once adventured an opinion, that nothing which had deserved to live was forgotten. We wonder whether, if he were alive, he would (in the present state of his play) retain his old way of thinking. These general maxims are dreadfully perilous to poets' reputations, and should not be proclaimed but with due deliberation.

Moore and *Lillo* were writers of *domestic* tragedy, and, with the exception perhaps of Heyword and Rowley, and we may add Southern, bear little resemblance to any of their predecessors. Their's was a muse born without wings, but nursed amidst sin and misfortune, and fed with tears. They neither attempted to soar, nor to penetrate below the surface, but contented themselves with common calamities, every-day sorrows. Their plays are, like the Newgate Calendar, or a Coroner's inquisition, true, but unpleasant. They give us an account of Mr Beverley, who poisoned himself but the other day, after his losses at hazard or rouge et noir; or they admit us into the condemned cell of a city apprentice, who has robbed his master. Their characters have all a London look; they frequent the city clubs, and breathe the air of traffic. These writers are as good as a newspaper—and no better. But Tragedy was surely meant for other and higher things than to bring the gallows (even with its moral) upon the stage, or to reduce to dialogue the Coroner's inquisition, or police reports. As in a picture, it is not always

the truest imitator of nature who is the best painter; for an artist may make an unexceptionable map of the human face, and set down the features and furrows truly, and yet be unable to produce a grand work:—So is the minute detail of facts, however melancholy, insufficient in itself for the purposes of good tragedy. The Muse's object is not to shock and terrify, or to show what may be better seen at the scaffold or in the hospital; but it is to please as well as move us, to elevate as well as to instruct.

Of the Dramas of the present day, we have already spoken in a former Number; and we will not advert to them again: But will proceed, without more ado, to say a word on the merits of the two pieces which stand at the head of this article.

The authors of these plays may serve to illustrate the two qualities necessary to the construction of a good play. Mr Knowles, we apprehend, has the most *dramatic*—and Mr Beddoes (he is a *minor*, too, it seems!) the most *poetical* power. The poetry of the first seems to spring rather from passion, or to be struck out by the collision of events, than to be a positive and independent faculty. The language of Mr Beddoes, on the other hand, is essentially poetical. It is airy, fanciful, imaginative, and sometimes beautiful. His thoughts lie deeper, too, perhaps, than those scattered over Mr Knowles's verse; but his language is scarcely so real, and his scenes are less dexterously fashioned. In the Bride's Tragedy, there is a succession of delightful interviews; but in Mr Knowles's Virginius, there are groups; not merely dialogues between two persons, but family pictures, domestic stories, carrying a deep interest, the bustle of the forum, the lictor and his train, and the Roman father with his cluster of friends. The author, too, has contrived to excite the strong attention of the reader, and to keep it up to the end of Virginius's story. It is but fair, however, to observe, that the intentions of one of our authors were directed principally to the stage; and the ambition of the other confined to the closet. Accordingly, in what they have aimed at, they have each, to a very considerable degree, succeeded. Indeed, the drama of Mr Beddoes betrays more promise (we ought to say, perhaps, more power) than that of almost any young poet, whose works have been before us for the first time. He does not grasp his subject perhaps, nor subdue his scenes sufficiently to the end and purpose of his play; but he strews flowers in our path, and sets up bright images for our admiration, which may well serve to beguile us as we go, and to soften the austerities of criticism. Mr Knowles's play has, we are told, succeeded eminently on the stage, and with this he is probably satisfied. We may be allowed to say, that we think that it merited its success,

In order to give the reader a tolerable idea of Mr Knowles's style, we shall select a passage from one of his earlier scenes. It is the old story of the love of Icilius and Virginia, but it seems to us to be very delicately managed. Virginia is alone, having been left by her father and Dentatus, who have been talking upon the subject of her lover. The young persons, it is to be observed, are not yet acquainted with each other's regard.

'*Virginia.* I never told it yet;
But take of me, thou gentle air, the secret—
And ever after breathe more balmy sweet.
I love Icilius!—Yes, although to thee
I fear to tell it, that hast neither eye
To scan my looks, nor voice to echo me,
Nor e'en an o'er apt ear to catch my words:
Yet, sweet invisible confidant, my secret
Once being thine,—I tell thee, and I tell thee
Again—and yet again—I *love* Icilius!

ICILIUS (*entering*).

Icilius. Virginia!—sweet Virginia!—Sure I heard
My name pronounced. Was it by thee, Virginia?
Thou dost not answer—then it was by thee—
Oh! would'st thou tell me why thou named'st Icilius!

Virginia. My father is incensed with thee. Dentatus
Has told him of the new Decemvirate,
How they abuse their office. You, he knows,
Have favoured their election, and he fears
May have some understanding of their plans.

Icilius. He wrongs me then.

Virginia. I thank the Gods.

Icilius. For me?
Virginia?—Do you thank the Gods for me?
Your eye is moist—yet that may be for pity.
Your hand doth tremble—that may be for fear.
Your cheek is covered o'er with blushes. What—
Oh! what can that be for?

Virginia. Icilius, leave me.

Icilius. Leave thee, Virginia? Oh! a word—a word
Trembles upon my tongue, which, if it match
The thought that moves thee now, and thou wilt let me
Pronounce that word, to speak that thought for me,
I'll breathe—

Virginia. Icilius, will you leave me?

Icilius. Love! love! Virginia. Love!—If I have spoke
Thy thought aright, ne'er be it said again—
The heart requires more service than the tongue
Can, at its best, perform. Virginia!
Virginia, speak—(*Virginia covers her face with her hands.*)
Oh! I have loved thee long:

So much the more ecstatic my delight,
To find thee mine at length.
Virginia. My secret's yours.
Keep it, and honour it, Icilius.' pp. 19, 20.

Besides this, and besides the general good texture of the first four acts of the play, and the graceful scenes which it has, there are occasional specimens of very spirited dialogue; and the whole is as free from artifice as a play can well be. Here is an instance. It is, when Icilius, still 'harping on his daughter,' is checked by Virginius, who tells him that it is a time of war. The lover pleads, and the father softens.

'*Virginius.* Well, well; I only meant to put it off:
We'll have the revel yet. The board shall smoke.
The cup shall sparkle, and the jest shall soar
And mock us from the roof. Will that content you?
Not 'till the war be done, tho'—Yet, ere then,
Some tongue that now needs only wag, to make
The table ring, may have a tale to tell,' &c. p. 24.

This, once or twice, nearly degenerates, into the excess of the familiar. But Virginius's exclamation, in his insanity, when he is watching for the coming of his daughter—(she is dead)—is at once poetical and beautiful. He inquires, 'Will she not come?'—and adds,

—'She will not dare—Oh! when
Did my Virginia dare—Virginia!
Is it a voice (or nothing) answers me?
I hear a sound so fine—*there's nothing lives*
'Twixt it and silence.'

We have not troubled our readers with the particulars of Mr Knowles's tragedy. The story of Virginius saved (by death) from the lust and tyranny of Appius, is known to every one.

Mr Beddoes's play is founded on the fact of a manciple of one of the colleges having murdered a young girl whom he had privately married, in order to shield himself from the anger of his father, and to make way for a second marriage.

The following will show the way in which Mr Beddoes manages a subject that poets have almost reduced to commonplace. We thought all similes for the violet had been used up; but he gives us a new one, and one that is very delightful. Hesperus and Floribel (the young wedded lovers) are in a garden; and the husband speaks—

'*Hesperus.* ———See, here's a bower
Of eglantine with honeysuckles woven,
Where not a spark of prying light creeps in,
So closely do the sweets enfold each other.
'Tis Twilight's home; come in, my gentle love,

And talk to me. So! I've a rival here;
What's this that sleeps so sweetly on your neck?
Floribel. Jealous so soon, my Hesperus? Look then,
It is a bunch of flowers I pulled for you:
Here's the blue violet, like Pandora's eye,
When first it darkened with immortal life.
Hesperus. Sweet as thy lips. Fie on those taper fingers,
Have they been brushing the long grass aside
To drag the daisie from its hiding-place,
Where it shuns light, the Danäe of flowers,
With gold up-hoarded on its virgin-lap?
Floribel. And here's a treasure that I found by chance,
A lily of the valley; low it lay
Over a mossy mound, withered and weeping,
As on a fairy's grave.
Hesperus. Of all the posy
Give me the rose, though there's a tale of blood
Soiling its name. In elfin annals old
'Tis writ, how Zephyr, envious of his love,
(The love he bare to Summer, who since then
Has weeping visited the world); once found
The baby Perfume cradled in a violet;
('Twas said the beauteous bantling was the child
Of a gay bee, that in his wantonness
Toyed with a peabud in a lady's garland);
The felon winds, confederate with him,
Bound the sweet slumberer with golden chains,
Pulled from the wreathed laburnum, and together
Deep cast him in the bosom of a rose,
And fed the fettered wretch with dew and air.' pp. 4, 5.

And there is an expression in the same scene, (where the author is speaking of sleepers' fancies, &c.)

'While that wing'd song, the restless nightingale
Turns her sad heart to music'—

which is perfectly beautiful.

The reader may now take a passage from the scene where Hesperus murders the girl Floribel. She is waiting for him in the Divinity path, alone, and is terrified. At last he comes; and she sighs out

—Speak! let me hear thy voice,
Tell me the joyful news!

and thus he answers—

Aye, I am come
In all my solemn pomp, Darkness and Fear,
And the great Tempest in his midnight car,
The sword of lightning girt across his thigh,
And the whole dæmon brood of night, blind Fog

And withering Blight, all these are my retainers;
How: not one smile for all this bravery?
What think you of my minstrels, the hoarse winds,
Thunder, and tuneful Discord? Hark, they play.
Well piped, methinks; somewhat too rough, perhaps.
Flo. I know you practise on my silliness,
Else I might well be scared. But leave this mirth,
Or I must weep.
Hes. 'Twill serve to fill the goblets
For our carousal, but we loiter here,
The bridemaids are without; well-picked thou'lt say,
Wan ghosts of woe-begone, self-slaughtered damsels
In their best winding-sheets; start not, I bid them wipe
Their gory bosoms; they'll look wondrous comely;
Our link-boy, Will o' the Wisp, is waiting too
To light us to our grave.' pp. 67, 68.

After some further speech she asks him what he means; and he replies—

'What mean I? Death and murder,
Darkness and misery. To thy prayers and shrift;
Earth gives thee back. Thy God hath sent me for thee,
Repent and die.'

She returns gentle answers to him; but in the end he kills her, and afterwards mourns thus over her body—

'Dead art thou, Floribel; fair, painted earth,
And no warm breath shall ever more disport
Between those ruby lips: no, they have quaffed
Life to the dregs, and found death at the bottom,
The sugar of the draught. All cold and still;
Her very tresses stiffen in the air.
Look, what a face: had our first mother worn
But half such beauty, when the serpent came,
His heart, all malice, would have turned to love;
No hand but this, which I do think was once
Cain, the arch-murtherer's, could have acted it.
And I must hide these sweets, not in my bosom;
In the foul earth. She shudders at my grasp;
Just so she laid her head across my bosom
When first—oh villain! which way lies the grave? [*Exit.*'

We had intended to have said something upon the occasionally bad structure of Mr Knowles's verse, and on the way in which Mr Beddoes loiters, when he should carry his readers onwards; as well as on both plays being defective towards the conclusion; but this article has already run to so great a length, that we must take an opportunity of acting upon our intentions hereafter.

I

ART. X. 1. *Letters addressed to William Wilberforce, M. P., Recommending the Cultivation of Sugar in our Dominions in the East Indies, as the natural and certain means of effecting the total and general Abolition of the Slave Trade.* By JAMES CROPPER. Liverpool, 1822.

2. *Letters in Vindication of the Rights of the British West India Colonists, in answer to Mr Cropper's Letters.* By THOMAS FLETCHER. Liverpool, 1822.

3. *East and West India Sugar, or a Refutation of the Claims of the West India Colonists to a Protecting Duty on East India Sugar.* London, 1823.

4. *On Protection to West India Sugar.* London, 1823.

IT has long been our intention to enter into an examination of our system of Colonial Policy. There are plainly few subjects of greater practical importance. We believe it is now very generally admitted, that changes of considerable magnitude, as well in the commercial regulations of the colonies, as in their administration, are become indispensable; and it would be most desirable to ascertain the nature and extent of these changes, and the means by which they may be rendered most advantageous to the colonists and to ourselves. But we must defer this inquiry to another, though, we hope, not a distant opportunity. Our object, at present, is comparatively limited: And we shall be satisfied, if we can make our readers and the public acquainted with the real merits of the question now agitating between the West India planters, and the growers and importers of East India sugar. This, however, will be found to be a question of no common interest and importance—since its decision must determine, whether the people of this empire are to be furnished with a principal necessary of life, at the cheapest rate for which it can be raised, in one of their own dependencies; or the commerce with Hindostan to be sacrificed, for the sake of giving an artificial protection to that with Jamaica; and whether the Slave Trade is to be abolished in *fact* as well as in *law*.

Few of our readers can require to be told, that the British West India planters have long been involved in very great difficulties. The origin and progress of these difficulties may be stated in a few words, and afford a striking illustration of the truth of principles we have had frequent occasion to enforce. The devastation of St Domingo by the negro insurrection, which broke out in 1792, first diminished, and in a few years almost

entirely annihilated, the annual supply of 115,000 hogsheads of sugar, which the markets of France and the Continent had previously been accustomed to receive from that quarter. This diminution of supply, by causing a very great increased demand for, and a consequent rise in the price of the sugar raised in the other islands, occasioned an extraordinary extension of cultivation. So powerful was its influence, that Jamaica, which, on an average of the six years preceding 1799, had produced only 83,000 hhds., exported in 1801 and 1802 upwards of 286,000 hhds., being at the rate of 143,000 a year.* But the same rise of price which had produced such astonishing effects in the British islands, soon occasioned a similar, though less rapid, extension of cultivation in the colonies of the Continental powers. The increased supplies of sugar that were in consequence obtained from Cuba, Porto Rico, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Brazil, became in no very long time, not only sufficient to fill up the vacuum caused by the cessation of the supplies from St Domingo, but even to overload the market. The great foreign demand for British plantation sugar, which had been experienced after the destruction of the St Domingo trade, was thus gradually and progressively diminished, until 1805 and 1806, when it almost entirely ceased; and the whole extra quantity raised, in consequence of this demand, being thrown on the home market, its price sunk in 1806 to 34s. a cwt.—a price which, the Committee of the House of Commons stated, was barely equal to the expenses of production, exclusive of any allowance as profit to the planter.

But this state of things could not possibly have been permanent. Neither planters, farmers, manufacturers, nor any class of producers, will persist in carrying on a species of production, which does not yield them the common and average rate of profit on their capital. Had no adventitious assistance been afforded, the planters would gradually have contracted their cultivation. A regard to their *self-interest* would have made them adjust the supply of sugar to the effective demand; and would long since have accomplished that complete and radical cure of their distresses, which it is worse than idle to expect from the palliatives and anodynes of a restrictive system. But this natural and sound principle has not been permitted to operate. In 1806, the colonial proprietors submitted a proposal to Parliament, to extend the market for sugar, by substituting it for corn in the home distilleries; and though this proposal was rejected by the Committee of the House of

* Sir William Young's Common Place Book, pp. 16 and 57.

Commons, which was then appointed to inquire into their case, they had sufficient influence to get it recommended in the Report of the Committee appointed for the same purpose in 1808. In consequence of this recommendation, distillation from corn was suspended; and large quantities of sugar were taken off by the distillers in 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814. The effects of this forced and unnatural encouragement have been such as might have been foreseen from the beginning. The demand of the distillers, by relieving the market of the glut of sugars, occasioned a considerable rise of price. This rise of price naturally stimulated production, and prevented capital from being withdrawn from a business, which ought to have been partly, or perhaps wholly abandoned. The supply of sugar, instead of being diminished, has been increased; while, owing to the fall in the price of corn, it has become impossible to continue the prohibition against distillation from grain; so that the distress of the planters is now greater than ever!

It is this excessive increase of cultivation, occasioned first by the accidental circumstance of the devastation of St Domingo, and subsequently by the stoppage of distillation from corn, that is the principal cause of the present distress of the West India planters. In the West Indies, as in England, tillage has been extended over inferior soils, which it is now quite impossible to retain in cultivation. The Assembly of the Island of Tobago, lately laid before the Governor a statement of the profit and loss, at the present prices of produce, of an estate cultivated by 250 negroes. Now, it is of importance to remark, that this statement almost exactly coincides, in so far as the expenses of cultivation are concerned, with a statement given by Bryan Edwards, for a similar estate in Jamaica in 1791.—(*History of the West Indies*, Vol. II. p. 295, *Ed.* 1819.) But the average produce of the Jamaica estate, is set down by Edwards at above *twice* the amount of what is stated to be the average produce of the Tobago estate; and the former might, therefore, yield a large profit to its cultivators, when prices had sunk so low as to be quite ruinous to the cultivators of the latter. It is clear, therefore, that the distress of the West Indians is not of a description that can be materially alleviated by adventitious assistance. It has originated in over cultivation; and it can only be remedied by its diminution. If the West India planters do what any other persons placed in the same circumstances would do—if they adjust the supply of sugar proportionably to the effective demand, the price will certainly rise to its proper level. It is mere error and delusion to expect any real or effectual relief from any other source. We cannot af-

ford so high a bounty on exportation, as would be required to enable the raisers of sugar on the poor soils, now under cultivation in the British West India islands, to enter into competition, in the Continental markets, with the producers of the sugar raised on the fertile soils of Cuba, St Domingo, and Brazil. But supposing that we could afford such a bounty, that certainly would be no good reason for its being granted. Why should the people of Britain *tax themselves* to encourage a set of West India planters to linger on in a disadvantageous employment, or to save them from the effects of their own improvident speculations? The over-production of the West Indians is their own error;—let them rectify it—let them withdraw from what is found to be a losing business—let them cease to overload the market with sugar raised on inferior soils, and the existing glut will disappear. They have the means of redress in their own hands; and their disinclination to avail themselves of them, can never be a reason why we should attempt to relieve them from their difficulties, by imposing ruinous restrictions on the trade with the East Indies, or by bribing foreigners to buy their high priced produce! Such conduct would be productive of irreparable injury to ourselves, at the same time that it could be of no real or lasting advantage to the planters. An avowed determination to leave things to find their own level, is, in this, as in every other case, the only wise and just system of policy. It will, sooner than any artificial remedy, produce that equilibrium between the price and the cost of producing any species of commodities, which adventitious encouragement and the ardour of speculation frequently deranges, but which the self-interest of those concerned will, when let alone, infallibly restore.

But, instead of making any approach towards the adoption of this just and liberal system, additional obstacles have, of late, been thrown in its way. Besides the restriction on distillation from corn, already referred to, and the excessively high bounties granted on the exportation of sugar, an attempt has been made to prevent the sugars raised by our fellow-subjects in the East Indies, from coming into competition with West India sugars in the home market. Previously to 1813, East India sugars of all descriptions paid 3s. a hundred weight of higher duty than West India sugars. In 1813, this difference was increased to 10s. per cwt. And, in July 1821, an act was passed repealing all the existing duties on East India sugars, and imposing in their stead a duty of 45s. per cwt. on white, or clayed sugar, and a duty of 40s. per cwt. on common brown, or muscovado; being an excess of 15s. per cwt. on the clayed, and of 10s. per

cwt. on the muscovado sugar of our Eastern possessions, over the duty payable on the sugars of our Western possessions! But this act met with a very powerful opposition; and in order to afford an opportunity of again examining the grounds on which the distinction in the duties had been made, the duration of the act was limited to three years; and we have reason to suppose that the question of its prolongation will be discussed in the present Session of Parliament.

The West Indians seem to rest their claim to protection from the competition of the East Indians, on the grounds, *first*, that the cost of producing sugar is less in the East than in the West Indies; and, *second*, that they are entitled, by old practice and positive statute, to an entire monopoly of the home market. We shall endeavour briefly to investigate what degree of credit ought to be attached to arguments resting on such principles.

With regard to the *first* of these statements, or to the circumstance of sugar being raised at a less expense in the East than in the West Indies, it proves the very reverse of what the West Indians allege, and is of itself a conclusive and unanswerable reason why their claims to a protecting duty should *not* be conceded. If we can procure sugar at a lower price from one of our dependencies than another, there neither is nor can be any good reason, why we should not be allowed to buy that which is cheapest. A bill to protect the corn growers of England against the competition of those of Scotland, would, we presume, be generally considered, at least in this part of the empire, as equally absurd, impolitic, and oppressive; but it is plain, that such a bill would not really be one jot more objectionable in principle, than the existing law to protect the sugar growers of our Western against the competition of those of our Eastern dominions. The protection which every Government is bound to grant indiscriminately to all classes of its subjects, cannot vary with the varying degrees of latitude and longitude in which they live. We do not say that the East Indians have any right to be *more* favourably treated than the West Indians; but we contend, that they have a clear and undoubted right to be *as* favourably treated. To attempt to enrich the latter, by preventing the former from bringing their produce to our market, is not only to prefer the interests of *one* million, and those mostly slaves, to the interests of *one hundred* millions of subjects, but is totally inconsistent with, and subversive of, every principle of impartial justice and sound policy.

But in this, as in all other cases, it is not possible to perpetrate

injustice and oppression with impunity. If we refuse to admit the sugars of the East Indies to our markets on the same terms as the sugars of the West Indies, we shall infallibly entail a very heavy burden on ourselves. Sugar has become one of the principal necessaries of life; and, owing to the universal use of tea, it is equally indispensable to the poor as to the rich. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance that it should be obtained at the lowest price. But this can only be effected by importing it from where it is produced at the cheapest rate. It is obvious, indeed, that to whatever extent the exclusion of East India sugars may raise the price of sugar in England, above what it would be were they admitted on the same terms as those of the West Indies, it must have precisely the same effect as if the restriction were done away, and an equal sum taken directly from the pockets of the consumers, and divided, as a *bonus*, among the West India planters!—And we shall now state the reasons which lead us to believe, that this *bonus* to the West Indians, and the loss occasioned to the public by the continuance of the high duties on East Indian sugar, could not, in ordinary years, be estimated at less than TWO MILLIONS.

As might be expected, there is a considerable discrepancy in the accounts of the expense for which sugar can be produced in the East Indies; but there can be no question whatever about the fact of its being produced at a much cheaper rate than in the British islands in the West Indies. Sir Henry Colebrooke, one of the most intelligent of the East India Company's servants, states, in his work *On the Husbandry and Internal Commerce of Bengal*, published in 1806, that sugar is one of the principal products of Bengal.

'From Benares to Rengpur,' he observes, 'from the borders of Asam to those of Catac, there is scarcely a district in Bengal, or its dependent provinces, wherein the sugar cane does not flourish. It thrives most especially in the provinces of Benares, Behar, Rengpur, Birbhum, Birdwan, and Mednapur; it is successfully cultivated in all, and there seem to be no other bounds to the possible production of sugar in Bengal, than the limits of the demand, and consequent vend of it. The growth for home consumption and the inland trade is vast, and it only needs encouragement to equal the demand of Europe also.

'It is cheaply produced, and frugally manufactured. *Raw sugar, prepared in a mode peculiar to India, but analogous to the process of making muscovado, costs less than five shillings Sterling per hundred weight.* An equal quantity of muscovado sugar might be made here at little more than this cost; whereas, in the British West Indies, it cannot be afforded for six times that price. So great a disproportion will cease to appear surprising, when the relative circumstances of

the two countries shall have been duly weighed, and impartially considered. Agriculture is here conducted with the most frugal simplicity. The necessaries of life are cheaper in India than in any other commercial country, and cheaper in Bengal than in any other province in India. The simplest diet and most scanty clothing suffice to the peasant, and the price of labour is consequently low. Every implement used in tillage is proportionably cheap; and cattle are neither dear to the purchaser, nor expensive to the owner. The preparation of sugar is equally simple and devoid of expense. The manufacturer is unincumbered with costly works. His dwelling is a straw hut; his machinery and utensils consist of a mill, constructed on the simplest plan, and a few earthen pots. In short, he requires little capital, and is fully rewarded with an inconsiderable advance on the first value of the cane. Hitherto the very enhanced price of sugar in England, has encouraged the importation of it from Bengal, in spite of unequal duties and excessive freight. Remove these disadvantages, and Bengal will supply Great Britain, at a cheap rate, with a part of what the calls of the English market require, and will thereby prevent the exaction of an inordinate price for the sugar produced in the West Indies.' *

The details given in the very able *Letter of a Bengal Planter*, published in 1793, nearly correspond with those of Sir Henry Colebrooke. But the statements given in Dr Buchanan's account of his *Journey through Mysore, &c.* incline us to suspect that both Sir Henry and the Bengal Planter have rather underrated the cost of producing sugar in India; and, at all events, in estimating the sum for which it might be exported, an addition must be made to its original price, equivalent to the charges attending its conveyance to the place of embarkation. We are informed that the very *finest* species of Bengal sugar—for the high discriminating duty excludes all the inferior qualities—cost last year, in Calcutta when the prices were reckoned high, *nine* or *ten* Rupees per maund of 84 libs.; which, at the present rate of exchange, is 21s. 4d. per cwt.; and if to this we add 8s. 8d., the estimated expense of the freight, insurance, and other charges attending its importation, its *necessary* price in the London market would be about 30s. per cwt.; which is about 10s. per cwt. below the price at which the West Indians say they can afford to sell sugar of a very *inferior* quality.

It is certain, however, that the equalization of the duties on East and West India sugar would, by causing an increased demand for the former, and rendering its production an object of

* See Third Appendix, p. 80, of the Papers on the East India Sugar Trade, printed by order of the Directors of the East India Company, December 1822.

attention to Europeans, occasion a great improvement in its manufacture, and a consequent reduction in its price. Dr Buchanan has given a very full account of the processes followed by the natives in cultivating the canes, and in extracting and preparing the juice. They are all of the very rudest and most operose description. Nor can any more satisfactory evidence be desired of the preeminent natural advantages possessed by the natives of Hindostan for the cultivation of sugar, than the fact that, notwithstanding the wretched state of their cultivation and apparatus, as compared with that in use in the West Indies—their triple distance from England, and the heavier freights they have to pay—and the unjust and oppressive operation of the discriminating duties of 15s. and 10s. a cwt,, they are still able to export a considerable quantity to Britain! When such is the case at present, it is difficult to estimate the extent to which the cultivation of sugar might be extended, and its price reduced, were the discriminating duties repealed, and European science and art applied to superintend and facilitate its production. The sugar trade of Hindostan is, in respect of improvement, in its infancy. The natives are satisfied if they raise enough for their own consumption; but it is obvious, considering the boundless extent and extraordinary fertility of the country, that, with a little care and attention, Bengal might be made to furnish an ample supply of sugar for the whole world.

In further corroboration of what we have now stated, we shall lay before our readers an extract of a letter which has come into our possession, dated the 4th of February, 1822. This letter, which was not intended for publication, was addressed to Major Colebrooke, by Thomas Scott, Esq. a gentleman of the highest respectability, who resided twenty years in Benares, and was largely concerned in the sugar trade. So unexceptionable a witness is rarely to be met with; and he states—'The middling class of natives cultivate the sugar 'cane in small patches of land from ½ to 1 and 2 bighas (about '2½ bighas make an acre), according to their means, which 'they manufacture by boiling the juice in small iron pans, and, 'making it into small round balls, they carry it to the Bazar 'for sale; this is called *Gour*, and is sold for 1 R. to 1 R. 12 A. 'per maund. There is another kind which is manufactured in 'the same way, but afterwards bruised and put upon canvass, 'and worked about to make it look better, called *Khoor* and '*Shucker*; this sells from 2/4 to 2/8, and 2/12 R. per maund, 'agreeable to the quality, and certainly is the best sugar for this '(the British) market, and resembles the sugar we get from the

'West Indies, which is now selling at 7d. per lib. here. If 'these middling people had more encouragement for sale, *I* '*think the quantity, as there is no want of land, may be increas-*'*ed to any extent.* The Zemindars, being more opulent, go 'on a larger scale'—2½ rupees, the average price mentioned by Mr Scott, is at the present rate of exchange, about 6s. 8d, per cwt.

It is clear, therefore, that the largest supplies of sugar might be obtained from India, at an expense which, were cultivation a little improved, would hardly exceed *half the ordinary price at which it is obtained from the West Indies.* But, without taking the capability of improvement into account, it is plain, from the fact of East India sugar being imported into the London market notwithstanding the protecting duty, that it could be sold for just so much the less were that duty repealed; and it is equally plain, inasmuch as supplies to any extent might be obtained from Hindostan, that the repeal of the protecting duties would be really equivalent to a reduction of 15s. per cwt. from the price of all the *clayed*, and of 10s. per cwt. from the price of all the *Muscovado* sugar imported for home consumption. The subjoined official statement of the quantities of West India and East India sugars, entered for home consumption in each year from 1815 to 1821, both inclusive, will show the extent of the saving that would, in ordinary years, result from the repeal of the protecting duty.

Years ending the 5th January.	Average price of each year.		West India Sugar entered for home consumption.			East India Sugar entered for home consumption.		
	s.	d.	Cwts.	Qrs.	Libs.	Cwts.	Qrs.	Libs.
1815.	73	4¼	3,030,042	1	23	12,916	1	0
1816.	61	11¼	2,941,735	3	8	42,707	1	2
1817.	47	6½	3,220,594	2	26	33,130	2	6
1818.	47	8	4,151,230	2	24	27,059	0	4
1819.	49	11¼	2,672,226	0	7	24,775	0	23
1820.	41	8½	3,283,058	3	24	99,440	1	12
1821.	33	2¼	3,661,730	3	27	83,231	2	12

This official statement gives the total quantity of all sorts of sugar entered for home consumption in 1821, at 3,744,962 cwt.; and supposing, which the table sufficiently proves, that this is about the average annual consumption, it is evident that the repeal of the protecting duty on East India sugar, taken at its lowest limit, by allowing the same quantity to be obtained for

10s. per cwt. less than its cost in ordinary seasons, would be a saving to the public of no less than 1,872,481*l.* a year! In such a year as the present, the saving would not certainly be so great, though even now it would be considerable. But then it must be remembered, that the glut which has now depressed the price of West India sugar below the cost of production, cannot possibly be permanent. And, if East India sugars be excluded, it is certain, not only that the whole difference of price caused by the protecting duty will be lost to the home consumers, but that they will also lose all the additional sum they might have saved by the improvements that a system of free trade would lead to, in the production of East India sugars. Thus, therefore, it appears that, by continuing the present system, we shall not only act unjustly and oppressively towards our fellow-subjects in the East Indies, but we shall most certainly subject ourselves to a burden of almost TWO MILLIONS a year!—A burden too, it must be recollected, imposed for no public purpose—for no object of general or national utility, and intended only to bribe a parcel of slave-holders to continue in a losing business! It remains to be seen, whether the public will submit to continue to pay such a sum for such a purpose. If they do not exert themselves to procure relief from so scandalous an imposition, with what face can they seek relief from the pressure of taxes levied for national objects?

We come now to the consideration of the *second* argument advanced by the West Indians, in support of their claim to a protecting duty, or to the statement that they are entitled, by ancient practice and positive statute, to a complete monopoly of the home market. But a very few words will suffice to show, that there is not really the shadow of foundation for either of these statements. Previously to 1803, the duties on East India sugar were really *ad valorem* duties; and, though generally higher, it has been established beyond all question, that they were, whenever the price of sugar happened to be considerably depressed, really *lower* than the duties on West India sugar! * This is decisive as to the ancient practice of the West Indians; and with regard to the prohibitory clauses in the Navigation Acts, and other acts on which they lay their chief stress, it is undeniably certain that they were intended only to protect them against *foreign competition*, and not against the competition of our own subjects. Demerara, Trinidad, and several other im-

* See Report of the Liverpool Association of Free Traders, and the Refutation of the Claims of the West India Colonists to a Protecting Duty, p. 10.

portant settlements, have come into our possession since the planters of Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c., obtained what they call a monopoly of the market; and yet no one ever thought of preventing the importation of *their* produce. And why, we ask, should the case be different with the East Indies? Why should the sugar growers of Bengal, being equally liege subjects of the British Crown, meet with a different treatment from the sugar growers of Demarara, Berbice, and Trinidad? If it would be unjust and impolitic to exclude the produce of the latter from our markets, it must be equally unjust and impolitic to exclude the produce of the former. We concede at once, that the West Indians have an unquestionable claim to be allowed to come into the markets of England, on the *same terms* as the other subjects of the empire. But this is the utmost extent to which their pretensions can be admitted, without gross injustice to others.

But, say the West Indians, if we do not obtain this protection, we shall be 'irretrievably ruined,' and *many millions* of capital invested by us in slaves and buildings, for carrying on the sugar manufactory, will be entirely lost. This is the sophistical and ever repeated cry, of those who engage in any unprofitable speculation. Were it listened to, it would effectually check all improvement, and society would either become stationary, or decline. No new machine, and no new process for facilitating labour, and saving expense in the production of commodities, can be introduced which may not be objected to, on the same grounds, by those who have capital employed in the older and more costly methods of production. But these are matters with which Government has no right whatever to interfere. It was not instituted for the purpose of keeping the accounts and balancing the ledgers of its subjects; but for securing the rights and liberties of all individuals and classes, and for enabling them to avail themselves to the utmost, of their productive powers. But, independent of such considerations, the statement of the West Indians is fundamentally erroneous. That the equalization of the duties would oblige them to cease raising sugar on inferior soils is certain; but *their land and their slaves would remain*, and they could advantageously employ them, partly in the raising of coffee, which is now yielding a high price, and partly in the raising of corn and other articles, which they are at present obliged to import. By this means, too, the expense of raising sugar on the superior soils would be lessened, and the condition of the slave population materially improved. Nor is this a mere theoretical speculation; it is, on the contrary, the avowed opinion of some of the best informed West Indians. One of the most intelligent of the planters, Mr Robley, has, in his valuable

pamphlet entitled, *A Permanent and Effectual Remedy for the Evils under which the British West Indies now Labour*, published in 1808, demonstrated the superior advantages that would result from the substitution of corn for sugar cultivation on the inferior lands; and has justly ascribed the distress of the West Indies to the over cultivation of sugar, caused by the monopoly of the home market, and artificial encouragement.

It is undoubtedly true, that the West India commerce is subjected to many absurd and injurious restrictions. But the commerce with the East Indies is certainly, in this respect, in no better condition; though, if it were, that could never be a reason for clogging it with additional fetters. Instead of plunging deeper and deeper into the mire and filth of restrictions and prohibitions, those now in existence ought to be repealed. The act passed last Session permitting a free intercourse between the West India Islands and the United States, has been extremely advantageous to the former; and the good effects of which it has been productive, will, we hope, accelerate the establishment of a more enlarged and liberal system of colonial policy. We are desirous that the West Indians should receive all the assistance that can be given them, by the abolition of the existing restrictions on their commerce and industry. We are desirous that they should be enabled freely to avail themselves of all the natural advantages they possess. But we are not to oppress others to benefit them. Nor can it be doubted that the Government will be guilty of a gross breach of that equality of protection which it owes to all classes of its subjects, if it do not oppose the West Indians in their present nefarious attempt to advance their own interests at the expense of the people of England and of Hindostan.

We do not know whether it be worth while particularly to allude to the exaggerated statements put forth by the West India advocates, respecting the value and importance of their commerce to the Empire, and the magnitude of the revenue derived from their peculiar productions. It is certainly very far from our intention to undervalue, or depreciate the West India commerce. We admit its importance; and nothing could give us greater pleasure than to see it extended to ten times its present amount. But we protest against any attempt to give it an unnatural and artificial extension, by the adoption of a system which must proportionally depress and injure the commerce with the East. It is, besides, an obvious fallacy and absurdity to suppose that the amount of the revenue derived from sugar could be diminished, so long as the *same* rate of duty is levied from the sugar imported from the East, as is levied

from that imported from the West Indies! On the contrary, it is plain that the lower prime cost of East India sugars, would, by diminishing their price to the consumers, and increasing their consumption, be productive of a considerable increase of revenue. And the fact, of about *double the quantity of tonnage* being required to import the same quantity of sugar from Hindostan, as from the West Indies, is not only sufficient to allay all apprehension of danger to the *shipping interest*, from an equalization of the duties, but shows that it would be one of the greatest boons that could be conferred on them.

It should also be recollected, that the apparent magnitude of our exports to the West Indies, affords no criterion whatever for judging of their real magnitude. The greater part of the goods that have been sent there for these many years past, were not intended for the consumption of our colonies; and, in point of fact, were not consumed by them. They were sent to the West Indies merely as to a convenient *entrepôt*, from whence they could be forwarded to the markets on the Spanish Main, and in South America. But the establishment of the independence of these countries, will henceforth allow them to be supplied directly from England; and whenever this takes place, the exports to the West Indies will be reduced to a very trifling value indeed, compared with the exports to the East.

It would be worse than idle to attempt to prove, by argument, that the immense continent of Hindostan, a continent occupied by 100 millions of industrious and ingenious inhabitants, must form an infinitely more extensive market for British manufactured goods than the islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c. The commerce with Hindostan is yet only in its infancy. The fetters of monopoly have hitherto impeded its progress, and stunted and retarded its growth. But the vast increase that has taken place in our trade with the East since it was partially thrown open to private individuals in 1815, affords the best proof of the astonishing extent to which it might be carried, were the nuisance of monopoly completely put down, protecting and discriminating duties abolished, and the innumerable markets of Asia opened to the free and unfettered competition of our merchants and manufacturers.

It is stated, in the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, *On the Foreign Trade of the Country*, printed in May 1821, that the value of the merchandise imported from Great Britain to India, which amounted in 1815 to 870,177*l.*, had increased, in the year 1819, to upwards of THREE MILLIONS! A most important change has also been effected in the cotton trade between India and this country and Europe. Instead of

importing *piece* and other cotton goods from India, we are now actually supplying the natives with these articles at a lower price than that for which they can afford to manufacture them. The following Table shows the unprecedentedly rapid increase in the value of our cotton goods exported to India since 1815.

Official Account of the Quantity and Value of Cotton Goods Exported to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

	Printed.		Plain.		Other Kinds.	
Years.	Yards.	Value.	Yards.	Value.	Value.	Total Val.
1815.	604,800	L. 60,100	213,408	L. 30,817	L.18,561	L. 109,480
1816.	866,077	72,960	489,399	57,966	11,484	142,411
1817.	991,147	72,386	714,611	70,827	17,320	160,534
1818.	2,848,705	198,330	2,468,024	195,170	29,303	422,813
1819.	4,227,665	292,282	4,614,381	373,633	34,977	700,892
1820.	3,713,601	233,618	3,414,060	219,399	8,248	461,266
1821.	7,602,245	474,004	6,724,031	343,124	33,752	850,881
1822.	9,979,866	587,523	9,940,736	508,805	23,995	1,120,325

In fact, there are no other limits to the vent and consumption of British cottons and other goods in India, than the difficulty which the natives experience in producing equivalents fit for our markets. They cannot send us manufactured goods; and if we refuse to take their sugar and other raw products in return, they will be reluctantly and unwillingly compelled to cease purchasing our commodities. It is an axiom in commerce, that there can be no selling without an equal buying. And if we refuse to accept such equivalents as the Indians can give us for our goods, it is utterly impossible that the trade with them can be much farther extended. If we import largely from our Eastern possessions, we shall of necessity export largely to them; and, if we fetter importation, we shall, to precisely the same extent, fetter exportation. It is completely in our power to enlarge the market of India to almost any extent; and to refuse to avail ourselves of such obvious and effectual means of increasing the commercial prosperity of the empire, and of adding to the public wealth, for the sake of granting an unjust protection to the cultivators of the inferior soils in the West India islands, would be a degree of folly and infatuation unparalleled in the history of the world.

There is another consideration which must not be lost sight of in the discussion of this question. The goods now allowed to be imported from India, being extremely light in proportion to their bulk, every ship of 500 tons burden is, on an average, obliged to carry home about 200 tons of ballast! But the repeal of the protecting duty would permit sugar to be brought

home as *dead weight*; and would consequently relieve our merchants from the unheard of necessity of employing *two fifths* of the ships engaged in the East India trade in importing the *sand* of the Ganges into England! The American and Continental traders are relieved from this burden; and if it be continued on those of England, it will certainly end, and that at no distant period, by throwing the whole trade of India into the hands of their rivals.

Thus far we have treated this important question, with reference only to the rights and interests of the sugar growers of the East and West Indies, and the people of England. But there is another class whose interests will be much more deeply and materially affected by its decision—we mean the poor Africans! The friends to the Abolition of the Slave Trade must bestir themselves on this occasion. It is well known, that that detestable traffic is carried on at this moment, and in spite of all that has been done to check it, to a greater extent, and under circumstances of greater barbarity than ever. Nor is it really possible to suppress this traffic by mere dint of restrictive regulations. Free labour is at present so high in the West Indies, as to hold out an overwhelming temptation to import slaves; and when such is the case, it is, we are afraid, too much to trust to registry laws, and such devices, to prevent their importation. On this point, the opinion of Bryan Edwards is deserving of serious attention 'Whether,' says he, 'it be possible 'for any nation in Europe, singly considered, to prevent its 'subjects from procuring slaves from Africa, so long as Africa 'shall continue to sell, is a point on which I have many 'doubts; but *none* concerning the conveying the slaves so pur-'chased *into every island in the West Indies, in spite of the* 'maritime force of all Europe. No man who is acquainted 'with the extent of uninhabited coast of the larger of these 'islands, the facility of landing in every part of them, the pre-'vailing winds, and the numerous creeks and harbours in all 'the neighbouring dominions of foreign powers (so conve-'niently situated for contraband traffic), can hesitate a mo-'ment to pronounce, that an attempt to prevent the introduc-'tion of slaves into our West India colonies, would be like that 'of chaining the winds, or giving laws to the ocean.' (*History of the West Indies*, Vol. II. p. 136). There is, in fact, but one way to put down West India slavery, and that is, by allowing the produce raised by comparatively cheap free labour to come into competition with that raised by slaves. When this is done, the latter will be drawn from the field; and there will be no farther motive to tear the poor Africans from their native soil.

It is plain, therefore, that the case at issue between the East and West India sugar raisers, does not merely involve the question, whether the interests of 100 millions of our fellow-subjects shall be sacrificed to those of one million, and whether we shall be obliged to pay a bonus of *two millions* a year to the West India planters, but it also involves the question, Whether the slave trade shall be *really and truly abolished?*—Whether we shall remove the present irresistible temptations to commit a crime we have made punishable by death? We have not time to enter further on this most important branch of the subject; and we leave it with the less reluctance, as it has been very ably discussed in the pamphlet by Mr Cropper of Liverpool, prefixed to this article. Mr Cropper's views are equally enlightened and profound; and discover, throughout, that active and disinterested spirit of benevolence which so eminently distinguishes the sect (Quakers) to which Mr Cropper belongs;—a sect to whose unwearied exertions the *legal* abolition of the slave trade is principally to be ascribed.

But then it is said, and it is the last plea,—the *dernier resort*—of the West Indians, that slavery is common in Hindostan; and that, by allowing East India sugar to come into the British markets, we merely substitute the produce of the labour of one set of slaves for that of another! We shall immediately show, that there is as little similarity between East and West India slavery, as there is between the condition of the peasants of England and those of Russia. But, supposing the statement of the West Indians to be true to the letter, still it is undeniably certain, from the cheapness of free labour in Hindostan, that no *foreign* slaves ever have been, or ever can be, imported into that country. And hence it is obvious, that the substitution of East for West India sugar in the markets of Europe, would at all events put a stop to the further exportation of slaves, and would thus save Europe from the guilt, and Africa from the suffering, attending this atrocious traffic. This is a sufficient answer to the plea of the West Indians; but it is not all. There is, in fact, no comparison whatever between the treatment and comforts enjoyed by the slaves in the East and West Indies. Our readers are sufficiently acquainted with the misery and degradation of the latter; and, to unable them to compare their situation with the situation of the East India slaves, we shall subjoin Sir Henry Colebrooke's account of the latter.

'Slavery,' says this unimpeachable authority, 'is not unknown in Bengal. Throughout some districts, the labours of husbandry are executed chiefly by bond servants. In certain districts, the ploughmen are mostly slaves of the peasants, for

'whom they labour; but, treated by their masters, more like 'hereditary servants, or like emancipated hinds, than like pur-'chased slaves, they labour with cheerful diligence and unforced 'zeal. In some places, also, the landholders have a claim to the 'servitude of thousands among the inhabitants of their estates. 'This claim, which is seldom enforced, and which, in many 'instances, is become wholly obsolete, is founded on some tra-'ditional rights acquired many generations ago, in a state of 'society different from the present: And slaves of this descrip-'tion do, in fact, enjoy every privilege of a freeman except the 'name, or, at worst, they must be considered as villeins at-'tached to the glebe, rather than as bondsmen labouring for 'the sole benefit of their owners. Indeed, throughout India, 'the relation of master and slave appears to impose the duty of 'protection and cherishment on the master, as much as that of 'fidelity and obedience on the slave; and their mutual con-'duct is consistent with the sense of such an obligation, since 'it is marked with gentleness and indulgence on the one side, 'and with zeal and loyalty on the other.' * Those who can find in this description any thing similar to the condition of the slaves in the West Indies, must certainly be endowed with very peculiar means of perception.

Here we take leave, for the present, of this truly great question. We trust it will be decided as the interests of justice, humanity, and sound policy concur in suggesting; but, however it may now be disposed of, we feel no doubt about the ultimate result. It is impossible that the attempt of the West India planters to fetter the growing commerce with India, to lay a heavy tax on the people of Britain, and to bolster up the slave trade, can be permanently successful. Sooner or later it must be abandoned; but the longer it is supported, the more injurious it will become, and the greater will be the loss and misery entailed on this country, and on Asia, Africa, and the West Indies.

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* Report on East India Sugar, Third Appendix, p. 80.

ART. XI. *A Letter to the Honourable Robert Peel, on the Courts of Law in Scotland.* 8vo. pp. 75. Edinburgh, Constable & Co. 1823.

THIS is a smart pamphlet on a very important subject; and contains many valuable and some rash suggestions, on a much greater variety of topics than we are now prepared to handle. Our present business, indeed, is with one only of this author's great miscellany of themes; but that one is both of urgency and of moment enough to entitle it, we think, to a separate and a careful notice.

We formerly * directed the attention of our readers to the singular mode in which criminal Juries are appointed in Scotland. Our statements, upon that occasion, were so full and so minute, that there can be no need for resuming them. But, considering that we live in a part of the empire where trial by jury is almost the only popular part of the constitution which the inhabitants have hitherto been permitted to enjoy, and that the system has not yet attained the perfection with us which it has reached elsewhere, and of which it is easily capable, we think it our duty to give a very short exposition of the changes which have recently taken place, and the defects which still require to be removed.

We explained, that the great evil of our practice was, that the presiding Judge selected the Jurors; that in trials at Edinburgh, he named the fifteen individuals of whom the Jury in each case was composed; that, at the circuits, he not only selected these, but previously extracted, out of a larger list, the forty-five persons out of whom these fifteen were to be chosen; and that, in thus exercising his single and his double selection, he was the absolute monarch of the Jury,—neither the parties nor his brethren being entitled to demand, or ever receiving the slightest information of the grounds on which his choice proceeded. This is the system, which, with two or three honourable exceptions, majorities of the persons entitled to attend Scotch county meetings, voted to be so perfect, that any attempt to improve it must necessarily proceed from '*a restless spirit of innovation.*' '*Of so venerable a fabric, that* NO *stone* '*could be displaced without the risk of consequences, some of which,* '*perhaps, human wisdom could not foresee.*'

Well! this system was examined; the public attention was pointed to it; and it was subjected to the test of Parliamentary feeling. The result adds one to the many examples of the ul-

* No. 71.

timate triumph of reason, and of the impossibility of permanently defending plain grievances, when they are calmly exposed and legitimately questioned. For, in the *first* place, a statute passed last Session, by which the right to challenge five Jurymen peremptorily, was given to each prisoner, and also to the prosecutor. This point, to his infinite credit, was yielded in the House of Commons, by the present Secretary of State, without a struggle. Whatever the foresaid persons, at Scotch county meetings, might say, Government found it impossible to maintain that it was right that people should have their lives disposed of, without the power of objecting, by any knave or idiot who, from the ignorance of the Judge, might be set to try them. In the *second* place, the Court of Justiciary, to its great honour also, *has deprived itself* of the power of naming the forty-five persons out of whom the petit jury must be taken at circuits. This was done by what is called an act of Adjournal; or, in other words, a regulation of Court, by which the Sheriffs of the three or four shires which each circuit comprehends, instead of sending to Edinburgh a list of forty-five persons for each county, out of which the Judge selects one set of forty-five, who are summoned to attend the circuit court, are directed only to send a list of 'the exact number of jurymen who are required to serve, for their respective jurisdictions, at each town.' The effect of this is, that there is no necessity for any reduction of the numbers originally sent to Edinburgh. The persons who are to attend the circuit are sent there directly by the Sheriffs themselves,—generally fifteen from each county,—and there is no intervention by the Court at all. These are two pretty important stones to have been quietly removed at once; and yet, to our eyes, the fabric seems far more venerable than ever. If one other could have been displaced, it would have been nearly as perfect as mere regulation can make it. But, in the *third* place, the fundamental evil remains, and *the presiding Judge still selects the Jury.*

This is the situation in which the matter now stands. The exact effect of what has been done, and the exact nature of what is still wanting, may easily be deduced from these explanations.

I. The peremptory challenge is a prodigious point gained—not for prisoners merely, but for justice. No challenge for cause can ever reach one-tenth of the really objectionable persons who may be called upon to serve. The right of the parties, therefore, to reject a certain number of proposed jurors, without assigning any reason for it, is indispensable for any fair administration of justice by jury trial; more especially when

their original nomination depends merely on the will of one man, acting according to his unexplained discretion. Nor is the advantage of this right of challenge to be judged of merely by the number of times in which it is exercised; on the contrary, its being constantly resorted to, would be a proof that it had not produced its best effects. Its more salutary influence consists in its indirect tendency to diminish the necessity for putting it in force. It lessens the temptation on the part of all concerned, and chiefly of the officers of justice, whether low or high, to do any thing with a view to get improper persons upon juries, by letting them feel that it is in the power of parties to defeat their design, and to mark every such attempt by a proceeding which makes it conspicuous. It purifies the preparation of the Jury, in short, and is far more beneficial as a preventive than as a corrective check. The inference which ought to be deduced, therefore, from the paucity of actual challenges, is, not that the right is useless, but that it is prudently exercised, and that the mere chance or prospect of it had operated so as to make it safe to dispense with its reality.

II. The act of the Court in divesting itself of the power of naming the forty-five jurymen,—a power which, though not generally known to exist, was defended by certain persons, after it was explained, as the most beautiful part (next to the selection of the fifteen) of our whole criminal procedure,—is infinitely to its credit, and evinces a spirit superior to the prejudices that were lately addressed to it. We have heard some wonder expressed as to the constitution of a penal court which has power, of its own accord, and without notice or discussion, to '*enact* and declare' even beneficial changes on so important a matter as the formation of Juries. But, as this regulation was made from right views, and tends to a good effect, we are glad to get it any how, and shall not inquire too curiously into the authority from which it proceeded. We must acknowledge, however, that, since it has been thus attested, in the highest quarter, to be inexpedient for the Judges to appoint the forty-five Jurors who are to attend each circuit, this ought to be regularly established by statute. For it is impossible not to see, that, if the Court, notwithstanding long usage to the contrary, may order the Sheriffs to name these forty-five jurors this season, it may reclaim the power of selecting them itself the next. We grudge bad times so good a precedent.

But though we are of opinion that this regulation is beneficial, it is proper to explain that this opinion rests far more on the uses to which it may be converted, than on its forming any complete improvement by itself. Its direct and immediate effect is to

throw the nomination of the forty-five Jurors into the hands of the Sheriffs. This unquestionably secures the great and honourable object of protecting Judges from imputation. But the advantage which arises from this is somewhat impaired by the additional, and at present the unchecked, power which is conferred upon the Sheriffs, who are inferior and less responsible persons. So long as these officers had to transmit lists containing forty-five names each, which were afterwards reduced by the Court, some security against their partiality arose out of the very numbers they had to send; because it was not easy to collect so large a portion of improper persons at once, or at least this could be easily detected if it were attempted. And, besides, though it had not been detected, there was always the chance interposed between the parties and injustice, that the Judge who diminished the list might omit some of the persons whose nomination had been calculated upon in the county. But when each Sheriff has only to send a list of *fifteen* names, and when he has his whole county to chuse these out of, and where these fifteen must necessarily form part of those who are to try each case, he has plainly a prodigious, and we think a most alarming, power in the formation of the Jury. In a political case, three Sheriffs may, without going out of the rank of the most honourable and substantial persons, secure a Jury of the most notorious zealots, on one side or the other.

The easy way to prevent this is, *first*, to compel all Sheriffs to keep an open roll of all the persons liable to serve within their districts: and, *secondly*, to insist that the successive sets of persons who are sent to try cases, shall be taken from that roll by rotation. How these rolls are to be originally arrayed, has given rise to a slight difference of opinion. Some are for placing the names by ballot—some by parishes—and some alphabetically. It is comparatively immaterial which of these, if any of them, be adopted; but in some way or other the mere selection of the Sheriff, at every trial or every circuit, ought to be peremptorily excluded; and for this purpose, some accidental arrangement of the roll at first, and some recurrence to it by rotation ever afterwards, is indispensable. Without this, the composition of every Jury is made to depend on the will of a magistrate paid, and liable to be promoted, by the Crown; and who, however respectable he may be, must have leanings like other men, and acts in this matter utterly without control; and may, moreover, always act by a substitute, removeable at his pleasure, and who, from his constant residence in the shire, may easily make himself acquainted with the feelings of every Juror, and is not subjected to the responsibility

which restrains those who occupy high stations, and live in the eye of the public.

We are aware that a precaution has lately been adopted, which is supposed to diminish the force of this objection. After the preceding regulation was introduced by the Court, a copy of it was transmitted to each Sheriff, *accompanied by a letter from the clerk.* In this letter, each Sheriff is informed, 'That their 'Lordships *recommend* to you to make up, without delay, a proper 'roll of the whole persons within your county, who are fit and 'qualified to serve as Jurors; from which roll the names of 'those liable to serve shall be taken in regular rotation, so as 'that the duty may fall as equally as possible upon all classes 'of the community, and fair and impartial returns of Juries be 'effectually secured.' In so far as this goes, it is a fair acknowledgment of the soundness of what we have stated, with respect to the danger of giving the Sheriff the range of his whole county in selecting his fifteen men. But it does not go far enough. A mere epistolary *recommendation* is utterly useless. If the thing be wrong or indifferent, it ought not to have been made the subject of judicial recommendation—but if it be right and important, it ought to be made a part of the law; and we cannot conceive how it was left out of the regulation which the Court was at that moment making upon another branch of the same subject. There is good ground for believing that such a recommendation has been often given before; yet, if it has, it is quite notorious that it has been very generally, or almost universally, disregarded. Nothing therefore can justify the giving the nomination to the Sheriffs, unless their right of selecting be destroyed, by their being positively required to keep their lists full, and then to take their successive sets of Jurors by rotation. Without this, their power of selection must necessarily be abused. Nor will it do merely to declare that this is the law. An opportunity ought to be given to every party, to see that the law has been observed in his case, by *his having constant access to the list.*

III. But supposing all this previous preparation to be put upon a right footing—still the great blot remains, of giving up the forty-five jurors to the presiding judge, and letting him select those who are to try each case. After what we have already said about this striking and indefensible anomaly, we shall not discuss it further. Our original views of the dangers of such a power, in so far as the parties are concerned, and of its odiousness with respect to the judge, from whom the performance of so painful a duty is required, have been greatly confirmed by all that we have since heard or thought. There were

thousands even of intelligent people in our own country, who, although they always saw the Judge name the Jury, had no idea that he was so utterly unchecked by any thing that had been arranged before the proceedings reached that point, or by any control which could then be exercised over him; and although there were some doubts in England as to the best substitute, we do not believe that there was a single person there who bestowed a thought on the subject, who was not astonished that such a power had been so long submitted to.

But we must now add, that a strong additional reason against its continuance has arisen out of the partial improvements that have been already obtained. When the Judge named a Jury formerly, he did so without being subjected to any challenge. Now, though this was the worst possible system for the parties and for justice, the absence of the challenge made the other part of it the best that could be adopted, while that part lasted, for the dignity of the Court. The principle was, that the law reposed such confidence in the Judge, that it not only allowed him to suggest who should be the jurors in the first instance, but made it illegal to doubt, or at least to question, the absolute propriety of his choice. The effect of this was, that however the parties might groan in spirit, they were obliged at least to be silent; and the dignity of the tribunal was preserved by a sort of awful and unsearchable mysteriousness, in which the whole business was enveloped. But this spell has been broken, and a sulky submission to what they feel to be gross injustice, is no longer imposed upon those whose interests are at stake. Each party may challenge five Jurors after the judge has named them; so that, as there is always at least one accuser and an accused, two-thirds of his Lordship's discretion is liable to be peremptorily set aside in every case; and where there happens to be two prisoners, the whole fifteen may be ordered out of the box, after he has intimated, by his placing them there, that in his opinion they were the very fittest persons to try the case.

Now, though we have no idea that the challenge will ever be exercised merely in order to thwart the Court, still, the dignity of judges and the decorum of judicial establishments is so essential for the distribution of justice, that we do not like to see them exposed to any interference which it is easy to misconstrue into a doubt of their intelligence or impartiality. When a Court acts upon reasons that are openly stated and freely discussed, and yet does not decide agreeably to the wishes of both or of either of the parties, all that is felt is, that there was a difference of opinion, in which the latter were probably warped by their interest. But wherever any judicial proceeding is made to

rest on mere *unexplained discretion*, it is essential that the exercise of that strange and unaccountable authority be supported by power, or at least that it be not set at defiance by a discretion that is equally peremptory; else an unseemly competition is directly instituted, between the Judge, who appears to the world to be struggling to carry a point, and the party who seems to be struggling to disappoint him. It is in vain that all this may be explained on a more respectable supposition. So it may. But what will ordinary people say? And what must even intelligent people sometimes think? Take a common political case, and suppose that a Judge, who is known to approve of the politicks of the Court, selects, from his impression of the worthiness of all such men, a Tory Jury, and that the prisoners challenge the whole of them;—or suppose that a Judge known to lean to the politicks of the country, names, for the same reason, a Whig Jury, and all of them are set aside by the Crown, will any thing prevent people, whether wise or foolish, from speculating upon these occurrences, and drawing inferences hostile to the impartiality of Judges? These are, no doubt, touchstone cases. But the same thing must, to a certain extent, occur in every trial. No one can observe a Judge selecting an individual as an eminent Juryman, and then see that individual set aside peremptorily by a party, without perceiving that the bystanders instantly begin to wonder how the former could propose a person so bad that the latter could not submit to him. Nor does it signify that it sometimes happens to be just the reverse, and that the challenge is sometimes exercised merely because the Judge named too honest, or too sensible, a man; for in these cases, it is felt to be a still more conspicuous interference with the judicial authority, that his choice is liable to be defied, even when he is plainly right. So that, let it be taken any way it may, the dignity of no Court was ever exposed to so distressing a trial as when a discretionary selection is first required to be made by a presiding judge, and then his choice is subject to be set at nought by the mere nod of the parties. Accordingly, we are satisfied that some delicacy about offending the Court, or exposing it to misconstruction, will always operate as a great, but improper, check against the free exercise of the peremptory challenge, so long as it can only be exercised in order to defeat what the Judge has done.

However, supposing all this to be got the better of, the main part of our original objection still subsists with undiminished force. That objection is, that the parties were too much exposed to the dangers of partiality, ignorance, or error, and that, in political cases especially, they were too much in the

hands of persons named, and liable to be promoted, by the Crown. Now, though the peremptory challenges certainly do something to remove this, they do, at present, very little. They are limited to five in number, and, after these are exhausted, the nomination remains with the Court, subject to no control or correction whatever;—so that ultimately the appointment of the Jury still rests with the presiding Judge. And this selection, as matters now stand, is made out of forty-five men who have been previously brought together, in small parties, by Sheriffs searching for them, without any positive direction or restraint whatever. This last is one of the worst preparations that can well be imagined for a fair and impartial Jury. But when, to all this, is added the power which the prosecutor has of objecting peremptorily to five of the fifteen Jurymen after the Judge has named them, there must be something miraculous in the Crown, if it chuses to interest itself in the matter, ever failing to get a Jury on whom it may rely. At present, the system is perhaps worse than it was; because the mere possession of five challenges by the prisoner is no adequate counterpoise for the additional power acquired by the Crown, from the possession of the same number, and from the fifteen Jurors previously undergoing a double selection, by the Sheriffs and by the Judge.

The only way to remove these objections, which, it will be observed, are inseparable from any system under which the Judge names—and to increase the authority of Courts of Justice by exempting them from suspicion, is to leave the challenge as it is, but to adopt the other two improvements we have suggested. These are, 1*st*, To force the Sheriffs to take the forty-five persons by rotation; and, 2*dly*, To dispense with the nomination of the petty jury by the Court, by introducing a ballot in place of it.

We have been told, that the great obstacle, in that part of the kingdom to which we must always look for Scottish political improvement, to this last and most indispensable change, was, that the ballot was not English. We certainly rarely wish, in matters touching justice or liberty, to go beyond the example of that country, where they are best known and practised; but it is a great error to imagine, that in borrowing political improvements from one country for the use of another, their exact forms must be taken, or their spirit be renounced. The ballot is English in the case of High Treason; and it has been introduced, with the most perfect success into Scotland, in almost all civil causes depending on facts. This forms a sufficient foundation in experience for its application to our ordinary criminal trials; more especially as there has confessedly been no adequate substitute hitherto discovered for it. Nothing

can so completely exclude partiality; while the incovenience of the lot falling occasionally on an unfit person, is remedied quietly and in a moment, by the peremptory challenge.

But if the ballot be not English, it is at least as much so as the nomination by the Judge. This last is the great evil; and if it cannot be cured, as we are decidedly of opinion that it ought to be, by the ballot, it ought to be superseded by some other device. We have heard one other scheme proposed, which we mention, because, if the ballot be not introduced, it seems to form the only plausible substitute for it that has yet been invented. It has sometimes been suggested, that the nomination might be left to the clerk, leaving him to exercise his discretion. But nobody can know any thing of Scotland, without seeing that this would be the source of the most abominable and incorrigible abuses. The proposal to which we allude, however, is, that *provided the previous preparation of the lists were perfectly fair*, it might do to let the clerk merely call out the names, and to take the first fifteen who answered, and were not challenged, as the Jury; and that when there were more trials than one, the list should be gone through by rotation in this way,—it being always understood, that a proportional number of names shall be so read from each of the lists returned from the different counties. If the ballot, which plainly secures all the advantages of this plan, without its defects, cannot be obtained, we rather believe that this would be the next best scheme. It would save the Court—it would diminish partiality,—and it would possess the great recommendation of making it absolutely necessary that the Sheriffs should make up their lists accurately, and operate upon them fairly.

But whatever method be adopted, it is plain that the present system cannot stand. Every friend to justice must rejoice in what has been already done; but his satisfaction must rest chiefly on the triumph which reason has obtained over bigotry, and on the way being now opened up for the introduction of a more perfect law than we have ever yet enjoyed. The improvement that is desired, indeed, is at once so simple and so necessary, that we cannot conceive how the Court and the Government, now that the prejudices that were excited have been cleared away, can resist concurring in completing a change which must prove so honourable to them both. We trust, however, that Mr Kennedy will persevere till he secures to his country the full measure of improvement which he originally intended for it; and he may be assured that his name will be permanently incorporated with the recollection of the most beneficial alteration that has ever taken place in the history of our criminal jurisprudence.

ART. XII. *The Builder's Guide.* London, 1821.

WE are glad to observe, that ministers have at length come round to our opinion, and avowed their determination to give no specific or artificial aid to the agriculturists, and to afford them no relief, except what they may derive, in common with the other classes, from a reduction of taxation. Our object in the present article is to strengthen this judicious determination, by showing, in as few words as possible, how a very material relief may be afforded to the agriculturists, and the community in general, by the repeal of a tax, which, though extremely partial and oppressive in its operation, yields only an inconsiderable revenue.

We should suspect, from the supineness of the public on the subject, that it is not generally known, that all stones and slates used in the building and covering of houses, or for any other purpose, are, when carried by sea, from one port of the kingdom to another, loaded with an *ad valorem* duty of no less than 26*l.* 8s. per cent! That such a tax should ever have been imposed, is matter of astonishment. In forming our opinion upon it, it is unnecessary to agitate the question, whether slate or stone be a fit object of taxation; for there cannot be a doubt, that, if taxed at all, the tax ought to be equally and impartially levied. This is too plain and incontrovertible a position to require to be substantiated by argument. But the duty in question, instead of being laid indiscriminately on all descriptions of slate and stone, is only laid on *what is carried by sea;* and seems really to have been intended to act as a premium for cutting up and incumbering the roads in the vicinity of every large town with stone carts! It is contended, indeed, that the superior facilities of water-carriage are sufficient, notwithstanding the duty, to enable the proprietors of quarries on the seacoast to withstand the competition of those in the interior. But why endeavour, by means of a duty, to render an improved, and naturally cheaper conveyance, as expensive as one that is naturally dearer? Why deprive the public of the power of purchasing their building materials from such of their *fellow-subjects* (foreigners have nothing to do with this question) as would furnish them at the lowest price? The principle of this tax is completely at variance with every principle of improvement; and, if generally acted upon, would effectually check all melioration of any

sort whatever. In point of fact, however, the statement is altogether fallacious. An *ad valorem* duty of 26*l.* 8s. per cent., levied on the value of the slate or stone at the place of *import*, after its prime cost has been augmented by the expenses of freight, harbour dues, &c. could not really be meant to *equalize* the cost of carrying slates and stones by land or sea, but to put an entire stop to the latter conveyance; and it cannot be denied, that, with respect to stone at least, it has been very nearly successful. With the exception of some public works, where the duty was generally remitted, very few buildings have hitherto been erected of sea-borne stone. The oppressiveness of the duty has given a complete monopoly of the market to those who can convey their stone by land, and has, in consequence, enabled them to charge much higher prices.

But there is another point of view in which the injustiee and partiality of this tax is still more apparent. All the ports included in the jurisdiction of one collection of the customs, are considered as making only *one* port; and the effect of this regulation is, that slate and stone may be carried coastwise, throughout the whole extent of one of these districts, free of all duty whatever. For example, stone may be carried a distance of nearly *forty* miles, free of duty, along the coast of Fife: Nay, so arbitrary is this arrangement of the ports, that Fife stone may be sent a distance of twelve or thirteen miles across the Frith to West Lothian, where there happens to be no demand for it; at the same time that it cannot be sent five miles across the Frith to Leith, where it is in great demand, and where, but for the prohibition, it would be used to the exclusion of all other stone! We ask, whether it be possible to conceive a more partial, unjust, and contradictory regulation? On what ground are the proprietors of slate and stone permitted to convey them by sea, from one port to another, in the *same* collection of customs, and not in every collection? What would be thought of a regulation, enabling cottons to be sold in every part of Lancashire free of duty, and prohibiting their conveyance to any other county, except on payment of an *ad valorem* duty of 26*l.* 8s. per cent.? Yet, it is plain that such a regulation would not be in any respect more objectionable in principle, than the existing regulation respecting slate and stone. Nor is this all its absurdity: For at the same time that we exclude all slates and stones carried by sea from our own markets, we permit them to be exported *free of all duty*, to Sweden, France, Belgium, and other foreign countries.

The injury done to the public by the duty in question, is still

greater than that which is done to the proprietors of quarries on the seacoast. Sea-borne stone is used at this moment, though to a very limited extent certainly, in the towns on the seacoast; and the fact of its being so used, notwithstanding the very great increase of price caused by the duty, shows conclusively that the abolition of the duty would allow it to be sold for such a *diminished price*, as would occasion a material saving of expense.

The partial operation and pernicious effect of the duty is especially felt in those parts of the country which are destitute of slate and free-stone quarries. It is there for the most part impossible to erect comfortable dwelling-houses, bridges, and other public buildings, without having recourse to sea-borne stone, or to cover them with slates, without importing them by sea. A heavy burden is thus artificially imposed on particular districts, from which other *districts in the vicinity of quarries are entirely exempted*; and a very great, and, in many cases, an insuperable obstacle, is in consequence presented to the completion of the most necessary improvements. A striking instance of this occurred not long since in the south of Scotland. When the magnificent bridge over the Dee, near Kirkcudbright, was first projected, it was supposed that granite for its construction might be obtained free of duty from Creetown; but it was speedily ascertained, that though Creetown was situated in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, it belonged to the Wigton collection of customs, and that, therefore, it was impossible to import from it a single block of granite for the execution of this great public improvement, without paying the prohibitory duty! This had well nigh caused the abandonment of the undertaking. Ultimately, however, the bridge was constructed of softer stone, brought from Arran and Dumfriesshire; the charge on account of the duty being partially compensated by the greater ease with which the stone was wrought. That persons are thus forced to have recourse to inferior materials, is indeed one of the worst effects of the duty in question. And however much we may be satisfied with the present appearance of Edinburgh, no person who has seen any of the buildings constructed of the best sea-borne stone can possibly doubt, that, had such stone only been used, the appearance of the city would have been much improved. In the towns where the quarries in the vicinity are not so good as at Edinburgh, the difference is still more striking.

This tax presses with peculiar severity on the agriculturists; and it is easy to show why it should be so. There are extremely few districts in which the slates used in the covering

of houses are not conveyed by sea; and, owing to the greater extent of the roofs of farm-buildings which may, on an average, be taken at FIVE *or* SIX *times the extent of the roof of an ordinary dwelling-house*, the duty comes to be a most important element in the expense of their construction, and operates as a very heavy burden either on the landlord or the tenant. We understand that slate work, including not only the cost of the slates, but the nails, lime and wages of the workmen, is executed, at present, for about 6*l.* 10s. a rood, of which sum the duty amounts to 17s., or to *one-seventh* part of the whole expense. And if, as is frequently the case, the stones requisite for the construction of the doors, windows, and angles of the farm-buildings, and sometimes for the construction of the whole buildings, have to be brought by sea, the duty on them, and the slate duty, add very greatly to their cost.

The oppressiveness of these duties is unquestionably a principal cause why the very inferior and less comfortable covering of tile is still so very generally used in districts into which slates might easily be imported. And though there were no other and more important considerations why the duties in question should be abolished, we think that every minister who has ever been half a dozen miles from Downing-Street, or whose eye is not altogether insensible to the charms of rural scenery, would be willing, though at the sacrifice of a considerable sum, to take away the existing inducement to deform the appearance of the country, by studding it with farm-houses and buildings covered with red and dirty-looking tiles.

This tax has another inconvenience which deserves to be mentioned. Vessels engaged in the coasting-trade are frequently obliged, in passing from one port to another, to take on board ballast; and were it not for the operation of the duties in question, they might, on sailing from ports where there are quarries, take on board slate and stone, on the sale of which they would realize a profit. The Legislature has acknowledged the justice of this remark; for vessels are allowed to import Aberdeen granite, and other stone used in paving the streets of *London*, either as an entire cargo, or as ballast, into the Thames, free of duty. But why not allow stones and slates of all kinds, and for all purposes, to be freely imported into London, Liverpool, and all other ports? Why acknowledge the existence of the abuse, and correct it in *one* case, without correcting it in all cases?

'Every tax ought,' says Dr Smith, 'to be so contrived, as to 'take out, and keep out, of the pockets of the people, as little 'as possible over and above what it brings into the public trea-

'sury of the state.' But the duty in question is in direct opposition to this maxim. It injures the appearance of the country, and entails a heavy burden on the agriculturists, in particular districts, and, generally, on all classes of the community, without putting any thing considerable into the coffers of the state. It is at once oppressive, unequal, and unproductive. It has not operated as a tax, but as a prohibition. Its real effect has been to destroy the public roads, by forcing the employment of carts and waggons in the conveyance of slates and stones, and to oblige the people to recur to inferior and more costly materials. The subjoined account (Par. Papers, No. 161. Sess. 1822.) shows, that the total produce of the slate and stone-duty in England and Scotland, from 1815 to 1821, both inclusive, has hardly ever amounted to 60,000*l.* in any one year, and has frequently been little more than half that sum! The stone-duty in Scotland has never amounted to 3000*l.* a year; and this miserable pittance has principally been derived from the duties levied on the stones used in the construction of piers and other buildings of public utility to which Government have lent their aid! We defy any one to produce another instance, either in this or any other country, of a tax so remarkable for every quality which a tax ought *not* to possess.

Official Account of the Produce of the Duty on Slates and Stones carried coastwise in Great Britain, from 1815 *to* 1821, *both inclusive.*

	ENGLAND.		SCOTLAND.	
	Slates.	Stones.	Slates.	Stones.
1815.	L.15,005	L.20,461	L.6,398	L.1,614
1816.	13,726	23,040	6,743	1,199
1817.	11,542	18,273	5,474	1,432
1818.	14,597	14,864	5,516	1,277
1819.	22,800	19,286	6,201	1,883
1820.	26,598	24,906	8,140	2,716
1821.	25,083	29,322	6,429	2,612

Perhaps we shall be told by the apologists of this duty—for however oppressive and unproductive, every tax is sure to have its apologists—that it was not intended to be productive, but to prevent the use of sea-borne slates and stones from su-

perseding the use of bricks and tiles, which pay a duty of from 300,000*l.* to 400,000*l.* a year! But the existence of one abuse can never be a reason why it should be bolstered up by another. The true way is, to put them both down; and, in the present state of the finances of the country, the sacrifice of the brick and tile duty might be made without difficulty, and would be a considerable boon. Besides, it should be recollected, that more than *three-fourths* of the brick and tile duty are paid by London and its immediate vicinity; and there can be no good reason why a partial and heavy burden should be imposed on the other districts of the country, merely that the builders of London may be compelled to use bricks and tiles, rather than stones and slates. This might be much more easily and directly accomplished, by simply forbidding the importation of stones and slates into the Thames, unless they pay the present duty. Why force the people of Edinburgh and Glasgow to use one kind of stone in preference to another, because ministers think it advisable that the Londoners should use no stone at all? Let the cause be proportioned to the effect to be produced—let ministers, if they will, exclude sea-borne stones and slates from London and such other parts, if there be any other, *where brick and tile must be used in their absence*; but do not let them exclude them from those ports where their exclusion *merely gives a monopoly of the market to the proprietors of stones and slates carried by land.* To do this, is wantonly and gratuitously to inflict a grievous injury on the public, without benefitting the revenue in the slightest degree.

We have seen, with very great satisfaction, the declarations in favour of the freedom of trade and against all restrictive regulations, in the ministerial pamphlet published previously to the meeting of Parliament. We trust ministers were sincere in making these declarations; and, if so, the discriminating duty on East India sugar, to which we have called the public attention in another article, and the duty on slates and stones carried coastwise, cannot long survive. The discussion of these questions will bring the professions of ministers to the test; and will show whether they are really impressed with a conviction of their truth, and are determined to act upon them; or whether they have used them merely as a gloss, to give the semblance of liberality to arguments in favour of the most offensive and injurious parts of the restrictive system.

ART. XIII. *The Holy Alliance* versus *Spain; or, Notes and Declarations of the Allied Powers.* London, Ridgway.

IT is our purpose, on the present occasion, to lay before our readers, a short statement of such facts and arguments as may enable them to estimate the justice of the war now threatened by the Ultra Royalists of France against Spain; the consistency of the principles of that faction with the general rules of the law of nations, or even with any exception from those rules which has been acted on without universal reprobation in civilized times; the influence of the success of such a war on the independence of states, and the circumstances which would render that success more formidable to the security of Great Britain than to that of any other European state.

By the abdications extorted at Bayonne in May 1808, from Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII., the Spaniards who took up arms for the independence of their country, were left without legitimate authority, and indeed without acknowledged leaders. Local and general juntas very irregularly appointed, and often not very well composed, were neither able to give the appearance of legality, nor the advantage of union, to the heroic efforts of the Spanish people. This defect was the subject of triumph to their enemies, and of deep regret to their friends. In the midst of their enemies, and at the season of their utmost distress, the Emperor of Russia refused to acknowledge their title to be parties to any negociation, and would call them by no other name than 'THE INSURGENTS OF SPAIN.'* But their disunion and want of chiefs were viewed with other eyes by Lord Wellesley; who, though he had wielded with a vigorous hand, the force of an absolute monarchy, had too much wisdom not to discover that liberty alone was the source of union and obedience, as well as of energy and valour, to a people struggling for independence. By him, during his embassy to Spain, the calling together of the Cortes appears to have been first proposed,† for the purpose of redressing grievances and reforming abuses, as well as that of providing for the public defence. That assembly, convoked by the Regency, met, after several delays, in September 1810, at Cadiz, then almost the only spot in the Spanish territory which was not occupied by foreign force. Its

* Note of Count Romanzoff to Mr Secretary Canning. Paris, 28th November 1808.

† Despatch from Marquis Wellesley to Mr Secretary Canning. Seville, 15th September 1809.

composition was very popular; as was natural, in a body whose chief function was to excite popular spirit, and in a country where the only examples of timidity or treachery were to be found among the higher orders. In the eye of every true Spaniard, the Cortes became the only lawful power of the monarchy. As such, their commands were obeyed, and their authority acknowledged. The Regency, whom they superseded, gave up their power without a murmur. The two successive regencies whom they nominated, were obeyed as the executive government of the monarchy by all but the partisans of France. The constitution was promulgated by their authority in March 1812, and was received as the fundamental law wherever the French arms did not silence the public voice. That it contained some language capable of mischievous misconception, and that it did not provide sufficient means of conciliating those classes who derived a powerful influence from property and opinion; that it did not enough maintain the authority of the deliberate judgment of the people over their hasty and transient passions, may be admitted, without involving censure on the leaders of the Cortes, and certainly without affording any inference that these, or that any constitutional defects, should be remedied under the terror of foreign bayonets. If every error in legislation were to be punished by a perpetual forfeiture of a nation's title to liberty, no free government could be established among men. The most excusable of all errors, is a disposition in the founders of freedom to fly to the greatest distance from the institutions which had formerly been the instruments of oppressions. In the peculiar situation of Spain, the strongest declarations of the rights of the nation were politically necessary to invalidate the acts into which the imprisoned King might have been betrayed. The sovereignty of the people became the only safeguard of the independence of the monarchy.

But whatever may be thought of the wisdom of the constitution, it is impossible to conceive any authority more legitimate than that of those who framed it. They were not a revolutionary assembly. After conquest had destroyed all lawful power in Spain, the Cortes were called together to give their country a regular government. To restore internal order, and to secure national independence, were the objects of their convocation. By preserving a national government for the people, they also preserved a crown for the King. An authority thus originating and thus sanctioned by the obedience of all true Spaniards, was recognised also by all those foreign states who were not subject to the domination of France. England indeed had very early recognised a government which had far less pretensions to be considered as

national than the Cortes. So early as the 4th of July 1808, an Order of Council was issued, directing all hostilities against Spain to cease, in consequence 'of the *glorious efforts of the Spanish nation to the deliverance of their country from the usurpation of France*, and of the assurances *which H. M. had received from several provinces of Spain of their amicable dispositions towards this kingdom.*' In November and December of the following year, England claimed a place in any congress which should be assembled, for the representation of those whom Alexander, in concert with Napoleon, called 'THE INSURGENTS OF SPAIN.' It is now well known that Alexander, in spite of all the tender and enthusiastic attachment for Napoleon, of which he made so extravagant and ridiculous a display at Erfurt, had bargained at that interview for a share in an intended partition of Turkey as the price of his connivance at the conquest of Spain. On the 14th of January 1809, the treaty of London was concluded between his Britannic Majesty and the Supreme Junta of Spain, containing the important stipulation, that Great Britain 'never would acknowledge any King of Spain but Ferdinand II. and his heirs, *or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation should acknowledge.*' *

These acts were much more than a recognition of the legitimacy of the Junta; they were continued towards the Regency, and, by necessary consequence, implied a recognition of the Cortes, which the Regency had convoked. The alliance was accordingly maintained and confirmed under that assembly; and an occasion arose in which England made an express declaration of its legitimate and supreme authority. In answer to a proposal for negociation in April 1812, by M. Maret, on the part of Napoleon, he was informed that England could not consent to any treaty, in which it was not acknowledged that 'the Royal authority in Spain was vested in the legitimate sovereign Ferdinand VII. and his heirs, *and in the extraordinary assembly of the Cortes, now invested with the powers of government in that kingdom.*' † Another still more solemn recognition of their government followed, which recent events have rendered very memorable. On the 20th of July 1812, when Napoleon appeared to be making a triumphant entry into Russia with all the nations and sovereigns of the Continent in his train,—before he had experienced disaster, and when there was no reasonable prospect of a reverse, a treaty was concluded at

* Ann. Register, 1809, p. 736.
† Schoell, x. 129.

Weliki Lotki between the Emperor of Russia and the Cortes of Spain, of which the third article deserves to be cited at length. 'His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias *acknowledges the* LEGITIMACY *of the general and extraordinary assembly of the Cortes held at Cadiz,* AS WELL AS THE CONSTITUTION WHICH THEY HAVE DECREED AND SANCTIONED.' * Whether this stipulation amounted to a guarantee, might be a question; but certainly no event in the annals of mankind, not even in the History of the Partition of Poland, could have prepared us to expect, that, only ten years after, Russia should represent the existence of this very constitution as a reason for breaking off all intercourse with Spain, and almost as a ground of war against that country. The reasons by which this inconsistency has been attempted to be explained are more monstrous than the fact itself. In a supplementary despatch from Verona to M. Balgari at Madrid, Count Nesselrode attempts to vindicate his master from the charge of inconsistency, on three grounds. 1. It was *necessary* for Russia, in 1812, to form an alliance with the Cortes against France, the common enemy of both; which is certainly a most extraordinary reason for breaking the alliance; and to which it may be answered, that the recognition of a Constitution is no necessary or ordinary part of an alliance with a Government, and must therefore be regarded as a spontaneous act on the part of Russia, strongly binding her conduct, and irrevocably pledging her approbation of the Constitution recognised. 2. The Russian Minister alleges, that the Constitution being only provisional, and dependent on the assent of Ferdinand, the guarantee was provisional also, and was annulled by his dissent. But the fact assumed in this argument is notoriously false. The Constitution of the Cortes was, and purported to be, independent of the King's assent, insomuch that his acceptance of it was made a condition of the exercise of his authority.† The assumption is not only at variance with truth, but with the

* Schoel, x. 543.

† 'The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; and for the 'same reason, *the right of establishing the fundamental laws belongs* 'EXCLUSIVELY *to the* NATION.'—*Spanish Constitut.* title i. c. 1. art. 3.

'The King, on his accession, and if he be a minor when he comes 'to exercise his government, shall take an oath before the Cortes 'to observe, and cause to be observed, the Constitution and laws 'of the Spanish monarchy.'—*Id.* tit. iv. c. v. art. 172.

'The Cortes may exclude from the succession to the Crown, such 'individuals as have done acts for which they deserve to lose the 'Crown.'—*Id.* art. 181.

context of the despatch, in which the sovereignty of the people is declared to be one of the intolerable faults of the Constitution;—a principle which formed a part of it in 1812, which necessarily rendered it independent of the King's assent, and which, after being solemnly recognised as legitimate at Weliki Louki, is represented by the same Government at Verona as a ground for sentence of outlawry against Spain. As an aggravation of this reasoning, Count Nesselrode is not ashamed to lay down the abominable principle, that the positive and absolute words of the treaty of 1812 contained 'an implied reservation which it was unnecessary to express!' 3. Sensible of the vanity of these pretexts, the Russian Minister concludes his despatch, by avowing a doctrine of which the adoption would tear up by the roots all faith between nations. 'Even supposing,' says he, 'that the nullity did not exist, his Imperial 'Majesty cannot recognise any law *but that of the welfare of* 'Spain; *and this* IS THE ONLY ONE WHICH HE IS RESOLVED TO 'FOLLOW!' It is certain that this principle, if admissible, must extend to all treaties; and that it would render all treaties nugatory. The guarantee of a Constitution, at least against foreign attack, is universally acknowledged to be a legitimate object of treaty. But according to the new jurists of Russia, their Sovereign, after having made a treaty to that effect, may, as soon as he changes his opinion or his language, send an army for the destruction of the Constitution which he guaranteed, on the principle, or under the pretence, that he no longer thinks it conducive to the welfare of the nation which has established it!

On the circumstances which attended the subversion of the Constitution in 1814, we forbear to remark, for reasons which the present situation of Spain will suggest to the mind of every reader. The necessity of the argument, however, requires it to be stated, that it was destroyed by military force, without even the pretext of legal or civil forms; and that the absolute monarchy, which conquest and national opinion had eradicated, was planted with open violence in its stead. It was a transaction which had every character of manifest usurpation; and it must be deemed to be so by all who do not hold, that usurpa-

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The Prince of Asturias must take the same oath at the age of 14 *Id.* art. 212.

These, and many other articles which equally disprove the allegation of Count Nesselrode, are to be found in the Constitution promulgated at Cadiz on the 19th March 1812, four months before the treaty of Weliki Louki.

tion can be committed only against a King;—a doctrine which, however it may be professed by those who have the fear of Siberia before their eyes, must be reprobated not only in all free States, but in all those civilized monarchies which observe fixed laws. In such countries, the best security of hereditary royalty is, to place it on the same footing with the other establishments and institutions which are created by the fundamental laws.

The Spanish army, who appeared to have caught the spirit of liberty in their struggle for independence, early repented their fatal and criminal participation in the destruction of the Constitution, and the dispersion of the Cortes. Between 1814 and 1820, several partial revolts of the soldiery showed that the remedy was likely to arise in the same quarter with the disease. In the beginning of the year 1820, the Constitution was *restored* by the army assembled at Cadiz to be embarked against America. Their example was followed by the people, as well as the soldiers, throughout Spain; and the Constitution was soon after adopted by the King, with as much appearance of sincerity as usually attends the consent of an absolute monarch to limitations on his power. The friends of liberty might no doubt lament, that even the *restoration* of a Constitution should have *originated* with the army, though they listened with the utmost indignation to the same objection when it came from the mouths of those who prompted or vindicated, or abetted the employment of military force for the subversion of the same Constitution. The advantage of a regular and legal system was so great and obvious, that all discussion of the faults of the Constitution, and all attempts to reform them, would have been imprudent and unreasonable at the moment of the Restoration. Even the United States of America, for several years after the peace, preserved that rude scheme of association which they had hastily formed at the beginning of the war, and at a proper season found no difficulty in strengthening their executive government, and fastening the bands of their union. Men of all opinions must agree with Lord Liverpool, that there never was an extensive political change attended with less violence or bloodshed than the Spanish Revolution, during the last three years. Whoever recurs to the unsuspected testimony of Mr Southey, will find, that the popular excesses committed by the Spaniards on occasion of the French usurpation in 1808, were at least tenfold more than those which have occurred since March 1820.

The example of Spain was naturally followed by Portugal, where nearly the same system of misgovernment had formerly

existed, and where a great part of the people had learned to love, if not yet to understand liberty, in that glorious war of independence which raised so high the character of the Portuguese army and nation. In the unfortunate attempt of Italy to recover her liberties, Naples and Piedmont took the Spanish Constitution as their bond of union, for want of any other fixed system or popular name. Assuredly their choice was not influenced by Spanish intrigues or correspondence with Spain;—since, if we may believe their enemies, it was scarcely possible, at the moment of the Revolution, to find a copy of the Spanish Constitution at Naples. The French Constitution could have no popularity; for the Restoration, which might have freed France, had enslaved Italy. The name and Constitution of England, once the object of enthusiastic admiration, were discredited by the faults of its administration. The Italians could not hope for liberty from a country which was a party to the Congress of Vienna,—which had betrayed the people of Genoa,—and which had sacrificed even Sicily herself, after her adoption of a form of Government, as near as she could make it to the English Constitution. In the numerous prosecutions for treason which occurred in France, where we find perpetual allusion to Italy, and great importance ascribed to the Association of the *Carbonari*, not a vestige is discoverable of any connexion with Spain.* But there is a still more decisive proof that no Spanish intrigues were carried on in France. Louis XVIII., in his speech at the close of the Session in June 1822, declared, that 'malevolence alone has been able to find, in the 'measures which I have adopted against contagion, a pretext 'for misconstruing my intentions.'—'Intentions so pure,' he continued, 'could not be misconstrued by any but *the malevo-* '*lent, who seek, on all occasions, means to set fire again to the* '*still smoking brands of* DISCORD and WAR.' Presuming, as we are bound to do, that this declaration is true, we must conclude, that in June no practices had been attempted by Spaniards against the quiet of France; and that no danger was then apprehended by the French Monarch from the Spanish Revolu-

* Plaidoyer de M. de Marchanzy Avocat Général à la cour Royale de Paris—29 Aout et 7 Septembre 1822. That this Attorney General was not withheld, by extreme scruples, from adverting to Spain, we may judge pretty certainly from some of his opinions. He lays it down positively, that the confession of a person accused, even though it should be retracted, is evidence against other men; and that the accused have no right to require the attendance of officers in high command at a distance, as witnesses to prove their defence.

tion: for, in either of these cases, there was no need of so indignant a disavowal of political motives for keeping up an army on the Spanish frontier.

On the whole, it may be safely affirmed that Spain gave as little disturbance, or cause of just alarm, to her neighbours, as any country engaged in political reformation ever did.

The Powers of the North, however, who arrogate to themselves the guardianship of Europe, early treated the Spanish Revolution as a criminal enterprise, which called for the exertion of their paramount jurisdiction. In May 1820, Count Nesselrode declared, in notes which were immediately made public, that 'the Spanish nation now owes the example of an expiatory act to the people of the two hemispheres.' Be it observed, in passing, that this atonement was required for no greater crime than the *restoration* of a Constitution, which the Emperor of Russia had, by a solemn treaty, recognised as legitimate. When these sovereigns assembled at Troppau, they expressly included the Spanish Revolution among the objects of their condemnation.* They declared their right to interfere in every case where a government had been changed by violence, or where new institutions were established not consistent with '*the* MONARCHICAL PRINCIPLE,' which *recognises no institution as legitimate that does not flow spontaneously from the monarch.* Naples they selected as the object of attack, because 'no other can be so immediately and certainly opposed.' To leave no doubt of their opinion of the extent of their right, they disavowed any intention, at that time, 'to invade the western territory of Europe.' After the conquest of Naples and the dissolution of the Congress of Laybach, a circular despatch of the Prussian Government, dated on the 5th June 1821, stated, with a distinctness unusual in such compositions, the perseverance of the Allies in their claims of universal jurisdiction in all changes of government. 'They will always mark rebellion, 'under whatever form or name it may appear, with the stamp 'of their disapproval. *Wherever it appears, and they can reach 'it, they will repress, condemn, and combat its work.*' It seemed still too early to proceed against Spain and Portugal. France was then governed by ministers of some prudence and moderation. England, in 1820, had resisted the attempt to suppress the Spanish Revolution, and was at length so alarmed by the language held at Troppau and Laybach, as to publish the Circular Despatch of January 1821, which, tardy, feeble, and ambiguous as it was, must be owned to be, in substance, a protest against the pretensions of the Allied Powers.

* Circular from Troppau, 8th December 1820.

In the mean time, France fell into the hands of a fanatical faction, who, like the republican enthusiasts of 1793, aimed at the universal establishment of governments suitable to their own narrow opinions. An attempt of the King of Spain's guards to reestablish the absolute monarchy, undoubtedly instigated by foreign intrigues, was defeated in July 1822. A few bands of peasants were easily excited to revolt, prepared to listen to foreign missionaries, by some impolitic as well as unjust decrees of the Cortes on ecclesiastical property, and by those physical, as well as political circumstances, which have always rendered the authority of the law very loose and unequal in some provinces of the kingdom. The French administration availed themselves of these pretexts, of which they had in a great measure contrived the very slight foundation. They exulted in discovering, in a Spanish party in arms against the government, the same advantage which Catharine had obtained, in 1792, from those infamous Poles who formed the Confederacy of *Bar*. They changed their sanitary cordon into an army of observation; they suffered the chiefs of the Spanish insurgents to assemble, with forms of public authority, on the French territory; they countenanced loans for these insurgents; they not only received them as fugitives after defeat, which was a common office of humanity, but they allowed them to march back into Spain for the purpose of new hostility; and, in the midst of all this instigation, support, and countenance, they had the meanness and bad faith to complain of the Spanish troops for having pursued their enemies twice or thrice into vallies, which, in the intermingled territory and uncertainty of a doubtful frontier, are asserted by France to be part of her dominions.

Such was the state of things, when the Sovereigns, who call themselves, by way of eminence, 'The Powers,' assembled at Verona, according to their declarations, in the preceding year, at Laybach.* We say nothing of the intrigues and divisions which followed, both at Verona and at Paris. Our present business is only to discuss and avow the reasons alleged for and against the war. On the 25th December 1822, M. de Villele sent a very ambiguous note to the French ambassador at Madrid, which contained the important intimation, that 'the 'CONTINENTAL POWERS had adopted the resolution of uniting with France, (if there ever should be occasion), in 'maintaining her dignity and tranquillity!' or, in plain English, of supporting the French ministers against all opposition, either in France or Spain. On the 28th of Ja-

* Circular of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, 12th May 1821.

nuary, the King of France announced, in his speech to the Legislature, that he had ordered the recall of his minister from Madrid, and that he had directed an army to advance, but that hostilities should cease as soon as 'Ferdinand VII. was 'free to give his people INSTITUTIONS WHICH THEY CANNOT 'HOLD BUT FROM HIM;' thus adopting, in its fullest extent, 'the monarchical principle' of the confederates or conspirators of Laybach. On the 25th of February, the violent Chateaubriand read a speech, which may be considered as the manifesto of the French Government, and with a short examination of which we shall conclude this statement.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the argument of M. de Chateaubriand should set out from 'the right of one government to interfere in the internal affairs of another;'—as if that were a first principle of the law of nations, which would, in truth, be destructive of all its principles, and which has never before been represented by its most zealous advocates otherwise than as an exception from all other principles, admissible only in those extremely rare cases of stern and dire necessity which suspend all the ordinary rules of human action. It is very plain, that this intervention is directly at variance with international law; that no community, which is not independent, can be called a nation; and that the very definition of independence excludes such intervention. The justice of the French aggression, therefore, must solely depend on the answer to the question, Whether it can be brought within the case of exception? Now, what is that case? Has it hitherto ever been carried farther, in any example that even divides the opinion of mankind, than this position, that if a state avows the intention of propagating its own institutions in neighbouring countries, and actually attempts so to propagate them by intrigue or by force, the powers who are insulted and assailed in this manner have a right to destroy the government which had attempted to destroy them? Perhaps this case is improperly termed an exception. A war made on such a ground is not so much an interference in the internal affairs of a foreign country, as a resistance to such an interference. The state which first attempts to excite revolt in its neighbourhood is the real offender against the principle of national independence. Now, the King of France's speech in June 1822 demonstrates, that, before that period, Spain was guilty of no such offence. His speech in January 1823 seems, by its silence on matters, which, if they were real, would have been so important, to be an admission that Spain had then violated no duty of good neighbourhood towards France. The silence of M. de Chateaubriand on this important particular carries the admission down to

the very eve of hostilities. The violation of French territory, and the capture of French ships by pirates under the Spanish flag, are not honestly urged; and it is not even alleged that reparation for these casual or frivolous wrongs has been demanded and refused. The reduced sale of French mules in Spain has much the appearance of being inserted by an opponent in M. de C.'s MSS. to bring ridicule on the speaker and speech. He is reduced, therefore, to the bare and naked allegation, that *the example of the Spanish Revolution*, though unattended by any words or acts of the Spanish government or people of Spain, hostile to the tranquillity of other countries, is dangerous to the quiet of France, and therefore a just cause of war against Spain!

It cannot be too often repeated, that no overt act, no incendiary decree, no encouragement to revolt, no correspondence with the disaffected, is laid to the charge of Spain. She has no need of disavowing them. She is so innocent as not even to be accused by enemies who plot her destruction. Nothing, therefore, remains but the doctrine, that whenever a state thinks or says that her quiet is endangered by the mere example of the form of government of another nation, she may make war to destroy that government! Such a doctrine would leave no independence; for every weaker nation would in that case be bound to change its government at the pleasure of a stronger neighbour. As it would leave no independence, it could leave no international law, of which the sole object is the protection of independence. It would establish universal and eternal war; for such a right of intervention must belong to all nations, or to none; and if to all, it is evident that there could be no peace till one nation had established its favourite government, and secured it over all countries. The worst governments would possess this right more clearly than the best; for it is surely to bad governments that the example of good is most dangerous. Morocco might make a war against England for setting the example of a pure administration of justice at Gibraltar, which would excite the Africans to revolt against their masters. As despotism prevails over a far greater number of men than liberty, and barbarism than civilization, the practical effect of this doctrine, if universally adopted, would be to reduce all mankind to be at once barbarians and slaves.

It is difficult to conjecture what part of Lord Bacon's writings could have been so misunderstood, as to tempt M. de C. to an unfortunate appeal to the authority of that great lawyer, as well as philosopher. Nothing can be more decisive than the condemnation pronounced by Lord Bacon against such wars as

the present. In his Essay on the Greatness of Kingdoms, we find the following passage, which is the more remarkable, because the doctrine of the Essay is, that a nation which would be great, must be well armed with pretexts for wars.

'As for the wars which we anciently waged on behalf of a sort 'of parity or conformity of estate, I *do not see how they can be* '*justified*; as when the Lacedemonians or Athenians MADE WAR 'TO SET UP OR PULL DOWN DEMOCRACIES AND OLIGARCHIES.'—*Bacon's Essay on the Greatness of Kingdoms.*

If such wars can be justified, we must no longer condemn religious wars. A pious monarch might well think that the orthodoxy of his own subjects, a still higher object of his care than their security or quiet, could be effectually secured only by the destruction of heresy in all surrounding countries. As long as this principle prevailed in Europe, irreconcileable and perpetual war was the inevitable consequence of it. Peace was unknown till nations learnt to tolerate each other's religion. Wars of political opinion will produce the same fatal effect; and permanent peace will again be a stranger to Europe, till nations learn to tolerate each other's governments, however various and unlike. If mere danger from the form of a government be a justification of war, it is obvious that we must at once acknowledge the justice of all the Revolutionary and Imperial wars of France. The National Convention knew that the monarchies of Europe were, from the very necessity of their nature, adverse to the French Revolution. Napoleon knew that the Bourbons of Spain were the irreconcileable, though secret enemies of his family, and would embrace the first opportunity of subverting it. The reasoning, in short, of M. de Chateaubriand, would legitimate all those acts which the voice of Europe has most loudly condemned.

The most celebrated exception to the general principle of national independence, is the war of the Coalesced Powers against France in 1793. It excited a division of opinion at the moment, which will probably long continue. Without now inquiring which of the English parties who differed from each other so widely on that occasion, were right, it is of some importance to show, that on the principles of the party who approved and conducted the war, it affords no precedent for the aggression of France against Spain. It is now well known that, in the summer of 1792, Mr Pitt, far from intending to take a part in war, founded his whole system of policy on the continuance of peace. Lord Gower was recalled from Paris after the tenth of August, as a measure '*conformable to the principles of neutrality.*' On the 19th of November 1792, the National Conven-

tion decreed 'Fraternity and Assistance TO ALL PEOPLE who wish to recover their liberty.' That this decree was an encouragement to all subjects to revolt against all governments, cannot be, and, in fact, never has been denied. It was said, indeed, that all the Continental monarchs had at that time in substance, if not in form, declared war against France. But, at all events, the decree should have been limited to those powers with whom France was at war; in which case, it would have been a legitimate exercise of the rights of war. But it was not so limited. On the contrary, a motion made in the Convention on the 24th December, to amend the decree by the addition after the word '*people*,' of the words 'against all tyrants with whom France may be at war,' was laid aside by a previous question. But even if it were admitted that the decree might have been justly applicable to all the Continental kings, it is certain that Holland, at least, ought to have been expressly exempted from its operation. On the contrary, an act of hostility was done against Holland at the very moment of issuing the decree.

The treaty of Westphalia, which established the independence of the Dutch republic, had forbidden the passage of vessels from the Austrian Netherlands to the sea by the Scheldt, because that river runs through the heart of Holland, and a free navigation of it would have laid open the interior of that country to attack. On the 21st of November 1792, after the conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, the National Convention sanctioned a decree of the Executive Council for opening the Scheldt. This was certainly an act of hostility against Holland, and involved the assumption of a right to annul treaties.* It was not, however, treated as a cause of war by England. The correspondence between both countries continued with increasing symptoms of an unfriendly temper. M. Chauvelin was ordered to quit England after the death of Louis XVI.—a war was declared against England and Holland by France, on the 1st February 1793. The party in opposition to the English ministers, did not contend that the complaints against France were groundless, or that the decrees of the Convention, if un-

* See *Brissot à ses Commettans*, London Edition, p. 77. one of the most curious pamphlets of that time, in which the war with England is distinctly attributed to the decree of the 19th November; strengthened as that decree was by another decree of the 17th December, the second article of which began as follows: 'The French nation 'will treat as enemies any people who, refusing or renouncing liberty 'and equality, *are desirous of preserving their prince, or privileged 'castes, or of entering into any accommodation with them.*'

have been inconsistent with itself, if it had stated the internal state of France as being the ground of the war. The tyranny under which France then suffered is treated by the Declaration only as an obstacle to negociation, as an aggravation of the evils of conquest, by armies which would spread the like tyranny over other countries, and as a reason why states, involved in just war with France *on other grounds*, should employ their success to compel her to establish a government which might afford some prospect of secure peace to her neighbours. All that part of the Declaration, in short, which has been appealed to on the present occasion, relates not to the cause of war, but to the principles which are to regulate the exercise of the rights of war. It was addressed to the French Royalists, immediately after the occupation of Toulon, and was intended to excite their feelings as Royalists, without alarming that sensibility to the honour and independence of France, which they were then supposed to entertain. Observations of a similar nature are applicable to all the acts of the English Government having reference to the interior of France, which occurred before the peace of Amiens, or during the second French war. In themselves, they might be wise or unwise. They might be breaches of the duty which the Government owed to the British people. But they were done in the exercise of undisputed rights. France could not complain of them as a breach of public law; and they have no relation to any question about the object and end of a war.

The short campaign which terminated in the battle of Waterloo, may at first seem to be distinguishable from the preceding events. But, according to the theory of public law, and to the avowed principles of the Allies, the supposed distinction disappears. The abdication of Napoleon being one of the conditions of the treaty of Paris, which expressly professes to grant more favourable terms to France on account of the deposition of her formidable ruler, the resumption of the crown of France by him was a breach of that treaty, in consequence of which the Allies reentered into their belligerent rights, and were, in the eye of public law, again in a state of war with the French nation. The interference of the Allies in the internal affairs of France in 1815, was not therefore held forth as the object of war, but as an exercise of the rights of conquest.

Whether all, or any of these *interferences*, in the course of the last thirty years, were in other respects wise and justifiable, it is no part of our present purpose to examine. It is sufficient to have shown, that the threatened aggression of France against Spain is so far from justified by the general

principles of the law of nations, that it is not even in the slightest degree warranted by the most recent, violent, and ambiguous cases of exception from these principles, which have been specious enough to cause any general and lasting difference of opinion among mankind. It is indeed wonderful, that, in the convulsions of the last thirty years, no such cases can be found. The principles of rapine, on which Spain is now attacked, were discovered by the spoilers of Poland. They were revived by their successors at Troppau and Laybach. They are now justified in France by a pious, moral, and sentimental minister, full of professions of zeal for free constitutions, and of respect for the independence of nations. *

But it has been said, that these principles have been recognised by the British Government as applicable to the case of Naples, in the circular despatch of January 1821. There is such merit in the negative part of that paper, which disclaims the principles of Troppau, that its faults are entitled to some indulgence. But it must be owned, that no state paper ever required more impartiality, caution, precision and perspicuity, and that few are more wanting in these important qualities. The paragraph which relates to Naples is not dictated by the spirit of impartial neutrality; but the only reasonable sense in which it can be understood is, that if the Neapolitan revolutionists sought to propagate their principles by force or by intrigue throughout the neighbouring territories, Austria and the other Italian states might repel such an aggression by arms. Two words, probably flowing from the wordiness of official language, throw some ambiguity over the most important part of the paper. It declares for 'the right of states to interfere where their own immediate 'security *or essential interests* are seriously endangered by the

* M. de Chateaubriand, in his last speech on the House of Peers, has attempted to limit 'the monarchical principle.' He now allows two principles of all social order, 'the sovereignty of the monarch in monarchies, and the sovereignty of the people in republics.' Now, if by 'the sovereignty of the monarch' be meant, the sole, exclusive, and unlimited authority of the King, it is clear, that he excludes all limited monarchies from his enumeration, and indeed allows the existence of no government but Despotism and Democracy, and no means of amending civil institutions, but such as depend on the caprice of a single tyrant, or the passions of a tyrannical multitude. What is most pertinent to our purpose is, that, in spite of all his vain distinctions, he in truth displays the monarchical principle in all its horrors; for he still maintains, that no absolute monarchy can be reformed, otherwise than by the spontaneous act of the monarch.

'internal transactions of another state.' Had the words printed in italics been omitted, this declaration would have been nearly unexceptionable. But the words 'essential interests' are either needless, or of very dangerous latitude. If we ask, 'essential' to what object; the only reasonable answer is, to security, which renders the words altogether useless. If they mean more, they open a field for interference which has no bounds, and within which M. de Chateaubriand has found means to comprehend even the abatement of the sale of French mules in Spain.

It is said, that there is no difference between the case of Spain and that of Naples. To which we answer, that though there should be no difference in justice, there may be a great difference in the necessity of the interposition of England. 'The avowal of a deliberate purpose of violating the law of 'nations is a cause of alarm to every state in Europe. All 'commonwealths have a concern in that law, and are its natu-'ral avengers.' * As the safety of all states depends on the observance of the laws of nations, all acts done in avowed and systematical defiance of its principles, give a right of war to all states against the wrongdoers. The spoilers of Poland placed themselves in a state of war with every European nation. The propriety of hostilities against them was a mere question of prudence which each government had a right to determine in the way most suitable to its own interest and safety. The invaders of Naples were guilty of the same offence even on the avowed principles of the English Government; for the invasion of that country was begun and completed, not on the narrow ground of danger to a neighbouring state, which our Circular allowed, but on those monstrous doctrines of the right of universal interference, which we, in that very paper, had strongly and solemnly condemned. The principle on which the invasion of Naples was carried on, is of more importance than the act itself. The seizure of a single village on such a principle, *authorizes* all Europe to treat the offenders as enemies. But it does not *compel* them to take up arms; for the question of prudence still remains to be determined. In the decision of that question, England had a right to consider the very different degrees in which the unjust conquest of Naples and that of Spain endangered her own immediate safety. Poland, though great, is remote, Naples is not near. Injustice towards both is dangerous, in its example and tendency, to us and to all states: But the possession of neither

* Protest, House of Lords, 7th December 1779.

afforded powerful means of direct hostility against Great Britain. The same observations apply to an attack on the balance of power. The disturbance of that balance in any part of Europe, doubtless in some degree impairs the security of every European state. Its effect in this respect, however, is very unequal. It deeply affects neighbouring states; its influence is diminished by distance; and in very remote countries, the danger may be almost evanescent. That England should go to war to prevent Russia from conquering *Oczakow*, was certainly an extravagant extension of the principle. But there are two countries, neither of which can be reduced to dependence on France, without immediate danger to the safety of Great Britain. These are the Netherlands, and the Spanish Peninsula. The former has indeed been more frequently the object of our solicitude, partly because it is more near, but chiefly because it has been more frequently endangered. But the greatness of the Peninsula compensates for its distance. Even its position, in the unhappy situation of Ireland, renders the possession of the Peninsula, by a powerful antagonist, more dangerous to us than the dependence of the Netherlands. The dependence of either of these countries on France would furnish our most formidable neighbour with such increased means of attack on the British islands, that all considerations of principle, of example, of general tendency, of regard to the law of nations, and to the independence of states, are almost lost in the urgent and immediate necessity of defence. Those who think that we can allow Spain to be overrun by a French army, must be of opinion, either that no measures of precaution and prevention are ever wise, or that we are now in too weak a condition to hazard such measures. The first of these opinions must be adopted in its utmost extent and extravagance, by those who rely on it in the present case; for if we are not to prevent the military occupation of Spain by France, it is evident that there never can be a case which will call for our interposition in Continental affairs: And whether the first or the last be adopted, the result will equally be, that we cannot or ought not to take any measures to *prevent* any attack from the Continent; that we are to wait till our antagonists chuse their own moment for aggression, against a people dispirited by long acquiescence in the unjust aggrandizement of other nations, without allies, (for those who succour none can expect aid from none), and contending barely for existence, on the seas or shores of Great Britain.

It is unnecessary perhaps to add, that our relations, both commercial and political, with Portugal, give us, if possible, a

stronger, and, at all events, a more direct and immediate interest in preventing the conquest of that country by France; and that it is plainly impossible to suppose, that her case, on the present occasion, can be divided from that of Spain. She has given the same provocation to the invaders, and must share the same fate. Even, therefore, if France should, in the first instance, resort to the hollow pretence of abstaining from all interference with Portugal, Portugal cannot abstain from concurring with Spain in opposing her invading forces. The attack is on the whole Peninsula, in point of principle and in point of fact; and Portugal must unite in the defence of Spain, if she wishes herself to be defended. In the present situation of her Government, Portugal is not only threatened, but in substance and reality invaded, as soon as the French army passes the Bidassoa, and we are already called upon to interfere for the protection of our oldest and most constant ally.

These, it humbly appears to us, are grounds of decision that admit of no hesitation, whatever the pretexts might have been on which France proposed to take possession of those two great countries. But we can never shut our eyes to the fact, that this is not an insulated act of ambition or jealousy on the part of France alone, but an open and avowed attempt by that Government, to reduce to practice the principles laid down by her, in concert with the three great partitioning Powers of the Continent; —an experiment, conducted, indeed, in the first instance, by France, but with the express sanction and approbation of those other states, and in furtherance and execution of the system which they have jointly announced as the rule of their conduct. It is the first step, in short, of a crusade against liberty and national independence, and in support of despotism in its most revolting and offensive form; and is therefore an inchoate attack, of the most formidable and unequivocal nature, on those principles which this country has, above all others, the strongest and most direct interest to maintain. Considering the enormous power of those with whom they originated, and the use they have formerly made of their power, we have no hesitation in saying, that the declarations made at Laybach and Verona were, even before they were carried into active execution, more justifiable grounds of war to all free and independent states, than those decrees of the French Convention in 1793, which, we have already seen, were universally admitted to justify such hostilities, if not explained or retracted. The offer of assistance to all people who were dissatisfied with their governments, was only an encouragement to rebellion, where discontent already existed, and did not infer the employment of fo-

reign force, except where civil war had previously begun; but the doctrine that no institutions are to be tolerated which do not proceed from the free gift of the Sovereign, and are at all events to be put down by invading armies, though universally pleasing to the people among whom they prevail, is a far more flagrant interference with national peace and independence—and is, beyond all question, a manifest impeachment not only of the Revolution of 1688, but of the fundamental principles and daily practice of the British Constitution;—and if England sit quietly by, and see a friendly kingdom invaded, because its constitution and practice are also impeached by this doctrine, it is obvious that she acquiesces in a proceeding which affords a direct precedent for the invasion of her soil, and the forcible subversion of her constitution also; and must thus strengthen the hands and confirm the courage of that association, which, in order to be consistent, must turn upon her as soon as they have strength and courage for the enterprise. With the great power and influence which England possesses, it is obvious that *her* freedom and her free institutions must be infinitely more offensive and alarming to the confederated monarchs, than those of Spain or any other country. The debates in her Parliaments—the discussions in her journals—the language held by her proud travellers in every corner of the world, are a nuisance and abomination a thousand times more vexatious and prejudicial to their interests, than any thing that has appeared in the proceedings of the Cortes, or any thing that has yet been written or spoken in the Castalian tongue. It is impossible to doubt, therefore, that they must be still more desirous to put down our antimonarchical institutions than theirs; and, with the immense military power they possess, we see no reason to doubt, that, if the result of the present experiment is encouraging, they will not hesitate to make the attempt, as soon as they think they can do so with any prospect of success.

The question then is, Whether it is not better for us to make head against a policy so manifestly and outrageously hostile to our best interests, while it is yet awkward and unconfirmed, and while we have still allies with whom we can make common cause in our resistance, than to wait patiently till it has gained confidence by success, and skill and consistency by practice, and till we have lost the affections of others, and our own respect, by looking on as cold or panic-stricken spectators of an outrage, the first victims of which can never by possibility be allowed to be the last?

After what has already taken place, we need never expect to be admitted to the friendship of those who combined at Laybach and Verona. Our protestations and our late Parliamentary proceed-

ings have completely destroyed, and we thank God for it, any hopes of that kind that may have been conceived on former occasions; and they now hate us as cordially for our rejection of their doctrines, as they must despise us for our indecision when they are about to be reduced to practice. If they should now succeed in subduing Spain and Portugal, they will only turn upon us with greater force and spirit and undiminished rancour. They will easily find against us a better pretext for hostility than they have yet found against either of these countries; and if we should even stoop to urge the pitiful plea of our neutrality during these aggressions, they will tell us, that we were neutral only because we did not *dare* to be hostile; that they succeeded in spite of our ill wishes and underhand ill offices; and that they owe us no obligation for not interfering in defence of one system of unholy resistance to legitimate authority, while we maintain and cherish among ourselves another of far worse and more pernicious example. If we should now interfere, therefore, in behalf of our common freedom, its enemies will not hate us more,—and they will despise us less; while our chance of successful resistance will, for this very reason, among others, be greatly increased.

But war, it is said, is an evil—and we are not now in a condition to encounter its hazards and expenses. War *is* an evil undoubtedly. It leads to taxation, to jobbing, to the increase of the influence of the Crown, to waste of the national capital, to the depretiation of all the arts and virtues of peaceful life—and to such a derangement of all useful industry that its very *cessation* gives rise to sufferings inferior only to those occasioned by its continuance. Yet there are causes which make war not only necessary but just—and turn this work of desolation and slaughter into the first and noblest of our duties. The present appears to us to be of that description. Principles are avowed that threaten the extirpation of all liberal institutions from the consecrated soil of Europe—and an aggression is actually begun in furtherance of this scheme of outrage. Is this an occasion on which the great mistress and exemplar of freedom can possibly stand neutral, and allow the battles of liberty to be fought, against such fearful odds, by the weakest and least skilful of her votaries?—and are there any ordinary sacrifices to which an Englishman would not submit, to see his country once more resume the lofty character of the assertor of national independence—to see her fairly arrayed in her strength against the principles and practices of the Holy Alliance? It is difficult, indeed, to set bounds to the duration or expenses of war once begun; but according to all human probability, the great end of

our interference may be accomplished with far less waste of our resources, than has often been hazarded for far inferior objects. A maritime armament—with the supply of stores and some small advance of money, would be invaluable to Spain in the outset of this momentous contest. The name of England alone would be a tower of strength to their cause; and would tend more both to unite the Spaniards, to repress their possible excesses, and to confound and appal their assailants, than any imaginable increase of their numbers, or improvement of their discipline. It would be a pledge to the moderate that they were proceeding upon no wild or extravagant speculations of impracticable improvement, and would at once put down the malignant insinuations of the invaders as to the dangers and guilt of their new scheme of government. It would rally all within the country round the standard which was supported by so noble an ally—and would compel all without, to respect a cause which was maintained not merely by the young enthusiasm of those who were new to the service of liberty, but was owned by the most ancient and august—the most experienced and commanding of her disciples.

The true question however is, whether our neutrality *can* be preserved for any length of time; and whether, if we do not now *prevent* the maturing of plans, and the approach of dangers which have already unequivocally disclosed themselves, we shall not shortly be called upon to fight in our own defence, with far worse hopes, and under infinitely greater disadvantages? Whatever may be the state of our finances, we suppose we *must* fight when the Holy Alliance expressly denounces the English Constitution as a nuisance which it is called upon to abate—or even when France and Russia shall agree to take permanent possession, the one of Spain and the Netherlands—the other of Turkey and Norway. We suppose it will also be admitted, that when that time comes, we shall fight with greater disadvantage, for our own freedom and the wreck of European independence, than we may do now, when both are comparatively entire; and we shall not repeat the obvious considerations which lead us to think, that we are no longer at liberty to look upon these dangers as either chimerical or remote. But without recurring to these, we would put it to any one who has attended to the history of Europe for the last hundred and fifty years, whether it is to be imagined that its great powers can be at war for any length of time, especially for objects that directly touch on the balance of power and the rights of independence, without England being compelled, sooner or later, to take part in the affray? Neutrals, even when they do not mediate for, and substantially

side with one of the parties, are always exposed to such rude treatment from belligerents—such pushing and jostling while within 'the wind and whiff of their fell swords,' that they are almost always driven to engage in the struggle—and, with its proud temper and antient habits, and its vast and vulnerable commerce, England is not peculiarly qualified to resist those temptations, or bear meekly with those insults by which its pacific purposes must be tried.

We have neither space nor time left for further observations. In such a crisis of European liberty, and indeed of human fortune, we could not think of letting another Number of our work appear, without saying one word on the topic that fills all bosoms and engages all tongues—And yet, what have we to say that has not been said and felt already in every corner of the land? —what, that shall not appear but a feeble echo and a formal response, to that deep voice of English justice and generosity, which has spoken aloud in the high places of our Government, and resounded in the humblest of our abodes? Never certainly, in our remembrance, has any public cause been met by a feeling so profound and unanimous;—and if we are indeed to abandon the high and holy office, which we held of old, of championing the independence of Europe and the cause of national freedom, it will not be the fault of our people, but of their rulers—or rather of their necessities. Our poverty it seems, and not our will, is to consent to the humiliating desertion of such a right and a duty. If it indeed be so, we shall have more cause than ever to curse that profligate waste of our resources, —that lavish and guilty throwing away of our means, which has reduced us to such pitiable weakness. But we firmly believe it to be otherwise: And with a rigid economy, and a wise administration, we have no doubt at all that we may not only do with effect, all that our own interest, and that of mankind, so loudly call on us to do, but retire from our ended and honourable task with increased vigour, and renovated honour, and improved means of prosperity.

We do not generally take notice of the controversial publications to which our lucubrations give rise. Nor is there any *merit*, certainly, in the late extraordinary pamphlet of the Reverend Doctor Phillpott's that could induce us to make it an exception. But the excess of its violence and scurrility really seem to entitle it to some distinction—as it surpasses in those exemplary qualities any production, even in modern controversy, which we have ever yet seen, with the name of a real author annexed.

As to the tenor or substance of the work itself, we beg leave, first, to state generally, that after a careful perusal of it, we confidently and deliberately aver, that EVERY ONE of the charges Dr P. brings against his Reviewers is *utterly unfounded*, except the trifling oversight of praising Bishop Butler for expending the revenues of his see on repairs of the *Cathedral*, whereas it was on the *Episcopal Palace*—an oversight of no importance whatever to the argument—since the fact was mentioned as a contrast to the conduct of those who amass private fortunes from their sees, or expend them in their personal gratification. We shall now give a few examples of Dr P.'s regard for *accuracy* in the charges he flings about at random, premising, that we regard the sacred character of his office too tenderly to ascribe his errors to any thing but the violent passion in which he evidently writes. We may add, that the authors of the observations in our Journal, on which he comments, could not, *by possibility*, have written them (right or wrong) under the influence of any personal feelings towards him or any of his brethren, of whom we can venture to say, they had no kind of knowledge, far less had they any quarrel with them.

Having, with the genuine spirit of Christian charity, '*which thinketh no evil*,' broadly denominated the trifling mistake of *Cathedral* for *Palace*, a '*forgery*,' Dr P. next charges his reviewers with '*two falsehoods*' in one passage; where it is said that the Durham clergy *ordered* the bells not to toll for the Queen,—and that their tolling was a constant mark of respect to the Royal Family. He chiefly relies for his proof on the circumstance, that the libel under prosecution only says, '*We know not* whether orders were given.' Now, to this we answer, *first*, that this is obviously a mere form of speaking, and implies that there was such an order; upon the assumption of

which, accordingly, the whole libel proceeds. *Secondly*, That the defence of the libel at the trial went throughout upon the same assumption. *Third*, That the prosecutors *never denied* the charge thus plainly insinuated and expressed; and not even in their application for a criminal information, when it was distinctly stated that they were charged with *forbidding* the bells to toll. See *Trial, p.* 9, *line* 8 *from bottom.* Then, as to the custom—the evidence at the trial at Durham, obtained upon cross-examination of the prosecutor's witness, was, that they had always tolled in the other cases within his knowledge; a perfectly sufficient proof, in the absence of contrary evidence. So much for Dr P.'s ideas of *falsehood.*

Another passage is said, in the same spirit, to contain assertions '*false, wilfully false, and fraudulent,*' (p. 23.) These are, that Dr P. had libelled Mr Williams;—that Mr W. only retaliated on the Doctor,—and that, because he retaliated, Dr P.'s clerical brethren prosecuted Mr Williams.

That Dr P. *had* libelled Mr W. he would very fain deny; but *he cannot.* The passage is one in which he manifestly points at Mr W. to whom he uses the *mild* expressions—'the miserable mercenary who eats the bread of prostitution, and panders to the low appetites of those who cannot, or who dare not cater for their own malignity.' It is no great wonder, that any Christian pastor should be sorry to have such language imputed to him. But how does he try to escape the charge? He allows he published it; and he then asks, in the true style of mere empty bravado, 'By what right any one presumes to represent him as thus stigmatizing an individual?' p. 22. But even here, he is cautious enough not to deny that *he meant Mr W.;* he only says, 'I solemnly affirm, that I *purposely* used terms which would not admit of particular application, *except in the sole case which I have already supposed?*' (*Ibid.*) And what case may that be, gentle reader? Dr P. answers, that of a 'man conscious the description belonged to him, *or one of whom others felt convinced that he deserved it.*' (*Ibid.*) In plain terms, the case of *the person intended by Dr P. to be pointed out.* We question if the whole history of Jesuitical equivocation furnishes a parallel to this shuffling.

As to the fact alleged to be suppressed by us, that Dr. P. attacked Mr W. in his own defence, we are accused of falsehood, because we did not know that Mr W. had been in the practice of attacking Dr P. in his paper. But suppose we had been aware of this; is Dr P. the less a slanderer, because he accuses his adversary of a foul offence in the spirit of revenge? A wanton, unprovoked attack is possibly the worst kind of calumny—but

his offence is not much less black, who, instead of protecting his own character, seeks to defame those who had assailed him.

That Dr P.'s brethren instigated the prosecution, is, we presume, the third '*false, wilfully false and fraudulent*' assertion, in this passage; and in another passage (p. 16, 17), he says that the 'libelled clergy knew nothing of the prosecution till they 'saw it in the newspapers,' and that it was instituted by the 'venerable Bishop, feeling as he always feels, as the friend and 'father of his clergy, and acting under the advice (not merely 'the cold legal opinion) of his Attorney General, Mr Scarlett,' on whom Dr P. then proceeds to throw the whole burden of instigating the proceedings. We have already spoken of equivocation; but here is something worse. It is false, we are told, to say that Dr P.'s clerical brethren instigated these proceedings. What if, not his brethren, but HIMSELF instigated them? True, he whispers no such thing. True, he throws all on the Bishop, or if the Bishop was moved by any one, it was Mr Scarlett. True, he quotes a *part* of an affidavit sworn by him, Dr P., *but not filed*; and which, when he wrote his pamphlet, he perhaps never expected would see the light, and therefore he suppresses a far more material part of his swearing. But let the reader cast his eye over the following part of Dr P.'s affidavit, which an injudicious zeal excited a friend of the Bishop to publish, and then let him say if any thing equal to the passage above cited ever yet was ventured by the most heedless polemic, in his utmost disregard of fact. Let him also say, if the manner of swearing itself, be not a perfect specimen of *going near the wind*. In answer to Mr W.'s statement, that Dr P. is 'one 'of the principal instigators of the prosecution,' he swears that he is 'not the prosecutor, nor one of the prosecutors, but that 'the Bishop of Durham is the sole prosecutor;' and then he thus goes on.

'And this deponent further saith, That *he did not advise* the 'said Lord Bishop to institute the said prosecution;—THOUGH, 'being domestic chaplain to the said Lord Bishop, and, as 'such, having been for many years intrusted with his confi-'dence in matters relating to his diocese, this deponent felt it 'to be his duty, having received the newspaper containing the 'alleged libel (which newspaper had been sent to him because 'of its containing such alleged libel), *to transmit the same to 'the said Lord Bishop*, well knowing the said Lord Bishop's 'great regard for the clergy of his diocese, and *deeming it 'probable that the said Lord Bishop would institute a prosecution 'at law*, in order,' &c. Once more, let the reader bear in mind, that, in his pamphlet, the Bishop is mentioned as the

sole prosecutor, and his law officer as the sole adviser; and not one word is dropped of Dr P. having moved or meddled in the business; but infinite wrath is expressed at those who spoke of Dr P.'s brethren as prosecuting Mr W. because he had assailed Dr P.; and now he finds that Dr P. HIMSELF was the instigator and prime mover in the whole!

After this, no further sample of Dr P.'s correctness can be required:—and we feel that we owe an apology to our readers for having dwelt so long upon such a subject and such an adversary.

The Editor must still be permitted to say a word for himself. —He is accused, individually, and in terms the most unmeasured and offensive, of falsehood, malignity, and cowardice; and his name is blazoned in capital letters in all the newspapers and shop-windows in connexion with these epithets, merely for having superintended or sanctioned the publication of an article of which Dr P. has confessed he knew him not to be the author, and of the facts treated of, in which he must have been equally sure he was personally ignorant. In these circumstances, though he might have been *legally* responsible for the publication, he is really at a loss to understand how any one should have supposed that he was morally or individually blameable. He received the article from a person who had the best means of knowing how the facts actually stood, and upon whose accuracy and honour he had (and still has) the most perfect and implicit reliance. Upon what grounds then could he have been charged with falsehood and malignity in publishing it, even if it had turned out that the facts were misrepresented, and the inferences uncharitably drawn? Does Dr P. really hold that the Editor of such a work should personally check and investigate every statement of facts which he receives from respectable authority? —or can he seriously think that he acts a base and degraded part, if he trusts to the tried accuracy and known intelligence of an old contributor, instead of taking a journey to the palatinate of Durham, or employing a trusty attorney to inquire into, and report upon, the facts?

No doubt, if these facts had been of a very atrocious and incredible description—or if the character and conduct of the party to whom they were imputed had been irreconcileable with the supposition of their truth, some such inquiry would have been requisite, even for the justification of an Editor. But the charges against Dr P. in the Review, are little more than that he is a violent political agitator, and had written intemperate pamphlets and addresses on the subject of the Queen's Trial—charges which

seemed sufficiently verified—even before the appearance of this notable work—by the extracts then produced in illustration of them. As to the sanctity of Dr P.'s character, which he seems to think should have protected him from the profane censures of the Reviewer, the Editor must confess, that he does not consider a political and pamphleteering clergyman, however richly endowed, as a peculiarly venerable person—and has no reason to think, from the tone and temper of Dr P.'s defence, that the Reviewer has misapplied any of the epithets of which that reverend person complains.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The Editor, in order to obviate certain misconceptions which he understands to have arisen, thinks it right to explain, that the article on *French Poetry*, in the last Number, is not altogether the work of one hand—that a small, though very valuable part of it, was contributed by the author of those comparative views of the skill, industry, literature, &c. of England and France, which have attracted so much attention;—but that that learned writer is not responsible for the detailed critique on the modern works mentioned in the title of the article now referred to—and is particularly desirous to disclaim the passage on page 429, relating to the conduct of the Duke of Wellington in the matter of the restoration of the pictures and statues in the galleries of the Louvre.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS,

From November to March, 1823.

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OF

THE SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND,

FROM

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TO HIS

PRESENT MAJESTY GEORGE THE FOURTH.

ENGRAVED BY W. H. WORTHINGTON.

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PROSPECTUS OF THE WORK.

WHILE the nations of the Continent of Europe, France and Germany most especially, have made more than one endeavour to concentrate and fix a knowledge of the terms employed in Musical Science, England has hitherto been content with very meagre compilations from the works of her more emulous and industrious neighbours. Music indeed can now be said to have no well-defined language, nor can any country lay claim to the honour of more than having contributed a portion of its members. Italy has given the European world by far the greatest number of the words employed, which have been naturalized in other countries without hesitation, in the idle hope of sparing thought, or in deference to the supremacy and authority in the art, which has always been admitted to reside with the people most devoted to its practice and enjoyment. But as science has been diffused, France, Germany, and England, have each invented and applied a variety of terms that are in customary use. The language of Musical Science must therefore be considered not only as loose and unsettled, but as partaking, more or less, of all these tongues, and in point of fact to belong to them all. French and Italian, however, being the more general vehicles of conversation and of correspondence throughout Europe since the disuse of Latin, the terms which are drawn from those languages have been adopted by the English and the Germans, while the English terms are little known beyond the country where they originated.

For these reasons a Dictionary of Music, fixing the import of the words with as much precision as possible, is perhaps more necessary to England than to any other nation, since they must, without such aid, be sought in many and foreign sources difficult of access, and uncertain when found. On the same grounds it will be easily understood that little having yet been done towards the formation of a vocabulary of English terms, such a dictionary must now be made up more of exotic than of indigenous words. To draw into one comprehensive compendium all that are not ours, to register and to fix such of our own as have obtained the sanction of classical usage, and to give to all, clear and intelligible definitions, together with the various significations in which the terms of art are employed, have been the objects of those engaged in the composition of THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF MUSIC. From these premises it will be apprehended that such a dictionary must include foreign improvements in art, as well as those which appertain to England, and that it will form at once a history and a complete illustration of the terms of science.

Hitherto few attempts have been made in our own country towards combining Music with Literature. The philosophy of the art has been little considered and less diffused. With the exception of the elaborate histories by Sir John Hawkins and Dr. Burney, and some scattered treatises on the scientific and technical parts, we have very little indeed that tends to demonstrate or to exalt its own character or that of its professors. In Italy, France, and Germany, on the contrary, Music has been cultivated by men of genius from a love of itself, and they have devoted much time and talent to the developement of its connection with the passions, the customs, the manners, and the happiness of mankind.

The Dictionaries of Grassineau, Brossard, Rousseau, and lastly the Encyclopœdia Methodique, are to be regarded as so many endeavours to blend the several objects we have enumerated. The writers in the last are especially to be considered as having aimed at the combination and the illustration of the science in its various relations with the human mind, with institutions, and with manners. But their plan will be found to be defective, inasmuch as it is made up of the comments of a train of authors upon the beauties or defects of their predecessors. Hence there is a want of unity of design and of connection which deforms the entire work, and which reduces perhaps the greater portion of it to a mere history of error. The Dictionary of the great German Musician, Koch, is more philosophically and better digested, but being the production of one mind, must necessarily be wanting in the general knowledge which many can bring to a work, requiring indeed all the aid which learning, experience, and labour can jointly accumulate.

To repair the deficiencies so apparent in the foreign examples, and at the same time to combine whatever they may have already collected, the assistance of scientific and literary men has been united in THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF MUSIC. Various knowledge has been brought to bear upon the composition and the compilation of the articles, and the grand endeavour has been directed towards the retention of all that is valuable in former publications, the simplification of these the existing materials, and the addition of new discoveries in every branch of the science, not less than towards the concentration of all that is known concerning the history and the philosophy of the art.

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It is but due to state, that the literary establishment of these two Papers embraces the exclusive labours of seven gentlemen, independent of occasional assistants, whose duty it is assiduously to watch the course of public events, and to pour the joint produce of their labours into their columns. To the obvious results of such an arrangement is to be attributed the great superiority which the two Editions of *The Observer*, on every occasion, where public curiosity has been awakened, has displayed; and it is to this circumstance the Conductors owe the honourable preference which their Journals have, at all times, experienced, when opportunities have been afforded of comparing their merits with those of any other Journal in the metropolis.

The Conductors of *The Observer* are aware, that by thus proclaiming their own fame, they may be accused of unseemly vanity. In this age of competition, however, when so many attempts are made to impose on society by fallacious statements, and by promises never meant to be performed, they think that the old established servants of the public should come boldly forward—openly and fairly state their pretensions, and, as the Conductors of the two Editions of *The Observer* now do, confidently submit those pretensions to the test of past experience.

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A few instances of the many in which *The Observer* has stood pre-eminently conspicuous in this way, will suffice to shew that the present appeal is grounded upon no idle or fictitious foundation. Many of these efforts must be still fresh in the recollection of the public; and that they have been appreciated according to their merit, we may say the *extraordinary* sale of *The Observer* affords ample proof.

In *The Observer* first appeared a full report of the Inquest upon the Body of the late Samuel Whitbread Esq. which occurred early in the week, but which escaped the notice of the whole of the rest of the London Press.——In *The Observer* appeared, on the day immediately succeeding the Inquiry in the Sheriff's Court, the Trial of "The Earl of Roseberry *v.* Sir Henry Mildmay," for Crim Con., to the extent of ten columns, a circumstance unprecedented in the History of Sunday Newspapers.——In *The Observer* also appeared, at subsequent periods, a vast number of other important Trials, which took place in the same Court, and which were unnoticed by the other Papers till *The Observer* was published.——In *The Observer* first appeared the Trial of Lord Cochrane, at Guildford, to the extent of seven columns, which Trial did not finish till Saturday afternoon, and which was obtained by express.——In *The Observer* first appeared the Verdict in the Case of Brandreth, who, with his associates, was tried for High Treason at Derby. The Verdict in this case was not returned until Saturday afternoon, and was received at *The Observer* Office, in London, the same night, by the aid of fleet horses, placed on the road for that purpose.——In *The Observer* first appeared the intelligence of the Death of his late Majesty, who died at Windsor on Saturday night,—also obtained by a special express.——In *The*

very day on which the Trial commenced. The publication of the Trial was subsequently interdicted till the Trial was concluded, and the subsequent *Monday's Observer* was the first to announce Dr. Watson's acquittal. It may be here added, that on several other occasions the *Monday's Observer* was rendered conspicuous for giving voluminous reports of all the Public Meetings in Spa-fields and elsewhere, which repeatedly occurred on the day of publication.——In *The Observer* first, and for some time exclusively, appeared the Trials of Thistlewood, Ings, Brent, and others, convicted of High Treason at the Old Bailey, to the extent (a double paper having been published) of thirty columns.——In *The Observer*, for the first time, and exclusively, appeared a Series of most important Trials in the Court of Exchequer of persons, against whom informations had been filed by the Attorney General, for vending Imitative Tea, Coffee, Pepper, and other articles of common consumption, as well as against Brewers for mixing deleterious drugs with their beer.——In *The Observer*, for the first time, appeared, exclusively, the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on the State of the Agriculture of the Country, the Police Report, the Insolvent Debtors' Report, and many others equally interesting. The publication of the former had been suppressed till published by *The Observer*.——In *The Observer* appeared the most copious account of the Cato-street Plot, collected by its own Reporters, and through the medium of private channels. Plates representing the scene of conspiracy were likewise published in *The Observer*.——In *The Observer* appeared the most copious details of every thing connected with the melancholy Deaths and Funerals of Her Majesty Queen Charlotte, and Her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte, with their respective Memoirs: with regard to the latter, *The Observer* of every Sunday, for five weeks preceding Her Royal Highness's Death, contained accounts of her health up to Eleven o'clock on each Saturday night preceding, obtained by expresses from Claremont, engaged for that particular purpose.——With *The Observer* originated the system of sending Reporters to all the Assizes in the Kingdom; and from this source innumerable instances of important Trials appearing for the first time, and exclusively in *The Observer*, may be recorded. Many of these Trials were brought from great distances by express, and, at the time of publication, excited extraordinary sensations in the public mind.——In *The Observer*, for the first time, and exclusively, appeared the proceedings of several Court Martials, which had escaped the notice of other Journals, of which the last, and not the least interesting, was the Trial of Lieut Colonel Gore, at Portman Barracks.——In *The Observer*, exclusively, appeared the first authentic announcement of the intention of her late Majesty, Queen Caroline, to return from the Continent to this country, accompanied with an accurate Memoir of her Majesty. This was followed by many other exclusive communications of the same character, obtained through the medium of the Reporter of *The Observer*, who proceeded to France for that purpose.—— In *The Observer* first appeared the intelligence of her Majesty's arrival at St, Omer's, obtained by express.——In *The Monday's Observer*, first, exclusively, appeared an account of the termination of Mr. Brougham's negociations with her Majesty at St. Omer's. Her Majesty's subsequent departure for Calais: embarkation, and arrival at Dover—obtained by an express of extraordinary speed, which quitted Calais on the Sunday night in an open boat—reached Dover at half-past ten the next morning, and arrived at the Observer Office at five o'clock the same afternoon. The Reporter of *The Observer* was the only gentleman employed by the London Press on this important occasion.——In *The Observer* subsequently appeared the most detailed accounts of every thing connected with her Majesty's affairs; and *The Observer* was the first to publish the charges against her Majesty, stated by the Attorney General in the House of Lords, on the Saturday, to the extent of five columns, when all the other Sunday papers extracted their short accounts from the evening papers of the same day.——*The Observer*, in double papers, afterwards contained the whole of her Majesty's Trial, with the speeches of Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman, verbatim, and to an extent not even attempted by any other branch of the London Press.——Finally, *The Observer* published the best and most interesting details of every circumstance connected with her Majesty's Death and Funeral.——*The Monday Observer* was the first to announce the Death, and to give the most copious particulars of the Death of the Marquis of Londonderry, and on the subsequent Sunday to publish the most accurate account of this melancholy occurrence, with a Memoir of the noble Marquis, to the extent of fourteen columns.——The Conductors of *The Observer*, however, must here close their very circumscribed notice of the innumerable instances in which *The Observer* has proved its just pretensions to the confidence and support of the Public. 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'OUR system of remedial law resembles an old Gothic castle erected in the days of chivalry, but fitted up for a modern inhabitant—the moated ramparts, the embattled towers, and the trophied halls, are magnificent and venerable, but useless, and therefore neglected: the inferior apartments accommodated to daily use, are cheerful and commodious, though their approaches may be winding and difficult.' Such is the striking illustration with which Blackstone takes leave of the most laborious part of his celebrated undertaking, 'Civil injuries and their remedies.' And it is perhaps true, that most suitors in our courts of justice, through passages more or less winding, and with different degrees of difficulty, do manage, by keeping fast hold of the hand of some learned counsel, to arrive at last in one or other of these inferior apartments. But unfortunately, there is one class, whose interest in the laying out of these rooms seems to have been by common consent abandoned—we mean authors. A library was no part of this legal chateau in its feudal state. Our worthy ancestors had as much idea of a boudoir or a billiard-room; and it was not till the art of printing enabled literature to take hold of the public mind, that an exclusive property in it could become, in any legal sense, an object of value. Before, however, this alteration in an author's condition could have produced any visible

effect, Government seized upon him as a prisoner of state. Printing was altogether prohibited, except under the sanction of a license; and, with whatever evils this system was fraught, it had at least the good effect that the licensers permitted no one to print another man's copy: and consequently, as long as it endured, an author was effectually sheltered from the inferior beasts of prey who now prowl about the press for a thievish and miserable subsistence.

Soon after the revival of our civil liberties at the epoch of the Revolution, the licensing act expired; and the value of public opinion, as propagated through the medium of the press, became too well understood and too highly prized, to suffer a Bastile of human thought to be again erected in this country. However, in the common ignorance of the precautions requisite to protect literary property, and in the common joy of emancipation, nothing seems to have been thought of beyond the getting rid of regulations politically obnoxious; and the new race of authors found themselves in the situation of slaves, whom the same moment had freed and turned out of doors. An action upon the case had been speculated upon, as an experiment for their relief, but not proceeded in. From having been so long habituated to the intimidating security of penalties, they looked upon them as the most obvious source of protection. In an evil hour they applied to Parliament, were 'cursed with a granted prayer,' and received the fatal present of a statute, exhibiting perhaps the most successful effort of legislative cross-purposes that is to be found in our written law.

This celebrated statute has for its title, 'An act for the Encouragement of Learning'—for its preamble (which Lord Coke terms the key of a statute), the assertion, that 'Authors and their families have been ruined by persons of late taking the liberty to print books without the consent of the proprietors'—and for its recital, that it means 'to prevent such mischief, and encourage learned men to compose useful books.' Now, this laudable purpose it proceeds to accomplish, by cutting down to fourteen years the property in his printed works, in which an author previously had (according to the opinions of eight out of the twelve judges, including Lord Mansfield) a perpetuity at common law. And the only security afforded to the author during these fourteen years, is by arming him against pirates with an expensive form of action, wherein the penalty of a penny a sheet is to go, half to the Crown and half to the informer; and the party injured is entitled only to have the specific books handed over to him, which he is

compelled, by the express words of the statute, to turn into waste paper—for which inestimable benefit he is taxed with nine presentation copies to the public libraries. The statutory confiscation was real, the protection illusory; and the truth so often stated by the present Chancellor (as applying equally to the action for damages at common law) was soon discovered—that the only real protection was to be found in his court, in the form of an injunction. Now, we cannot sufficiently regret, that being so fully aware of this circumstance, Lord Eldon should, upon a new principle, be the first to deny to authors a temporary refuge against common robbers, in that very sanctuary which had been prepared for them by the equitable architects who preceded him. This novel doctrine is so entirely, as it were, *novus homo* in the Court of Chancery, that its pedigree can be traced no higher up than twenty years. As Lord Eldon is its parent, so he is its sole authority,—and it will be found, we suspect, to rest upon *the possibility of a doubt.* It is contained in the four judgments whose titles are prefixed to the present article, and is nearly in his Lordship's own words, as follows. 'Where the law does not afford a 'complete remedy, the Court of Chancery will lend its assist-'ance; at law, where the separate publications could never be 'hunted down one after another, *the remedy for the invasion of* '*literary property is worse than the disease.* It is therefore the 'imperfection of that remedy which gives a court of equity its 'jurisdiction to stop at once, *by injunction*, the piracy of a 'work. But if the case be one which it is not clear will sus-'tain an action at law, then this court will not give the plaintiff 'the relief he seeks. Now, Eyre, C. J., has laid it down, that 'a person *cannot recover in damages for a work calculated to* '*do injury to the public.* The question of intent' (or tendency, for the intent is an inference from the tendency) 'I have 'no right to try; because it has been settled, after great diffe-'rence of opinion among the learned, that it is for a jury to 'determine it. The only question for me is, whether it is so 'clear that the plaintiff possesses a civil right in the publication 'before me, *as to leave no reasonable doubt upon my mind*, 'that it would support an action in a court of law. It is im-'possible for me to say, looking at its general tenor, and also 'at particular passages unconnected with its general tenor, that 'I have no doubt; I hope it is a reasonable one,' &c.

Now, this doctrine, it will be observed, is founded altogether upon a Nisi Prius *dictum* of C. J. Eyre, not acted upon there, even at Nisi Prius; though it has been said by nearly every Judge in the Courts of Common Law, that they wished the decisions of

Judges at Nisi Prius, from the small deliberation which could be bestowed in making them, were never cited in argument. This authority, nevertheless, is the only one which Lord Eldon ever has alluded to as the groundwork of his decisions; and if we turn to the circumstances which accompanied it, we shall find some difficulty in accounting for the partiality with which it has been referred to and received. On the occasion of those memorable riots, by what we may call the Orange Mob at Birmingham, when the loyal showed their respect to law and government, by plunder and devastation, Dr Priestley brought an action against the hundred for the injury which his property had sustained. Several booksellers deposed to the sum which they would have given for certain manuscripts which had been destroyed. The counsel for the hundred said, in defence, that Dr Priestley was in the habit of publishing books prejudicial to the Established Religion and Government of the country; but called no evidence to prove it. On which C. J. Eyre is reported to have gone out of his way, in a case of such grievous outrage upon the plaintiff, to observe, that if such evidence had been produced, he should have received it, on the ground that no man can have a property in such writings; and therefore, to disprove a property in these manuscripts, on the value of which direct evidence had been given, the tendency of anterior publications was all that was required. The polemics of the sectarian were to taint the discoveries of the chemist; and we should have a *heresie personelle*, like that which Pascal describes the Jesuits to have attributed to M. Arnauld.

But, assuming the observation of C. J. Eyre as positive law, the doctrine affirms, that authors must be left to *a remedy worse than the disease*, whenever the Lord Chancellor may happen to entertain a doubt, which he hopes may be reasonable, whether a work is calculated to do injury to the public! The Chancellor often alludes to his natural infirmity of a—doubting mind: Yet here a doubt is to be ground firm enough, whence, like Archimedes, he can move and remove the world of letters at his pleasure.

Literature is generally spoken of as an exotic, every where of slow growth, and requiring special favour: but in this instance, it seems treated as if it were a weed to be trodden down in the public path. Indeed, the liberality of our national character does not appear to most advantage in the sort of reluctant naturalization which it had previously obtained. It is a curious fact, that in a country like England, the great question of literary property should have been fairly fought out for the

first and last time, at so recent a period as within the last fifty years. When men of letters sought upon that occasion to preserve their property according to their uniform practical enjoyment of it, and to maintain those rights which the issue of the discussion proved to have been originally and naturally theirs, they were met by objections of a nature that even those most accustomed to courts of justice, would scarcely have anticipated on such a subject. Authors claimed the protection of a law, which boasts that it consists not of particular instances, but of general principles. They were called upon, however, to produce cases in point, from an age that had never seen a printed book. The Registrum Brevium was referred to, and the author was desired to produce from thence precedents of writs, which could only have existed there in anticipation of the wants and intelligence of a future age. Authors appealed to an undisputed possession, ever since the origin of literature, which had been respected even by the despotism of the Tudors and the Stuarts: but they were taunted by allusions to the common slavery of a period, in the degradation of which they had only shared alike with their fellow-citizens, whilst the glory of having most suffered and best avenged its persecutions, was preeminently their own. They insisted at last, on larger and higher grounds, on the sacredness of property—but the notion was derided; and, in spite of the practical experience of three centuries, and of statutory provisions which the Court had for some years administered without any difficulty, they were told very gravely and very learnedly, that there was a metaphysical impossibility, which would not allow of a property in ideas!

Literature, however, was carried triumphantly by its friends through these and similar objections; but the statute of Anne, which had been passed either with a pomp of fraud and hypocrisy altogether unprecedented, or in utter ignorance of the subject, presented a barrier, which was not to be got over. Thus disinherited, as it were by accident, authors ought to obtain, for the brief term which is left them out of their patrimony, or rather their creation, all the security that law can give; but they are singularly placed. Put into a bag the general profit and loss of authors, and, on the average of the whole, no species of labour is so ill paid, or undertaken with so many hazards. Under the most improved state of the law of libel, they must still sit down to their task, as Damocles to his feast, with a sword suspended over them by a single thread. All the results, and use, and application of their writings, become at once the property of the public. From its nature, too, literary property must always be ex-

posed to daily spoliation; to be plucked away feather by feather, as in abridgment, quotation, or treatment of the same subject, with just enough of alteration to raise a possibility that the alteration is not colourable only. For if the plagiarist has displayed sufficient exercise of mind to distinguish him from a copying machine, the interests of society require that he should be supposed an original author. Nor, whilst the pilfering plagiarist can thus steal stick after stick, as crows break up the nest of their brother whilst he is away, are authors much better guarded by the common law against the bolder pirate, who robs them at once of all. Their interest in their property is not allowed to be capable of supporting an indictment; it arose in a civilized instead of a barbarous age, and therefore it is left to protect itself; whilst man-traps and spring-guns unfortunately cannot be prayed in aid against the poacher of our thoughts, to exercise a vigour beyond the law. The penalties, under the statute, are positively ludicrous; and the damages to be recovered in an action, have been long known to be not worth contending for. The action itself is expensive; you cannot prove above a hundredth part of the damage actually sustained, and have to look for that hundredth part from a pauper, who laughs in your face, and goes on with his villany at his ease from within the Rules. For, in a question not of disputed private right, but of clear piracy, the defendant must be always a bankrupt both in character and fortune. Thus, we are in danger of seeing an author the sole exception to that maxim, which the law says has no exception; and there would exist a right without a practical remedy, were it not for the summary interference with which, for the very purpose of meeting cases so circumstanced, the Court of Chancery has been intrusted. This is the opening which (Blackstone says *) 'was left for the more liberal and 'enterprising Judges, who have sate in our Courts of Equity, 'to show the other Judges their error by supplying the omissions of the courts of law.' The injunction is granted for the single end of making effectual a legal right, which cannot be otherwise adequately enforced, and is intended to prevent such mischief as the law cannot properly repair.

This remedy has, until within these few years, been administered for upwards of a century upon such equitable principles, that authors have received under it all the relief which any remedy merely civil can ever extend to them. But the present Lord Chancellor has started a doubt,—and has thereby at once reduc-

* 3 Comm. 167.

ed this security to nothing! This doctrine is a most penal innovation on the law of libel, a law of itself, in its most direct shape, and under its constitutional restrictions, sufficiently uncertain and severe. It was first breathed in the case of the coarse buffoonery of Peter Pindar; next in that of Wat Tyler, the personification of our Laureate's juvenile opinions; but scarcely attracted the public attention until the excommunication of Lord Byron's Cain, and of the Physiological Lectures of Mr Lawrence. The circumstances under which it was promulgated may be described by a single instance, as follows. Mr Murray, a publisher of the first respectability, applies to the Court of Chancery, praying for an injunction to prevent Mr Benbow, or some other publisher of similar character, from printing and selling at low prices, and in cheap forms calculated for the pockets of the lower classes, certain works of Lord Byron, which, whatever may be their merits or demerits, had been purchased by him at a high price, and published fairly and openly in the ordinary course of trade, and against which no criminal proceedings had been instituted. But the Lord Chancellor entertains a doubt whether the writings are not of dangerous or immoral tendency, and therefore refuses to interfere.

The evil effects in the infringement of the private property of authors, which have followed from the doctrine in question, are so clear, and the consequences to society so serious, that we have been induced to ascertain, to the best of our ability, the degree of legal necessity by which Lord Eldon has been driven to so formidable a conclusion. The interest which every one ought to feel in the rights of an author and the independence of the press, will, we trust, support our readers through a few pages, in which we can promise neither charm nor satisfaction, other than in the result to which we have persuaded ourselves that they directly lead. Among the powers intrusted to the Court of Chancery, one of the most peculiar is the means of special interference, through its great preventive instrument, the writ of injunction. In cases where this power is applied, upon suggestion that the defendant is injuring, or threatening to injure, property belonging to the plaintiff, the Court of Chancery issues its injunction, and puts a stop to damage which no later judgment of any court could compensate or repair. This is done upon motion, in the first instance, subject to further discussion upon the hearing of the cause, when the injunction is either dissolved, or made perpetual, according to the merits of the case. Meantime, if the question involves a doubtful point of law, or a disputed fact, the bill is sometimes retain-

ed for a certain period, in order that the parties may employ the interval in obtaining the opinion of a court of law, or the assistance of a Jury, through whom the conscience of the Lord Chancellor may be informed, and his doubts determined. The probability of this course being resorted to, varies in proportion as the doubt is one which it would be unsuitable or improper to decide upon the Chancellor's individual opinion. The question, in such a case, arises, what is to be done during the pendency of this doubt? The plaintiff has proceeded upon his possessory right. Is that right to be invaded, because it may fail to be established in some future inquiry? From this simple statement of the usual course of proceeding, it is evident that a plain or unquestionable right of action cannot be indispensable in an application for an injunction. But were it true, that the plaintiff is obliged to show a clear title to his property, before the Court of Chancery will protect it by injunction, we should insist, that, as a merely civil court, incompetent of itself to try the question of intent and tendency, it is bound to presume in favour of a publication under circumstances like the present. When a book is notoriously allowed to become part of the national literature undisturbed—when both the expensive original, and cheap forgery, are acquiesced in and recognised by all the criminal authorities, constitutional and unconstitutional—it seems monstrous for a single Judge, a member of the Cabinet, to deny the character of property to such a book. But we are prepared to show, that to entitle himself to an injunction, it is by no means necessary that the plaintiff should make out a clear right of action—a doubtful title is all that is required, either upon principle or authority; and a doubt which applies solely to the nature of the property, and admits otherwise the title of the plaintiff, presents *a much slighter* impediment to the jurisdiction than the ordinary case, where, on the supposition that the subject-matter is capable of property, the doubt is, to which of the two parties it belongs.

It would be beside our present purpose to enter into any detailed examination of the cases in which a plaintiff is entitled to an injunction for the protection of ordinary property. Suffice it to say, that, even in questions of real property, where a party is left to stand on his legal right, whatever that may amount to, yet Lord Hardwicke held a doubtful right as quite sufficient to entitle a plaintiff to an injunction until the hearing of the cause, as Lord Nottingham, 'the Father of Equity,' had done long before him, taking the very sensible distinction of granting it more readily against a defendant who could simply make out a

case of impunity, than against one who was himself an adverse claimant. But there is one species of property which calls for a more particular examination, from its very close resemblance to that which an author has in his works, with no other distinction, before the time of Lord Eldon, than that of being less favourably considered—we mean that of Patents. Lord Hardwicke generally mentions them together; he calls the statute of Anne a standing patent for authors; and both he and Sir Thomas Clarke, referring to a time when the rule was otherwise, treat them as excepted cases, where the plaintiff's right appearing upon record or act of Parliament, he might apply to the Court at once for an injunction, without first establishing that right at law. A patentee is regarded as a contractor with the public, bound to certain terms. The doubts arising on the subject of his patent, or the correctness of his specification, are generally mere points of law; or, if they turn on the novelty of the invention, &c. there may be infinite hardship in stopping a rival manufactory. Yet a doubt will not dispossess a patentee. The objection urged against Mr Watt's improvement on the steam-engine, * went to the very subject of the patent itself, that a patent for a METHOD OR PRINCIPLE was void; and the Judges in the Common Pleas were equally divided on the validity of the patent. Lord Rosslyn, nevertheless, would not dissolve his previous injunction, or put the parties to compensation. 'I will 'not disturb the *possession* of their specific right.' And Sir John Scott, Attorney-General, says, 'It is the most ordinary ju-'risdiction of the Court to say, they will not alter the possession 'till the right is decided: In waste, it is the specific right of the 'party to have the interference of this Court.' Lord Eldon's authority on this subject fully accords with the doctrine contended for with success by Sir John Scott.—'Where the 'Crown, in behalf of the public, grants letters-patent, the 'benefit of which contract the public are to have, and the 'public have permitted a reasonably long and undisturbed 'possession under colour of the patent, the Court has thought, 'upon the fact of that *possession* proved against the public, that 'there is less inconvenience in granting the injunction until the 'legal question can be tried, than in dissolving it. If the pa-'tentee can maintain the validity of his patent, by dissolving the 'injunction in the mean time, I should act both against prin-'ciple and practice; not only enabling this defendant against 'law to exercise a right in opposition to the patent, but also en-

* 3 Ves. 140.

'couraging all mankind to take the same liberty.' * And on a still later occasion, † where the patent was afterwards avoided on objections to its validity, which the Chancellor seems, even in the first instance, to have justly deemed insurmountable; and though there was nothing which could even be called possession, yet Lord Eldon, in the interim, held the defendant to an account of every shilling which he had drawn from the alleged violation of that which eventually proved to be no right at all, observing at the same time, that 'in all cases of exclusive 'enjoyment under a patent, the Court will give so much credit 'to the *apparent* right, as to restrain the invasion of it, until 'that apparent right has been displaced.' We have no hint, therefore, in this analogous case, of leaving property to the jeopardy of a doubt.

We will now pass on to the history of literary injunctions themselves. Those which had been granted previous to 1769, formed very important materials for argument throughout the elaborate discussion which the subject then underwent, in the great cases of Miller *v.* Taylor, and Donaldson *v.* Beckett. It is difficult to account for the positiveness with which Lord Mansfield, in opposition to Lord Hardwicke's express declarations, sought to distort them to serve his purpose. He was bold enough to say, 'I look upon these injunctions as equal to 'any final decree. In a doubtful case, it would be iniquity 'to grant them; because, if it should come out that the plaintiff 'has no legal title, the defendant is injured by the injunction, 'and can have no reparation.' Notwithstanding the acknowleged difficulty of arbitrating between contending claims, which Lord Mansfield chooses to call iniquity, we shall now see what had been the practice of the Court of Chancery; and we think that Lord Mansfield must have looked rather awkward, whilst Lord Camden spoke as follows, in the presence of all the Judges and Lord Chancellor Bathurst. ‡ 'All the injunction 'cases have been ably gone through. I shall only add, in ge-'neral terms, that they can prove nothing: they are commonly 'obtained for the purpose of staying waste, and the preven-'tion of irreparable damage. They must, therefore, in their 'nature be sudden and summary, or the benefit of them would 'be lost before they are obtained; and they are granted, though 'the right is *not clear, but doubtful.* The question, whether I 'am tenant for life or in tail, whether I can maintain my right

* 14 Ves. 131. † 3 Marivale, 628.
‡ 17 Parliamentary Debates.

'against the devisee or heir-at-law, may be discussed afterwards at leisure; but unless, upon showing a *reasonable pretence of title*, you in the mean time tie up the spoiler's hands, who is felling my timber, or ploughing my pasture, my remedy is gone, or comes too late to prevent the mischief. What, then, if a thousand injunctions had been granted, unless the Chancellor at the time he granted them pronounced a solemn opinion that they were grounded upon the common law? It would only come to this at last, that the right in question was claimed on one side, and denied on the other: therefore, till the matter was tried and determined, let the injunction go. Lord Hardwicke, after twenty years experience, in the last case of the kind that came before him, declared that the point had never yet been determined. Lord Northington granted them on the idea of a doubtful title: I continued the practice on the same foundation; so did the present Chancellor.' Mr Baron Eyre and Mr Justice Willes refer to Lord Hardwicke enjoining the piracy of the Paradise Lost upon a doubtful right; and he is said to have cited (most appropriately, as its history afterwards showed) the Almanack patent as an authority for so doing. Mr Justice Yates calls an injunction 'but a temporary suspension till the right is determined.'—'To obtain such an injunction,' Lord Chief-Justice Grey says, 'it is by no means necessary that the plaintiff should make out a clear, indisputable title. It may be granted on a reasonable pretence, and a doubtful right, before the hearing of the cause.'

Many other authorities might be cited: but we will pass over the whole intermediate ground, and come at once to Lord Eldon's own authority, which is equally conclusive. The first and leading case upon literary injunctions which came before him, * was that of the University of Oxford and Cambridge *v.* Richardson, to prevent the sale of Scotch bibles in England. The King's printer in England was not co-plaintiff; and it was doubtful whether the Universities had a sufficient interest, in themselves, to maintain the suit. Lord Eldon's words are as explicit, on the necessity of the plaintiff *ultimately* showing that he is the proper plaintiff, as they ever can be upon the necessity of the subject-matter ultimately turning out to be capable of property: he nevertheless grants an injunction. 'The *doubt I have* is, whether these plaintiffs are the persons to enjoin; but, *notwithstanding that*, as there is no doubt upon the illegality of what the defendants are doing, I should not scruple

* 6 Ves. 689.

'to enjoin them.—It is said, that, in cases of this sort, the 'universal rule is, the Court will not grant or sustain an in-'junction until it is made clear at law. With all deference to 'Lord Mansfield, *I cannot accede to that proposition* so un-'qualified. There are many instances in my own memory, in 'which this Court has granted or continued injunctions to the 'hearing, under such circumstances. In the case of patent 'right, if the party gets his patent, and puts his invention in 'execution, and has proceeded to a sale, that may be called 'possession under it, *however doubtful it may be* whether the 'patent can be sustained, this Court has lately said, possession 'under a colour of title is ground enough to enjoin, and con-'tinue the injunction, till it is proved at law that it is only co-'lour, and not real title.'—Lord Hardwicke and Lord Lough-borough regarded general consequences also, when they got a point of private right sufficient to rest their foot upon. Whole branches of equitable jurisdiction are founded on it. But this seems very different from the resolute manner in which this Court has refused to entertain the least thought of the public upon the present occasion. We may be mistaken; but we con-fess, that almost the whole of the above judgment would seem to us to have been delivered for the purpose of removing the difficulties under which the mind of Lord Eldon seems now to labour.

In Gurney *v.* Longman, the right of the House of Lords, when sitting as a court of justice, to select and nominate the sole publisher of its proceedings, came under discussion.

Lord Erskine * there repeats the authority of Lord Eldon for the same opinions, up to a later period. 'I shall follow, 'therefore, the example of Lord Eldon, in the case of Bruce 'v. Bruce, upon a dispute between the King's printers in this 'country and in Scotland. Great consideration being neces-'sary to arrive at a right judgment between their contending 'patents, Lord Eldon, when I pressed him with the cases that 'are now pressed upon me, to show that injunctions proceed-'ing upon legal rights ought to have their foundation on legal 'title, receiving consummation by legal judgment, answered, 'that the same question had been decided by Sir J. Jekyll, 'and his decree affirmed by the Lord Chancellor; and that the 'Court, granting the injunction until the hearing, did not de-'cide ultimately upon the rights of the parties.' Sir William Blackstone was answered out of his own Commentaries, in the House of Commons. We can only appeal (like Philip's suitor)

* 13 Ves. 515.

from Lord Eldon at one time to Lord Eldon at another,—humbly suspecting all along, that there must be some mystery in the matter, which our understanding has not been competent to unravel.

The mystery seems to rest upon a distinction, the merits of which we do not at present, perhaps, duly appreciate; for, as far as concerns the propriety or impropriety of granting an injunction, all the difficulties which attend such cases seem to disappear, when the question is reduced to this single point, namely, the possibility that the plaintiff may not be enabled, from the character of his work, to retain a property in it before a Jury. We shall shortly have occasion to draw the reader's attention more particularly to that consideration. Mean time, in the entire absence of every particle of positive evidence that such an objection was ever advanced before, there is considerable negative authority which, we think, it will be difficult to elude. Such a doctrine, when once on foot, must from its nature creep on. It seems to have opened gradually upon Lord Eldon himself. In Peter Pindar's case (1802), apparently claiming a right to declare his opinion upon the criminality of a writing, if he thought fit, he expressly says, that, 'if doubtful, he shall send that question to law.' But now (1822), in the case of Cain, the arrangement is so far altered, that the question of criminality is solely for a Jury; but that his jurisdiction is paralyzed by a doubt.

We have had no opportunity of obtaining any thing like a list of the works which have been protected by injunctions; and it is but by accident that, in any instance, the questionable tendency of the book can be ascertained, as all the cases are reported for the sake of some other point. In no case, however, which we have met with, is there any trace of an objection, taken either by the Court or the counsel on the ground of the libellous or improper nature of the work sought to be protected; and a strong inference may be drawn, that such an objection was not thought tenable, from its never having been made where it certainly might have applied, and where, in its absence, the injunction was maintained. Pope's Dunciad was protected, as property, by injunction, 1729, the very year that it was first published in 4to, with notes, and the names of the persons abused not only set out at length, but justified by the authorities and reasons given. In the preface to the five former imperfect editions (1727), Pope is stated to have 'thought it a 'happiness, that, by the late flood of slander on himself, he 'had acquired such a peculiar right over their names as was 'necessary to his design.' The advertisement to the edition

of 1729 describes 'the castigation' 'upon the chief offend
'as only a paper pinned upon the breast to mark the enor
'ties for which they suffered, lest the correction only sho
'be remembered, and the crimes forgotten.' Whether
nature of the vermin whom the satirist has set in amber for
amusement of posterity, might not have denied them even
thing damages, is another question; but no one can doubt,
that, upon every principle of the law of libel, the Dunciad
the date when the injunction issued, was one libel from the
ginning to the end.

In the year 1735, an injunction was granted for Po
and Swift's Miscellanies. We will refer to the preface,
this instance also, for a character of the work itself. '
'are sorry for the satire interspersed in some of th
'pieces upon a few people from whom the highest provocati
'have been received. As the original publication was
'owing to our folly, but that of others, the omission of
'names was not in our power. We cannot deny, that, in se
'ral parts of our lives, we have written things which we r
'wish never to have thought of: Some sallies of levity ou
'to be imputed to youth, others to gaiety of our minds at
'tain junctures, common to all men. The publishing of th
'which we cannot disown, and without our consent, is a gre
'injury than that of ascribing to us the most stupid producti
'which we can wholly deny. We are therefore compelled
'submit to a very great hardship, to own such pieces as in
'stricter judgments we should have suppressed for ever.
'collection consists of what we not only thought unlikely
'reach the future, but unworthy even of the present age;
'our studies, but our follies; not our works, but our i
'nesses.' Considering the indulgence with which authors
turally criticise the tendency of their own performances,
reader will not be surprised to find, in these Miscellan
things such as no person, with the least pretension to cha
ter, at present would avow; and, though the excuse set
above might be a reasonable one enough in a court of ca
istry, it would make but a very sorry defence in a court of l
In the year 1737, there follows an injunction for Gay's Po
The Lord Chamberlain, upon objections, according to
Johnson, moral or political, had prohibited its representat
on the stage; but, being afterwards published (notwithsta
ing this hint, which Lord Talbot did not think fit to tak
it received protection from the Court of Chancery. As
Beggars' Opera was not prohibited, Polly must have b
considered as still more suspicious; and yet the tende

of the Beggars' Opera has been matter of most vehement reprobation. Dr Herring, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, preached against it. The Bench of Westminster Magistrates attempted to proscribe it. There are very singular anecdotes recorded of its effects; and Swift, at whose suggestion it was written, was obliged, with Pope and the timid Poet's five hundred friends, to go all lengths to carry the unconscious author through the storm which it had raised about him.

In 1765, we fall in with an injunction against the piracy of the works of Swift himself, with Life and Notes by Hawkesworth. Of them we will only say, that it would be difficult to point out any author whose writings contain a greater variety of libellous matter of almost every description, affecting politics, morality, and even religion. He was like 'a white witch, *mischievously good*,' and could only do a deed of charity 'in the spirit of the first-born Cain'—

> 'Whatever title pleas'd his ear,
> 'Dean, Drapier, Bickerstaff, or Gulliver,'—

—he is still found a libeller: whether where rewards are offered by proclamation for a discovery of the author, or he grossly shakes in 'Rabelais's easy chair.'

In 1785, an author, who boasted himself as 'a gentleman of Covent Garden Theatre,' favoured the world with a collection of historical anecdotes, entitled 'Memoirs of G. Ann Bellamy, including all her Intrigues, with genuine Anecdotes of all her public and private Connections.' It was alleged to be pirated from a larger work, 'An Apology for the Life of G. Ann Bellamy, by Herself;' the contents of which were well calculated to gratify every expectation which the title could excite, and the character of which is stamped by this very charge of piracy. The claim for an injunction was assuredly not preferred before Lord Kenyon, when Master of the Rolls, from the hope of unreasonable indulgence towards works of such a description by that moral judge; however, it was instantly allowed, nor did he proceed in that ignorance of the subject-matter, which the secluded habits of his life might otherwise make sufficiently credible. He examined both works, 'reserving his decision,' &c. It is remarkable that Lord Kenyon justified his view of this case, by a reference to Dr Hawkesworth's Voyages, in which he says, 'it had been so determined.' Hawkesworth's Voyages then were in themselves fit subject for protection by injunction; a work described by Lord Thurlow as a mere composition of trash, &c. It is notorious, that a Magazine used to give a regular monthly no-

tice, 'that all the amorous passages in Dr Hawk——th's Col-'lections of Voyages, should be selected and published with '*a suitable plate*,'—a threat actually put in execution. Dr Chalmers, in his Biographical Preface to the Adventurer, is obliged to acknowledge 'its impious sentiments and indecent 'narratives; and that no infidel could have published opinions 'more adverse to the creed of the nation.' Yet alleged piracy on such a book would have been enjoined, if the fact had not been negatived, by proof that the copier had only exercised fairly the unquestionable right of abridgment.

Considering Doubt as the offspring of Modesty, we may think that it has departed widely from the character of its parents, when it sweeps down such a series of decisions pronounced by such high authorities. But this is not mere matter of *precedent* pushed aside without being even alluded to; though, when forms are violated, it is not often that it is forms alone. The *principles* which, in doubtful cases, regulate this jurisdiction, seem even more decisive. In reviewing the conduct of Courts of Equity respecting injunctions, it will be found that they have been guided principally by the following considerations. 1. Whether either party has any *prima facie* case of possession, which, in equity as well as in law, raises a presumption of title? 2. Whether, in case the Court should alter its opinion between the motion and the hearing, so that it should be obliged at last to dissolve an injunction which it had previously granted, or make perpetual an injunction which it had refused, the plaintiff or defendant will have suffered most by the intermediate mistake? 3. Whether the negligence or acquiescence of the plaintiff, or the circumstances or conduct of the defendant, shall have raised any equities against themselves respectively? 4. Whether the public, in a case nearly balanced, has any interest either way? Waste, as of timber, and infringements of patents have accordingly been in the first instance restrained, upon these presumptions, where the plaintiff's right has after all been disproved; and a defendant's unconscientious conduct, as by collusion, or his insolvency, so that no subsequent compensation could be secured, have been considered as sufficient reasons for granting an injunction, when it would otherwise have been refused. But to confine our attention to literary injunctions. We will class below, as distinct cases, the different circumstances under which injunctions are discussed with reference to literary property. On a comparison of these distinct cases, one with another, regarding the list of difficulties against which the administrator of this equity has to provide, as a scale by which his conscience may be directed, it will be evident,

even if a clear title upon the part of the plaintiff were a matter of necessity in all other cases, yet the strictness of the rule ought to be dispensed with, where the only cloud upon the plaintiff's title arises from the suspicious nature of the book. Unfortunately, the precise contrary is the course adopted. The following seem the several objections to the right of the plaintiff which a defendant can bring forward in justification of his conduct. 1*st*, He may deny the fact of any interference with the plaintiff's property at all; alleging, that the subject upon which they both have written is *in medio*, open to all the world (as charts, maps, road-books, almanacks, calendars, judicial proceedings, &c.); or that the writing called in question is a fair exercise of his own mind, reoriginating the original work, (as abridgment, quotation, review, translation, &c.); or that what has been done is such a dealing with the property as the law allows of, (as performing upon the stage, &c.) 2*dly*, He may insist that the property in the book is with himself, and not in the plaintiff, as in the cases of dispute upon the construction of a contract for the sale of a copyright (which will of course turn solely on the agreement, &c., is therefore irrelevant for the present purpose.) 3*dly*, He may argue, that the plaintiff's exclusive property in his work is expired, and that he, the defendant, therefore, has as good a right to publish it as plaintiff himself. (Such was the question ultimately set at rest in the case of Donaldson *v.* Becket, by the Lords in 1774.) 4*thly*, Or *lastly*, He may say *the book is a wicked book*, and therefore, by the policy of the law, no subject of private property at all; insisting, that on the very ground of the doubt, whether either he or the plaintiff are entitled to publish it as against society, he acquires a right to publish it as against the plaintiff; and that, at all events, the Court will not restrain him from a criminal infringement of his neighbour's property, whilst such a doubt remains judicially undetermined.

In the first and third class, where the Court must pick its way through all the difficulties as it can, it nevertheless enjoins upon a doubtful right, in homage to a general sort of possession, and must, therefore, occasionally wrong both the defendant and the public. We will only mention, as examples under the first head, the injunctions against theatrical representations, which are now ascertained to be no infringement of any right an author has, either at law, or under the statute; and the injunction of Lord Cowper on the Almanack patents, which was continued seventy years, and only put an end to when a court of law determined that the patent had all along been void.

The third head comprises, as authority for granting injunc-

tions on titles not merely doubtful, but even where the doubt eventually turned out to be well founded, Lord Hardwicke's injunction on the Paradise Lost, and all the injunctions between the years 1709 and 1774, which assumed the existence of a property at Common Law.

But it is now discovered, that a doubt under *the last* class is decisive: And under what circumstances? The former difficulties are all gone. The defendant is not in possession—the plaintiff is; the defendant pretends to no possible interest which can sustain an injury; whilst he is destroying what bears all the outward marks of being the property of the plaintiff. He is most unconscientious; he is taking advantage of his own wrong; he is setting up a defence which, if Parliament could have foreseen it, ought to have had the pillory reserved as its proper punishment. His case is not what Lord Nottingham thought too little, one of mere *impunity*; he stands upon his *guilt—confitens reus*, covered with infamy, admitting himself that he is stealing private property,—unless he is ruining the public morals! Such a defendant turns out to be the exception, and is made a favourite of the Court of Equity. And for what end is it that the rules of right and justice are thus perverted, and that a court of property, by a strange anomaly, hands over what may be Peter's property, not to Paul merely, but to Satan, upon a doubt of criminality which lies entirely beyond its jurisdiction, and which the proper authorities for that purpose never have surmised or said? Instead of calling upon the plaintiff to remove such a scandalous, and, as between the plaintiff and the defendant (in this early stage, at least), so irrelevant an objection to his title, the ordinary rule, one would have thought, might have served, viz. that any title, with possession, is good against the fraud and violence of a mere wrongdoer. As the court will not enjoin to stop a nuisance before trial, until a plain case of nuisance is made out, so, in property, where the only possible ground of refusing it protection is, that it is a sort of moral nuisance, the case ought to be at least equally plain. The distinction between the court being passive in one instance, and active in the other, is merely verbal. Should there be only one authority competent to try a prisoner, and that authority refuse to try him, it undertakes the substantial responsibility of an aquittal. A government which connives at oppression, shares the crime. A court of justice, alone having power to interpose, which sits by whilst apparent property is illegally destroyed, can scarcely deceive itself into the idea, that it is answering the ends for which all the forms and parade of civil justice have been elaborately established. The pirate is indirectly the instrument of such a court, which

pro tanto disorganizes society, and throws its members back upon their natural rights. If the celebrated judgment of Solomon had been carried into execution, and he had actually destroyed the child in ascertaining to whom it might belong, we suspect it would not have come down to us as the great proof on which his proverbial reputation rests; still less, if he had done so because one of the contending ladies had the modesty and consistency to suggest, that the infant had the air of not being born in lawful wedlock. But we confess, that, for a simple court of property, when a question of mere property is before it, to *destroy* that property at the request of the party who admits that he has no colour of right, on a mere uncertainty whether the other party, though in possession, has a strictly legal title to it, seems to us about as equitable a decision.

We should remember what the possession in this case is, and what the presumption in favour of the title. It is possession as notorious as the sun at noon; and legal title which the acquiescence of the public centinels has affirmed. The presumption arising from this acquiescence is slight or overwhelming, in proportion to the secrecy or notoriety of the subject. In the majority of cases which have occurred, the dispute has not been upon a smuggling transaction on a dark night; a bit of usury in a stockbroker's back room; the hire of lodgings to some unfortunate young woman; or even the case of some anonymous duodecimo or profligate print, which the myrmidons of the police watch for in vain at the doors of boarding-schools,—where all is mystery until the offence starts up, for the first time, in its natural deformity, like Satan touched by Ithuriel's spear, in a court of justice. The works in question have been, most of them, works of great notoriety and interest: and yet they have been left by a discretion, the soundness and policy of which nobody but a fanatic will condemn, part of the literature of the land. They stare you in the face from the window of every shop; form the subject of conversation at your most agreeable dinners. Their novelty is in the manner, not the matter, as all must know who believe in religion (if, to have ever thought carefully on the subject, is necessary to belief), and are kept so constantly before the public eye, as to be almost a piece of fashionable furniture rather than a book. If, to deprive works like these of their character of property, in consequence of a doubt in the mind of the Chancellor, be *summum jus*, it is emphatically *summa injuria*. Such a principle is reckless of all probable and presumptive rights; for the Chancellor, to use an expression of his own upon injunctions, allows the Court will have *miscarried*, unless a Jury afterwards confirm his doubts. Now, it

may be assumed, that no question can be devised upon which the Chancellor and a Jury would be so likely to come to different conclusions, as on what is or is not libel. The Judges, in their answers to the queries* by the Lords on Fox's Libel Act, say, that although it is competent to a Judge to direct an acquittal on a clear case of an innocent publication prosecuted as a libel, yet 'that *no case has occurred* in which it would have 'been, in sound discretion, fit for a Judge sitting at Nisi Prius 'to have given such a recommendation to the Jury.' But, even if the probability were twenty to one (instead of being as it is, more than in that proportion the other way) that the Jury will confirm these doubts, we should humbly submit that the law would not be warranted in gambling away the property of the suitor, even against that solitary chance, without some great advantage to countervail it. But here, who would be injured by the issuing of the injunction? Not the public,—for it is only on the supposition that the public interest is altogether the other way, that any doubt arises; not the defendant,—for, at all events, whether the book is criminal or innocent, he has no reason for complaint. The only consequence of this intermediate and temporary protection is, that the Court of Chancery has, whilst the doubt lasted, given privilege of sanctuary to a species of property which has no other security, and may chance to turn out ultimately not to deserve it, but from which its protection will be consequently withdrawn the very instant that the criminality is ascertained by the only constitutional tribunal. Is this chance or possibility so dreadful as to leave us no alternative, but that of falling into the arms of an arbitrary discretion? For it should always be remembered that it cannot be otherwise than arbitrary and variable from its nature. It is arbitrary enough even with twelve men, compelled to speak upon a certainty of guilt; and the doctrine of probabilities will tell us, how much more arbitrary it must be, with only one, hesitating over the uncertainty of innocence.

Such as we have stated above, is the sum-total of the injury which the granting an injunction in case of doubtful tendency carries with it; and to avoid this serious dilemma (that of protecting an author till his guilt is proved, or even legally questioned, or intended to be questioned), the whole property in modern literature (so extensive and so respectable) is in a free country to turn on the pendulous oscillations in the mind of the person who, for the time being, may hold the Great Seal. Europe will not believe that the property and the good name of its phi-

* 22 St. Tr. 299.

losophers, historians and poets, is thus abandoned, in that England which boasts of its equal laws, and its respect for the rights of every member of society, to the discretion of any judge,—and, least of all, to the only one of her judges who is removable at pleasure, and who joins to his judicial character the interests and prejudices of a member of the cabinet. And why are the presumptions in favour of rights to be turned against authors, and their case made an exception to every rule? What reason can be given why a court (calling itself a Court of Equity) should confiscate before trial, and that upon a suspicion, which, however violent to one mind, is equivocal with another, and evanescent with a third? To injure by a preliminary operation, much more to destroy, before trial, that interest, the title to which is afterwards to be tried, is, as we have said above, a novel expedient in civil proceedings. It is indeed a sort of torture, different in atrocity, but not in principle, (except as the one is a case of property, and the other of life), from that which our criminal courts used to administer upon conjecture. There were different degrees of proof, not enough to hang a man, but enough to stretch him on the rack; and a book as well as a man (as has been quaintly said), when put to the torture, confesseth all it knows, and oftentimes more. The criminality in this case is not sufficient to put the author on his defence, but only goes far enough to outlaw his book. The same judges who tortured the body, when they got at the evidence, could legally determine upon its weight; but another peculiarity exists here, that the torturer of the mind exercises his inquiry upon a subject which the jealousy of the constitution has set apart for a distinct and popular tribunal. The very doubts which the Lord Chancellor creates and anticipates for himself to act upon, are of a nature for the consideration of which he is disqualified by law. The partial and conditional glance which is all that his Lordship assumes, is assumed under circumstances where it can produce nothing but unmixed evil, and protect nothing but injustice. This side-long look is enough 'to wink a reputation down:' a Judge merely civil, with the air of one who

> Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
> Just hints a fault, and hesitates dislike—

—is seen, in a question between two contending parties, where one may have the right of property, and the other cannot, so to place his judgment (which is only in name suspended) that its whole weight operates in favour of the latter,—a defendant that, upon his own showing, is either a libeller or a thief. It is certainly most desirable that the laws should be respected by the people who live under them: But too hard terms must not be invented in the present age; and if, in this instance, the un-

initiated have stared in stupid astonishment at the mysterious wisdom of the law, in its most oracular temple, we believe that we may say, in excuse of this general feeling, that the law was never made to exhibit a more unjust, unintelligible, and paradoxical appearance—too prudish to guard as property, what it has not the manliness and honesty to attempt the punishment of as guilt. There was no medium to escape from a disgraceful contradiction. The idea of criminality is voluntarily intruded into a court, where, in such a case, it never should originate, and under circumstances where the known state of society will not permit it to be gone through with. For since, as Lord Kenyon* says, 'the law of libel is plain enough,—a man may 'publish whatever twelve of his countrymen do not think 'blameable,'—the law of libel is, in other words, *public opinion taken in that form.* But here, the notion of criminality is enforced only by halves; and, were the criminality apparent, we should think it proportionably plain that it was the wrong half which the Court of Chancery had laid hold of; tending to the encouragement of crime, and the corruption of the lower orders of society.

We have said perhaps more than enough on what we strongly feel as a wanton disregard of property, and an unwarrantable presumption of guilt. The next consideration is, what sort of justification for all this can be made under the circumstances. *1st*, The remedy sought is an injunction, a peculiar power intrusted to the Court of Chancery, for the purpose of preventing irreparable mischief, in cases which the law either cannot reach at all, or not till it is too late. *2dly*, The thing endangered is a book, a species of property the worst protected by the law, and, from its nature, the most exposed. *3dly*, The defendant (taking an objection in the spirit of Cook's celebrated Defence, when indicted on the Maiming act, that he meant to murder, not to maim) justifies himself by his crime. *4th*, This is done in a court of equity, in a civil litigation for property, where the charge (by which the plaintiff's rights are for a private fraud, thus sought to be divested) is of a nature into which the court to whom it is addressed cannot legally examine, and on which, though the evidence of it meets the eye at every turn, no sort of criminal investigation ever has been set on foot. *5th*, The burden imposed on the plaintiff is, that he should remove from a mind which professional habits must have made scrupulous, every doubt upon the moral, or political, or religious tendency of every book (in whole or in part, from a horn-book and newspaper to history and theology, in their endless folios), as

* Reeve's Trial.

often as a pirate has pecuniary means sufficient to embark on the speculation of raising such a doubt.

Now, considering that an injunction thus applied for, is not a final judgment of the court upon the merits, nor indeed necessarily any expression of its opinion either way, but merely a temporary shield thrown over property otherwise undisputed, to preserve it from undisguised robbery until the merits can be tried before a competent tribunal, this seems a very unnecessary precaution. But that is not all; for the doctrine contains a species of judicial contradiction,—requiring you to satisfy the mind of a Judge upon a point out of his jurisdiction, and in respect of which, whatever his individual feelings may be, he must be bound by the exclusive authority of a Jury. By the common law of this land, it is no part of an author's duty to satisfy the mind of the Lord Chancellor. It is enough if he can satisfy a Jury; and the broad distinction between such an objection taken in a court of law at trial, and upon an application for an injunction is, that, odious and impolitic as we think it in both instances, it can never work injustice in a court of law, with a Jury competent to decide the question; whereas, in the Court of Chancery, unless we consent to seat the Chancellor in the Papal Chair, it must. This doctrine refuses to pay any respect to a possession which the law has left undisturbed, and presents the novel spectacle of a Court of Equity allowing a defence, avowedly bottomed in iniquity, to bear down rights which the plaintiff may ultimately and honestly establish. It is in vain that the plaintiff suggests what is often heard in that Court—'You cannot set up that defence, whether true or false, 'at a moment when the truth cannot be ascertained; it does 'not lie in your mouth—you are stopped by your own conduct '—you cannot take advantage of your own wrong.' The Court has not been, in other cases, in the habit of disregarding public consequences, when a straw could be caught at to support its jurisdiction; and, under proper caution, it always was, and always ought to be, a most important consideration towards putting the Court into activity, when once there is civil interest sufficient to bring the case into Court at all.

But the circumstance which we think conclusive on the impropriety of making the Chancellor's approbation of a book an indispensable preliminary to the protection of an author, depends on what may be treated as admissions in the case. 1*st*, That an injunction is the only real protection for literature, and, when it is delayed, there is a right deprived of its specific remedy. 2*d*, That if the verdict of a Jury, by quashing this doubt, establishes the property in the plaintiff, the injunction of the Chancellor follows, as it were ministerially, and of course. Let us see, then, under these circumstances, what are the different consequence

which affect the litigant parties in the two cases. When a verdict declares a property to exist in cases where the injunction has been refused on the ground of the non-existence of property; or, on the other hand, declares a work not to be the subject of property where the injunction has been granted; on the present system, the plaintiff brings his action, obtains a verdict; and then, armed with it as proof (for it is little more), he comes for an injunction—to do what? to protect his property; but the property, which it is *now* clear ought to have been protected from the first, is gone. The Chancellor's intermediate doubts have swept it into the pocket of an insolvent,—for such a defendant of this sort always must be. But take the other case, that the verdict has passed against the author; the property is negatived, and the injunction must be dissolved; the evil, as we have said above, is reduced to this, that the public has, in the mean time, been saved a deluge of offensive matter, and the defendant restrained from an act which had all the appearance of being an offence against the property of his neighbour; and restrained only until it turns out technically not to prove so, because it comprises also an offence against society.

The only possible injustice, then, which can arise to property, is in the course taken; and, in such a case, the rule certainly of common sense would be, that the Court ought clearly to see that it is not property, before it refuses to protect it. It is not the case of an adverse defendant with possible rights of his own. The pirate stands merely as *amicus curiæ*, and takes the benefit of a system which would seem almost his own invention, so careful is it of his interest, and so reckless of all others. As to the favourite phrase, *the Court must see it is property*, we submit, that the Court cannot possibly see any such thing. It must remand the question of the tendency to that Tribunal, with which the Constitution has deposited the trust of that inquiry. The law only stultifies itself, or is left exposed to the suspicions of a cold and cruel hypocrisy, when it thus forces upon the public such glaring contradictions, and compels them, whether they will or no, to see the inconclusive pretences by which such a subject is governed and deranged. The Attorney-General's discretion is displaced, to make way for mercenary adventurers in guilt, who, for the future, are to decide for their own benefit, under the patronage of a Court of Equity, one of the most important consequences of the law of libel, behind the back of a Jury. What must the people think, whilst, what is denounced as poison, is thus left to serve as their daily food? and this must be so whilst the Pirate and the Chancellor pull one way, and Society and the Crown-officers another.

The immortal minds which feed their fellow-creatures with intellectual subsistence, have a right to the most substantial protection for the least fragment of their interests. They are melancholy words in which Dryden addressed the public of his day. 'It will continue to be the ingratitude of mankind, that 'they who teach wisdom by the surest means, shall generally 'live poor and unregarded, as if they were born only for the 'public, and had no interest in their own wellbeing, but were 'to be lighted up like tapers, and waste themselves for the be-'nefit of others.' And though, in that public, succeeding authors have found a worthier patron than it was their great master's fortune to obtain from among a Court, which corrupted and debased the dignity of his genius, yet even the modern public too often appears as a mere literary glutton, selfishly absorbed in the gratification of its taste, with very small regard for the interests of those who provide for its indulgence. The followers of literature seem as it were to have taken up the cross, and engaged in a service which, like that of virtue, was to be its own reward. Scholar and beggar, as Adam Smith says, are synonymous expressions. The realizer of a fortune is a prodigy in the history of learning; whilst the cellars and garrets of every metropolis in Europe afford degrading shelter to the long line of Otways and Chattertons who have perished in her cause. Nor is this accounted for by the carelessness of poets. We know the frugality of Johnson's habits, not more remarkable than the extent and usefulness of his works. The mighty Moralist surely need not shrink in any sense from a comparison with Lord Thurlow, the great Lawyer of that day, except in the shameful contrast between the respective remuneration of their labours—the one at the height of power and riches, the other struggling with penury and honest pride for the greater part of his life, and left dependant on an eleemosynary pension for a competence in his latter days. While such seems to be the inevitable condition of literary men, it is miserable to see the bread taken out of their mouths, as it were, with a facility and a nonchalance on the part even of the public, upon which we do not care to express our feelings. But cotton and sugar, we are told, are none the worse for the misery which forms part of their preparation, and nobody smells the brimstone in his honey. Lord Camden, in his splendid peroration against literary property, tells an author, 'Glory is his reward, and posterity will pay it.' In other words, he tells the public, 'Take advantage 'of the nobleness of his character:—urged on by the instinct of 'genius, and by his love for fame, by his sympathy with man 'and nature, he will not stop to raise a question on his rights, 'or waste a thought on the money-payment of his labours—there-

'fore, it will be your own fault if you don't drive a good bar-'gain with so disinterested a customer.' Injustice unfortunately is still injustice, though clothed in sentimental language; and only bows him out of the room, instead of kicking him down stairs. We have always felt it as a clap-trap for a gallery of pirates, who, of course, encore it, though with a vehemence short of what is showered down on the less complimentary judgments of Lord Eldon. But (for ourselves) we see no reason for congratulating the friends of public honour or public morals, in the fact that Hone or Benbow is enriched with the spoils of Moore or Byron. Fame is very good as garnish, but something more immediate is required. The literary thief knows he cannot be indicted; himself a pauper, he laughs at the damages of an action; and it must be an odd book indeed, of a popular nature, from which a doubt, which some possible Chancellor may not think reasonable, cannot be extracted.

But, looking at the practical result, is this to go on? The present facts, upon a denial of property, in what is suffered to circulate unreproved through every crevice of society, make out against that society a double charge of hypocrisy and injustice. Parliament legislates against twopenny trash in vain, whilst Equity sends grist to the mill, and sets its wheels agoing—doing more for it in an hour, than the Legislature can counteract in years. These decisions, though undoubtedly quite otherwise intended, are so many proclamations for the encouragement of immorality and vice, from one end of England to the other, whilst the mumbling of the antidote at the Quarter-sessions is scarcely audible to the Bench. For as in these injunctions the plaintiff may possibly not be criminal, whilst the defendant *necessarily admits himself criminal*, on his answer: so, what was really innocent in itself, when once circulated as poison, will become so:—supposed to be mischievous, the book is read in that spirit, and produces a mischievous effect. There is not more difference between the meaning and the consequence of the same thing said by a wise man and a fool, than between identical words repeated by innocence or vice, whether in conversation or in print. 'Where virtue is, these are most virtuous.' If it had been the Lord Chancellor's direct design to encourage literary fraud, along with the free circulation of suspected poison, no more judicious expedient could have been hit upon than the course he has, from very opposite motives, unfortunately pursued. These decisions may be accordingly described as instructions out of equity how to fleece an author, or advertisements for piracy made gratis by the Chancellor of England, to the only dangerous class of readers, in the most tempting shape. At this moment, on the strength of the present system, a scandalous re-

publication is going on, of poems, in which the Attorney-General is right perhaps in thinking that there is no serious danger, but which a pale cast of doubt would easily discolour. Were such doubts of any effect beyond the asterisks down a page of Horace, our condition would be indeed alarming. As it is, there is a mere destruction of property, feeding miscreants at the cost of a poet whose poverty is honourable in the eyes of all, but those 'whose poverty is in their mind' (for it is independence), and who will, in the mouths and flowing cups of our posterity (to which Chancellors seem so fond of referring suitors), be freshly remembered, when the nineteen volumes of Vesey have slunk into a silent corner of some supplemental Viner, only occasionally disturbed by a painful junior in a cause.

We are sure that the Chancellor must shudder, could he find time to think of the profligacy on the one hand, or the ruin on the other (and between such parties too), as a few words from him may occasion. When the Chancellor first undertook this jurisdiction, we can scarcely believe he had thought advisedly of his own situation, and the new duties which it would impose upon him. Is the great Court of real property and contract, the thoroughfare for the business of a whole empire, to be stopped up, whilst the Chancellor is making up his mind on a question, prolific of doubts beyond all others, the tendency of a book, and that of as many books too, as there can be found rogues to think it worth their while to pirate? Then, do his habits qualify him for such a task? Without going the length of Burke's sarcastic observations as to the humiliating effects of studies merely legal, it is evident, that a mind, necessarily contracted to certain objects, must lessen its sphere of vision, and become itself narrow, after treading for years in a narrow path. It would be as reasonable to take, in his latter days, a horse out of a mill, into Leicester's, as to require from a lawyer grown old in harness, those habits and feelings, which the duties of his office must prevent him from obtaining. And yet, what is the pilotage which is here assumed?—one the most difficult of all others, if it is to be left to the theories and idiosyncrasies of a single mind, exposed to prejudices and temptations, as we all are more or less. Looking to time and situation, and a thousand various circumstances which must modify the influence of writings; casting our eye over a single shelf in any bookcase, where every third book probably contains a spark, which a little discussion might blow into a flame, we ask what single hand would wish to hold and graduate such a scale? No one acquainted with the history of other countries and other ages, and the random blows, as it were, in blind man's buff,

which mere authority has dealt at the efforts of reason; no one who sees opinions and sentiments, which were burnt with their authors in one century, become the glory and the idols of the next, but would be grateful that he was discharged from so responsible a labour. We have got the next best thing to that perfect intelligence and universal charity, which is demanded for such a purpose, in a plain practical popular tribunal, taken by accident from the mass of the public, and instantly returned to it, being the identical persons to be affected by the writing, and representing that public, to whom, if there is no injury, the writing is no nuisance. A jury is thus the specific test of the tendency of a libel. It is difficult to say it cannot give a wrong result; it is enough that it is incalculably the least liable to error, on these subjects, of any tribunal which has ever existed. There is no knowing or guarding against individual peculiarities or associations; but the chances of timidity, bigotry, and treachery, of folly and of vice, are much diminished, if our calculation extends over a dozen. Look at the opinions now received and consecrated, as among the greatest blessings which natural reason has given to mankind; see their original fathers and asserters remunerated by the prison, and the block; ask whether their names could have been handed down to us, for our shame almost as much as our glory, had a free and unbiassed jury passed between them and their country, or rather them and the human race. Conceive a jury bringing in a verdict of guilty against Galileo; though we dare say he was a very sincere and honest Cardinal, who sent to gaol, and bread and water, at the age of 70, the man who taught Italy to think, because he suspected the earth went round the sun, and that it had not four corners. What would have been Sir Thomas More's *Index Expurgatorius*, or that of the ecclesiastical Chancellors of former times? We know as respectable houses as any in the kingdom, where Shakespeare was (and most probably, notwithstanding the *Family Edition*, still is) a prohibited book.

There is much also in the point of view from which such things are seen. The periodical publication which a gentleman at the Bar patronizes and admires—as C. J. of Chester he ceases to take in; as Solicitor-General he shrinks at hearing mentioned—as Attorney-General, he regrets is not quite bad enough to prosecute; or as a Judge, feels it his duty to tell the Jury from the Bench, that he believes it in law to be a libel. In this, as in past ages, the most honest will differ; and we shall all naturally think ourselves in the right. Every allowance ought, in common charity, to be made for error on a subject, upon which, however remote from his ordinary habits, a Judge is by law *compelled* to come to a conclu-

sion: But, as often as a mind *voluntarily* offers itself for the resolving of a difficulty, without those enlightening aids which circumstances had provided for it, and which the nature of the case admitted, the situation is an awful one; and in the event of error, misfortune is scarcely the word which severer moralists will apply.

Such a jurisdiction, too, must be wild as the variety of human speculations. No lawyer could venture to secure a client against the possibility of a doubt, which the party entertaining it may conscientiously think reasonable. Lord Coke admonishes even Parliaments, 'that instead of the ordinary and 'precious trial *per legem terræ*, they bring not in absolute and 'partial trial by discretion.' Lord Camden tells us, 'the dis-'cretion of a judge is the law of tyrants; it is always unknown, 'it is different in different men, it is casual, and depends upon 'constitution, temper, passion. In the best, it is oftentimes 'caprice,—in the worst, it is every folly, vice and passion, to 'which human nature is liable.' If a Chancellor were indeed tied to such a duty, where 'once to doubt is once to be resolved,' he would be of all judges in the most painful and anomalous condition. There could be no help for it. He would protest in vain against Selden's account of the Court of Chancery, that the Chancellor sits there measuring out equities as by the length of his own foot. Sir N. Bacon used to call Henry the VIII., after he had assumed the supremacy, 'a king with a pope in his belly. We are sure that the Chancellor, if he thus eats up and incorporates our jury, will not find the twelve good men and true quite so easy of digestion.

We have argued the question solely as one of property; but it was argued before the Chancellor upon grounds which will not permit us to be ignorant of its real, and even more important bearings. The manifestoes of C. J. Scroggs, asserting a strict judicial supremacy over the press, and outheroding the Star Chamber, are among the worst memorials of tyranny which that ample storehouse, the State Trials, contain. In an injunction against a translation of Burnet's Archæologia Philosophica and De Statu Mortuorum, Lord Macclesfield has left, in curious language, the first and last practical example (as far as we are aware) of the criminal interference of the Court of Chancery on such a subject. Lord Ellenborough, in more ignorance than can be well understood in a lawyer upon a point of constitutional law, told a jury at Nisi Prius, that the Lord Chancellor would grant his injunction against the exhibition of a libellous picture. But Lord Eldon knows better, and most explicitly disclaims any authority of the kind; and we now only allude to this part of the subject, together with the practical con-

ment of the plain and open language which was addressed to him, that he and the public may alike be put upon their guard. It does not matter whose name was on the back of Mr Wetherell's brief, in the last of the cases which have given rise to this article. He spoke, in fact, as counsel for the prosecuting societies, and by his argument avowedly adopted the Pirate, as their agent. The cloven foot was shown. A part of the press is to be '*put down*,' without the intervention of a jury,—and the ends are to justify the means! Letters of marque are to be granted out of Chancery to smugglers, that they may cruise after parties against whom the law has not declared hostility. The licentiousness of the press is to be the chartered instrument for the destruction of its freedom. The folly of such circuity of action we think paralleled only by its wickedness. In an ordinary tithe cause, when pressed against sending a question to be tried by the prejudices of a jury, Lord Eldon most properly says, he can presume no such prejudices, and that he is not at liberty to hold such language of the constitutional tribunal. But in libel it is emphatically true, as a general principle, that they can have no prejudices; for their opinion, whatever it may be, constitutes the law, and, as such, judges are bound to receive and respect their verdict. It is to a jury, then, that an author has always a right to turn, as to his sole and natural judge. Speaking to the public, and for the public, he claims the privilege of being answerable, in all respects, to the people only, as represented there, for the policy and propriety of his discussions or appeals. Such an interposition is necessary to save him, and to prevent the shocking absurdities which have followed from leaving mere authority to hold back the spirit of the times. Did not the law imply a substantial difference between the two tribunals, Fox's Libel Act would have been superfluous, in a stronger sense than ever Lord Kenyon asserted it to be. Local prejudices will change the venue in a common question. Emphatically, then, may authors use the memorable * language of the Judges, when, in their own case, they refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the House of Lords; stating, among other reasons, 'that they 'are not to lose the benefit of a legal trial by their peers, 'which is their best fence and protection against power, art, 'and surprise;—best for indifference and for discovery of truth. 'Challenges are admitted below. It is a common privilege 'and birthright. The law is determined by one, the fact by 'another. Here both are in the same hands; and, though 'some persons perhaps have, from a confidence of success,

* Bridgeman v. Holt, Shower's Parlt. Cas. 111.

'or a slavish fear, or private policy, forborne to question the 'power of their superiors, the judges must betray their re- 'putation and their knowledge of the laws, if they should own 'a jurisdiction which former times and their predecessors were 'unacquainted with.'

The jurisdiction by injunction, thus managed, instead of remaining the sole available protection for literary property, is a substantial censorship. What was meant for a shield, is turned into a sword. For the worst censorship may exist without the form of a previous licenser. The course adopted has all the evils of such a system, and more, without even the imaginary advantages; for it leaves the public exposed to the writings supposed to be pernicious, and, before it destroys the property of an author, entraps him into the additional expense of printing. The French system is much more sensible,—the police seizes the work at first, but restores it in the event of a verdict in its favour. Here the Chancellor is not able to restore, —for the destroying angel has passed over! The existence of a censorship does not depend upon the fact, whether it takes place before the types are set or after. The independence of the press is overshadowed, when once fears for their property shall compel literary men to truckle to the tendencies of a power which can destroy it with a breath.

There is something incomprehensible in a tribunal which gives to its own doubts a potency equivalent to other people's certainties. Of a doubt, it is commonly said, prisoners are to have the benefit; but with an author it is enough to be suspected. Nothing can be conceived more unsatisfactory or irresponsible than a jurisdiction resting upon a mere doubt, which, from its nature, no third person can weigh or examine. Were the subject not too serious, it would be amusing to see a judge, whose habits must be exclusively professional, erect, on so slender a scaffolding, a dictatorship of the press; and, being the self-elected literary taster of the age, condemn all writings which are not accommodated to his peculiar palate, to an intermediate place between punishment and protection.

The inequality of the system is no less striking. The pirate hovers over, and selects his victim, upon a calculation combined out of the probabilities of a sale, and the possibility of stimulating these judicial doubts. Thus the Court and the Pirate play into each other's hands. Now, suppose the Government, of which the Lord Chancellor is a member, were wicked or vindictive enough to seek the ruin of an author, to insult his feelings, and stain his reputation, a pirate need only be set to work, and the equitable waste is completed. A door is at once open-

ed to all the abuses and collusions for the basest of private purposes, which have been so feelingly set out* as summing up the iniquities of the licensing act, although L'Estrange the appointed censor, himself a man of letters, was more likely to sympathize with the condition of an author. 'Some made a 'great noise in the ears of authority, saying, they are against 'the church,—against the church (at this time, with such 'usage, for aught they knew I had not money to buy bread for 'my many children); yet the same persons could print and 'sell, and connive at printing and selling the same book, line 'for line; yea, and a conscience so tender and seared, to put 'my name and sign to the same book, and sell them city and 'country over; as if their selling could take away or alter all 'the venom pretended to be in them.'

But, long before we come to experiments like this, the contingencies inseparable from this doctrine must be most alarming. What would the public think of a licenser who, requiring of authors that they should remove from his mind every doubt as to the tendency of their writings, should have given us the picture of his mind, such as the Chancellor has been pleased himself to draw it. Lord Eldon has frequently and pleasantly observed upon his propensity to doubt, as an infirmity which he cannot help,—one which years are not likely to amend; and that he believes he is more given to doubt than any person in Christendom. This, in ordinary cases of pure law or simple fact, is rather a fearful ordeal for a suitor, whose rights meantime are pending, like Mahomet's tomb at Mecca. But what is an author's situation if the materials, out of which if a doubt can but be constructed, his rights are not suspended but destroyed, are the tendency of a book? a question so complicated, that the law has at last said most distinctly, and most wisely, *no single* hand can draw the line with safety; where, from human infirmity, we must take the good and the bad, as the rough and the smooth, together, and be thankful; where the exception, and almost the literary curiosity, must be the book, in respect of which it is not possible that a doubt should be entertained! If the Legislature had resolved to repeal the Libel act, they scarcely would have enacted, that, though direct fine and imprisonment should not precede, but be made consequent upon conviction, yet, for a confiscation of the property itself (or, what is tantamount), its destruction, by throwing it back unsaleable upon your hands, it is only required that a single judge should entertain a doubt upon its propriety. Still less would such a power have been placed at the discretion of the only judge, who is a political

* Smith's Petition to Lord Arlington, 7 St. Tr. 958.

judge by his appointment (therefore a judge of mere property only), and removable with the ministers, of whom he is a part. At present, whilst the law imperatively says, 'Twelve of your 'peers must have no doubt upon your guilt,' Lord Eldon substitutes, as a rule for spoliation equivalent to forfeiture, 'It is 'enough if such a judge as we have described has a doubt 'whether you are unblameable.' But, so far from Parliament being nervous enough to meditate such a partial recurrence to the Stuart system (mere injustice and irritation without suppression), they seem not to have been aware, on the passing of a recent act * for the confiscation of writings which a jury had declared libellous, that Lord Eldon had already so adjusted the practice of his court, that the character and protection of property might be summarily denied to literature without the previous sanction of a jury.

Our objection to this new doctrine stands altogether independent of the validity of the rule as laid down and applied at common law. The public policy upon which alone that rule stands, seems to us more than questionable. But there the book at least is judged,—whereas it is prejudged here; and the rights of property are not withdrawn from it until its character is legally ascertained. We put out of the question the importance of the cases in which the court has carried the principle into practice. The most extravagant perversion of an acknowledged authority is not so dangerous as the gentle and plausible introduction of an arbitrary principle, which must rest on unlimited discretion. It is to escape from such discretion that we wisely submit to many evils,—the ridicule and drudgery of case-law,—the violation of the intention of an act of Parliament, in compliance with its language,—a preference of the strict letter and the mere form over the principle and the spirit; and surely we ought to have the full benefit of such sacrifices secured to us. To prevent—not what power will do, but what it may do, is the only substantial distinction between freedom and despotism.

We now take our leave of the subject, confident only of its importance, and of the pains which we have taken to be in the right. We have thought much and inquired much upon it, suspecting there must be some difficulty which we did not see. We have turned over book after book, convinced there must be some authority which we cannot find. Against the general doctrine, that, previous to an injunction, a clear right of action at law in the plaintiff must be shown to be in him, there is a mass of authority which is irresistible. Lord Cowper's,

* 60 Geo. 3. c. 8.

above a century ago, Lord Hardwicke's, and, we believe, that of every Chancellor in succession, as well as Lord Eldon's own. For a distinction, that although the plaintiff need not show that he has a right of action in himself, yet he must show, that the matter in dispute, of which he is in possession, is, as property, capable of supporting an action, we cannot discover even the shadow of a precedent; whereas there are many instances of injunctions having been granted by former Chancellors, which are totally irreconcileable with the possibility of such a thin and singular distinction. Upon the difficulties which embarrass the exercise of this preventive jurisdiction, and the principles on which it has been admitted into and established in our law, it really seems too clear to admit of argument, that when, by a defendant's own showing, *he* can in no case be injured by the injunction, and the public, by the very terms of his defence, must derive from it an incidental benefit, this is the very last species of doubtful right for whose protection an injunction ought to be refused. It seems quite unnecessary to set in motion the vast machinery of Parliament to cut a knot like this. The single hand that has twisted it is of itself competent to untie it. What with stamp acts and marriage acts, Parliament will make the Statute Book large enough in the revision of blunders and iniquities of its own; and we believe that Lord Eldon, should he have occasion to review his own decisions, will find no authority but that of Lord Eldon which it will be necessary to overrule.

ART. II. *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea.* By Sir WILLIAM GELL, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A. London. 1823.

FEELING, as we supposed all Britons must feel, the deepest and most anxious interest in the present momentous struggle in Greece, we hailed, with heartfelt pleasure, the promissory title, '*Present State of Greece,*' so temptingly prefixed to all the newspaper advertisements of Sir William Gell's Tour. We almost ceased to regret his expatriation at Rome, when we considered that it brought and kept him nearer to the scene of warfare, and enabled him to collect the best and latest information on the merits of the cause, and the general character of the conflict—information the more valuable, from being purchased by the adventurous traveller at the price of much toil and danger. The triumphant manner too, in which we found the work appealed to, by those few ingenious persons who consider the Turks as victims and the Greeks as oppressors, though it startled us a

little as to the candour or judgment of the author, served still farther to convince us, that his opportunities must have been such as to give no common authority to his views of the objects and intentions of the belligerent parties; and we no longer hesitated about paying fifteen shillings for a work which was to place this important subject in so clear a point of view. Our readers may judge, therefore, how great was our surprise, and how great our regret for our fifteen irrevocable shillings, when we found, not from the title-page, where the usual mention of a date had been sagaciously omitted, but incidentally, and from the work itself, that the Tour thus announced as describing 'the Present State of Greece,' was performed in 1804—just nineteen years ago!!

It is but justice, however, to Sir William, to insert his apology for this most tradesmen-like manœuvre. 'I, therefore, 'assisted by my notes of more recent events,' (of which, however, we cannot discover the slightest trace in the book), 'put 'together this narrative of a journey performed *some*' (that is, *nineteen!*) 'years ago; which is consequently *merely* capable of 'affording amusement for the moment, *but*, at the same time, 'may serve to give an idea of the *present* state of a society 'where *few!* changes have taken place, and certainly not many 'improvements.'

Without stopping to inquire how a book is *merely* capable of doing one thing, but, *at the same time*, able to do another, we must just name some of the few changes which have taken place between the making and the publishing of this famous Tour. Greece *was* then torpid in slavery, and she *is* now roused into fury; her oppressors *were* then unresisted, and they now *are* either fighting or flying. In a word, she *was* enslaved, and she *is* free. Whether these things are improvements or not, we will not presume to determine. But were Sir William to revisit Greece *now*, as his '*Present State*' made us foolishly imagine he had done, we think he would find it somewhat altered, and would sadly miss the patronage of his 'friend Mustapha,' and the comforts which Turkish protection ensured to any Englishman who happened not to be of opinion that 'he who permits oppression shares the crime.' One very obvious remark, however, goes far to disable the judgment of the learned knight even as to the former condition of the country. The Greeks, to be judged of fairly, should be seen *in their islands*, where they have been comparatively unmolested by their savage oppressors. It is among the Andrians, the Samians, the Psarots, the Tiniotes, and the Hydriotes, the Niotes, the Spezgians, the Pathmiotes, that Grecian industry, enterprise and intellect, ought to be sought for.

Now, to all these tribes, Sir William does not even allude, with the exception of a summary condemnation of the Hydriotes, in page 402, because their ancestors came from Albania!

Thinking, therefore, that this 'narrative of a journey performed *some* 'years ago,' will *not* 'serve to give an idea of the pre-'sent state of society' in these regions, we have only to leave Sir William the satisfaction of believing it 'capable of affording 'amusement for the moment.' Four hundred octavo pages of the facetious sayings, which formed the joint travelling stock of Mustapha, Gell, Demetri & Co. (for, where the speakers are not named, it is difficult to apportion each *mot* to the rightful owner), the affecting captivity of Mr F. (that despised 'Mon-'sieur Co.' of the party), who is described, in eighteen pages, 223–240, to have been, while botanizing, forcibly detained by some peasants during six long hours, and some cheap, but rather pretty lithographical drawings, may or may not be worth fifteen shillings of an advanced currency. But, though

'the moving accidents by field or flood,'

of this journey, would scarcely encourage us to attempt any summary of them, we must say, that if we could consider it as merely an attempt to amuse, we should be pleased at seeing so vigorous a caricature of that morbid egotism which impels many a Mr Smith or Jones to print, puff, and protrude into public, all the common and idle things that may have been said or done by himself and his oriental Tom or Dick of a servant, during several months of some given year. But the work, we are afraid, is substantially intended for less innocent purposes, and is evidently sent forth as a torpedo, to paralyze all sympathy with suffering, and all admiration for heroism. Nor can the feebleness of the execution, considered in this point of view, entitle us altogether to neglect or despise it. When Cook fell at Owhyee, his friends were not consoled by reflecting that the assassin was a savage, and the poisoned shaft but a bulrush: and it is the venom, not the weight or point of the bolt which is here shot against the spirit of Liberty, which makes us wish to extract it.

The Greek cause is interesting, not merely as the cause of Greece, but as the cause of Freedom and Christianity; and it is on account of his strange apathy on both these subjects, that we are reluctant to admit this witness's evidence. Indeed, the only interest which the publication possesses, arises from the singularity of an Englishman avowing and glorying in a bitter hatred of freedom. The real crime of the Greeks in the eyes of Sir William, is their having thirsted, and fought, and fallen, for liberty. This is so prominent a feature on the

face of the work, that at first we could not but suspect the name of Sir William Gell had been impudently affixed to it, from his known connexion with Greece, and his inability instantly to disown, what every reader must feel thankful was not written by a friend of his own. Although aware how completely a renunciation of England may estrange a once English heart, we did not believe that there existed an Englishman so thoroughly disabused of all his country's prejudices, as deliberately to *put his name* to such passages as some which we most reluctantly quote, in order to substantiate our otherwise incredible charge. Take, for example, the following pithy and prophetic announcement.

Page 168. 'Perhaps the period is fast approaching, when 'the *upper ranks of all* climates would rather be rid of *the trouble*- 'some *honour of a share in the government. I should be as sorry to* 'live *in the South* with a constitution, as in the North without 'one.' If the genius of Montesquieu was unable to throw even a veil of plausibility over this silly paradox about freedom being determined by latitude, and nations being necessarily enslaved at the 45th, and necessarily free at the 46th degree, certainly this pompous second-hand denunciation will not tend to embellish it. Again,

'The *worst* tyranny of the *worst* emperor never occasioned *half* the effusion of blood that one year's republicanism cost in the days of Marius and Sylla.'*—'It has often been said that liberty of conscience was nowhere to be enjoyed in such perfection as at Rome and Constantinople.'

The following, however, is more elaborate and logical.

'It might admit of a doubt, whether those, who nominally enjoy the greatest share of liberty, are, in the every-day occurrences of life, half so free as those who are supposed to be the victims of despotism. Whether, for instance, the annual spoliation of a pasha or two, who assuredly deserve it, is half so great a public nuisance, as that sort of pretended liberty which is the boast of Geneva, where every member of the community acts as a jealous spy on his neighbour; watches him out of the town; closes the gates upon him if he is a minute too late; prohibits his theatre; renders his holidays days of *sorrow and restriction!* interferes, in some way or other, with almost every action of his life; and when, at length, *worn out* with frivolous vexations, he would *fly the country*, informs the *victim* of liberty that no horses are allowed on that day.'

* Too close attention to his Grecian studies has probably prevented Sir William from ever having heard of the ten general persecutions of Christians under Nero, A. D. 31; Domitian 95, Trajan 100. Antoninus Severus 197; Maximinus 235; Decius 250; Valerian 257; Aurelian 274; Dioclesian 303; all under systems of 'long and undisputed dominion,' as Sir William calls tyranny.

In spite of the terrific eloquence with which Sir William here describes such appalling calamities, as waiting for post-horses until church is over, or paying a slight fine at a gate, for dawdling or dancing beyond twelve o'clock, we confess we are not yet convinced, that the Greeks are less oppressed by the Turks, than the Genevese are by—themselves. The almost collegiate discipline of Geneva may be ill-judged and needless austerity; but till we say of young ladies or gentlemen, who chuse to wear very tight stays, that they are *tyrannized* over by whalebone, little compassion will be excited for the poor Genevese, who are thus suffering from restrictions, which half the young men of Europe are now crowding, on horse or on foot, to enjoy.

Calling the great maze of oppression in which the operations of Turkish *mis*government are involved, 'the annual spolia-'tion of a pasha or two, who assuredly deserved it,' can hardly be called sophistry, since that implies something ingenious and plausible; but it is a woful failure in an attempt to reason. The Greeks do not complain of the sponge being ultimately squeezed, but of its having previously absorbed the life-blood of their country; and, however bewildered Sir William may feel, when he aspires to political reasoning, he *cannot* believe that a pasha's being eventually stripped of his wealth by the sultan, at all betters the condition of the peasants whom he had previously plundered. Nothing but the ocular demonstration of the page before us, could persuade us that there existed a man, evidently able both to read and to write, and yet unable to comprehend, that the more these sponges are squeezed, the more will a country be drained to replenish them.

The following designation of those patriots who have been crushed or cowed in Piedmont and Naples, but who, we trust, will yet triumph in Spain, will be read *at this period* with unmixed admiration. *Anglus atque Eques loquitur.*

'——those turbulent spirits, who, in countries, where a 'comparison might be made of the means with the proposed 'results, would bring destruction on their fellows by *a mad as-'sertion of worthless rights!*'

An eulogium, in a similar strain, upon the policy of Prince Metternich and the Sovereigns over whom he is viceroy, will, we doubt not, find an echo in every English heart!

'That *compassion* which the political rulers of our times 'have thought fit to *withhold* from those, who, with very slen-'der prospects of any substitute but anarchy, have, in other 'countries, awakened the jealousy of old rotten despotisms, at 'the moment when the *prerogative* of *serious oppression* was, by 'long disuse, just slumbering into inaction.' Now, under

what circumstances was this portentous oracle delivered! By one gigantic and guilty act of diplomacy, Belgium had been arbitrarily given to Holland,—Saxony had been deliberately severed in two,—Genoa had been presented as a thing to be preyed on, to her most inveterate foe,—Norway had been starved BY US into surrender, and ultimately paid for with *Lunenburg!* The mangled carcass of Venice had been secured to the Austrian vulture; and the Poles, defrauded of their promised freedom, had felt that injury may be imbittered by insult, when they saw the kingdom of Poland, that awful name which still breathes of Vienna rescued, and Christendom saved, prostituted to the dutchy of Warsaw. Constitutional governments, which had been every where promised in the hour of need, had every where been refused or eluded in what should have been the hour of gratitude. It is at such a crisis, and with these things before his face, that Sir William is pleased to tell us, that 'the prerogative of serious oppression was just slumbering into inaction!' and he writes these words just after the Piedmontese and Neapolitans had been *severely chastised* by the very Northern Barbarians, whom they had vainly endeavoured to propitiate by an apology for most inoffensively reforming their government, and when he must himself have been an eye-witness to this new violation of long and much-injured Italy, and while the chastisement reserved for a similar crime was just bursting over devoted Spain.

After giving us, in page 256, a little wood-cut of a village on the top of a mountain, Sir William takes occasion to talk sneeringly of 'those inconveniences to which people will submit for 'the sake of *calling themselves free.*' In page 269, he speaks of 'the *very trifling* difference which may exist between the hard 'blows which seem alike inseparable from Greek *freedom* and 'Mahometan *servitude.*' In page 271, he says, 'As we re-'tired to our room, we agreed that we should prefer *any* des-'potism, *however cruel*, to the *freedom* of the Greeks of Maina.' As to 'the pains and deprivations of the mountain tops,' and 'the luxury and plenty of the plain,' it needed not one from the dead to tell us, that unresisted slavery *is* a more *tranquil* state of existence than dearly bought liberty. The Chiaja, calmed down by Austrian sentinels, is a much less *noisy* scene than the hustings of Covent Garden; but we doubt whether Sir William will so far succeed in writing *down* freedom in England, as to make the electors wish for an Austrian high-sheriff of Westminster.

Speaking of the benefit which the Greeks might derive from Russia, Sir William starts, in page 306, an idea, which, in this

country, will at least have the merit of novelty; and proposes 'exercising upon them, for a whole generation, the most despotic and coercive measures, and *making them happy by force.*'

But we will proceed no further in the task of extracting Sir William Gell's *mots* upon freedom, ludicrous as they would be, if he were not an Englishman—at once ludicrous and lamentable, considering that he is. Our object in referring to them was merely to show, that he is not an admissible witness on any question connected with political liberty—and what we have already cited must be enough, we think, to settle that question. It only remains to inquire, how far he is qualified to pronounce upon the merits of this cause, considered as *the cause of Christianity.* His principal objection to all resistance against Mahometanism, is thus emphatically stated in page 297. 'The revival of ancient animosity would put off, to a still greater distance, *the gradual assimilation of the two religions, which, by means of the increased communication with Franks, not Greeks, was, to all appearance, rapidly taking place.*'

We really do not know very well what this means. Does Sir William mean that the Mahometans are to turn Christians, or that we Christians are all to turn Turks? The universal introduction of bazaars into the West, without a return of courtesy by adopting the Christian institution of operas in the East, seems to favour the last supposition; and perhaps that capital caricature 'the Genius of Bazaars,' was a polemical attempt of Sir William's to check this spreading plague of apostasy. Were not the pages and the pictures before us a sufficient proof that he is a better draughtsman than reasoner, the mere success of that caricature ought to induce him to wield, henceforth, the pencil rather than the pen. Doubts, however, arise as to the certainty of the Turkish and Christian faiths amalgamating, merely by the Turks being left to themselves, from Sir William's declaration in page 118, 'That much might be done towards the removal of the differences, which may exist between Turks and Christians, by missions conducted by the least ostentatious of our numerous sectaries,' (*i. e.* the Unitarians, as most likely to meet the followers of the Prophet half-way, and compromise the matter over a cup of hot moka), 'if such conciliation were desirable;' a hint which, coupled with the preceding statement, seems plainly to imply, that the best arrangement of all would be *our* turning Sunnites or Shutes; and almost amounts to a retraction of the good word which he was formerly pleased to give his native faith.

Next to Sir William's general indifference to freedom and

Christianity, the strongest objection, in our eyes, to his evidence, is the exceeding bitterness on the most trifling occasions, the vehement abuse of the most venial offenders against him, the puerile sensibility to the slightest annoyance or inconvenience, by which, we should say, his narrative was really *disfigured*; if we did not remember a remark made on a plain man pelted with eggs, that any change must be an improvement. We never read a tour in Greece, in which less was encountered or undergone, and fewer injuries offered or even intended; yet there is a constant tone of severity on the Greeks in particular, and on human nature in general, which is ludicrous where it is not odious.

Four entire pages for instance (243, &c.) are occupied in anathematizing the Continental practice of asking one price and taking another. 'Almost the first sentence a stranger learns 'in Greece, is, "ti time eche?" what honour hath it? for hon-'our and price are the same things (thing) in the language.' With equal justice might Sir William argue from *our* phrase, 'what may its *worth* be?' that worth and money are in England synonymous. 'It would easily be imagined, if it had not been 'already proved in more than one instance, that a whole gene-'ration must pass away, and the state of society be entirely 'changed, before any thing in the shape of commerce, or any 'internal traffic beyond the absolute necessities (necessaries) of 'life, could exist among a people thus educated, if placed by a 'sudden convulsion all at once under a liberal government.' The best answer to this is the fact, that the Greek merchants whom expatriation has placed under a liberal government, are distinguished in Russia, in Italy, and in Germany—at Odessa, Leghorn, Ancona, Venice, Trieste, Vienna, or Leipsick, for commercial success, which always implies the existence of that enlightened self-interest, which is called mercantile honesty.

Sir William, however, thus briefly suggests a remedy for the higgling by which the belligerent buyer and seller contrive at length to agree; 'it would be easy to inflict a punishment on those who 'asked one price, and afterwards accepted a smaller.' And the punishment actually proposed is, to tie up to the halberts every old apple-woman who should be convicted of asking five sous, and then taking four! a fit pendant to that article of the theatrical code, in the Rejected Addresses, which decrees, that 'Gentlemen who cough are to be but slightly wounded.' Of course, the scale of punishment is to increase with that of guilt; 'and could the House of Commons profit by those statesman-like 'views, which now waste their sweetness on the Roman air,' we might be blessed with a bill for appointing commissioners to

watch all transfers of property, and *hang* all members of 'the suffering agricultural interest,' who might be convicted of selling or letting their farms for less than they had formerly asked.

The arguments by which Sir William supports his felicitous paradox, that, in the present struggle, the Turkish Government is the injured party, are quite satisfactory—to the well-wishers of Greece. As early as page 55, he thus begins his campaign against Greece, and his insidious warfare of surmises and hints. Of his host the Archon Ciconomopoulos (or as he, in proof of his learning, calls him, Conomopoli), he says—'*It is pro-*'*bable* that, in the present convulsion, he has fallen a sacrifice 'to one party or the other, as possessed of riches, or suspected 'of temporizing;' thus insinuating, without a shadow of proof, that the Greeks are in the habit of *massacring* those of their countrymen whom they suspect of either wealth or timidity: and then he follows up this *surmise* by a *statement*:—'The Se-'nate of Modon is said to have made war upon that of Corone, 'under the new government; yet the former cannot well con-'sist of more than thirty paupers.' Now, it happens that *Modon and Corone are still in the hands of the Turks*, and therefore can have hardly talked about their *Greek* 'senates:' And as to the very witty expression, the 'thirty paupers,' and many other jokes of the same water, scattered throughout the book, we believe it to be very true that the Moriotes *must plead guilty* to the charge of being both few and poor. The inhabitants of the Morea had been thinned and beggared, even before the revolt of 1770; but, in that year, these Grecian crimes were aggravated by two-fifths of them being massacred by those Albanian blood-hounds, whom the Porte, in *consideration* of an amnesty sworn on the Koran, and guaranteed by the Russians, naturally turned into the country, with general orders to enslave, murder, and burn.

Sir William elsewhere charges Calamata with having called itself a Republic. This too, we fear, is a charge which cannot be denied: and we really wonder the Calamatans were not warned by the contempt with which history has branded the little town of Platæa, which aggravated a similar arrogance, by presuming to take a chief part in the defeat of Mardonius and his 300,000 Persians, subjects too of that most mighty and unassuming of monarchs, who called *empires* by the tasty term of the Queen-mother's Girdle or Shoe. Men, it is true, had hitherto fondly imagined that, when they read of the Greeks repulsing Darius, or the Swiss resisting Albert of Austria, it was the very dwarfishness of the mountain tribes, who

thus defied their gigantic invaders, which won our admiration and love. Since the Avatar of Sir William Gell, the apostle of 'coersive measures, and happiness inflicted by force,' the Englishman who feels himself *growing puerile* on the field of Morgarten, need but walk on to Brunnen, where, three days after their battle, these most arrogant Waldstadts, by the federation of 1315, erected their fifty-eight German square miles of rock into the three sovereign republics of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden; or enter the diminutive Altorf, and view with due contempt its four gendarmes, the standing army of Uri, and its Landamman 'still passing rich on *thirty* pounds a year,' half the salary of Mr Henry Wynn's butler. It is also not to be contested, that though the offence which Greece has committed, in becoming poorer since the days of her freedom, may be partly owing to the Turks, that of not having grown any bigger must be laid entirely at her own door.

In page 69, on occasion of Delli Georgio, a Gogia Bashi of Calavrita, saying to a Greek whom he saw eating flesh-meat on a fast-day, 'You are a Greek—you know or believe it to be 'wrong; therefore you must be a scoundrel as well as an apos-'tate;' and afterwards 'making no scruple of telling me, that, 'if they were not kept to their old superstitions, there would 'be great danger of their breaking through every other re-'straint'—(a principle in which originates much of the austerity of the Roman Catholic as well as the Greek Church, and which, doubtless, influenced our own Reformers in retaining many of the Romish fasts)—Sir William *appositely* observes, 'I know not how far the imagination of the advocates *for what* 'is called the emancipation of the Greeks, may carry them; 'but, *should it happen* that my friend Delli George *should* find 'it convenient for the moment to massacre his Turkish neigh-'bours, which, *I believe*, he has lately done, is it to such a pa-'triot they look for the establishment of laws and constitu-'tions?' Why Delli George should be pronounced an assassin for a remark which any enlightened Roman Catholic magistrate might, with the same misplaced confidence in his guest and hearer, have made, we cannot imagine. After calling Delli George a fair example of the Cogia Bashis in general, he adds, 'those who might be an exception, of course, must exist;' but expunges, with instantaneous remorse, this faint tinge of liberality, by adding, that '*no* Greek *ever* speaks well of *any* per-'son not present.'

We begin to be tired of this culling of simples:—but we must add a word or two on the closing sentence of the 102d page, because several newspaper editors, with rather better heads than

Sir William's, have unaccountably adopted the fancies it contains. 'That these *wretched bigots* may have no pretence for 'thinking themselves better than the rest of the world, on the 'strength of the ancient superiority of the Greeks, or their il-'lustrious ancestry, it is only necessary to state, that not one 'in fifty has the slightest claim to be considered as descended 'from the ancient stock of the Greeks.' Now, certainly, no one but a schoolboy in his first childhood, or a schoolmaster in his second, ever rested the claims of the Greeks on their being sprung from their ancestors. The glories of ancient Greece can indeed throw but a feebly reflected beam on the present dwellers of the land; and were they to become all that their fathers were, the torch which shone so brightly amidst surrounding darkness, would be now lost in the glare of universal civilization. But, though 'the illustrious ancestry' of the Greeks might not give them any great claim on our benevolence, it is impossible to doubt that it has always been felt as an aggravation of their sufferings; and no traveller, who has ever touched their soil, will deny, that the memory of what their fathers had been was an additional drop of bitterness in the cup of affliction. It is on this ground, that Sir William's severe edict against their calling those great men their ancestors, deserves examination.

The Romans are allowed to rank as the descendants of the men who expelled Tarquin, destroyed Carthage, and conquered and civilized all that was then known of the world; yet not only are they more degenerated than the Greeks from such ancestors, but a view of the history of the two nations would show, that there are fewer Romans than Greeks of a pure lineal descent. The recorded admixture of the northern swarms with the Italian race, does not, however, prevent the remembered glory of Italy, from rising, like a spectre, to the mental vision of those who mourn over her wrongs. It is but poor comfort to the oppressed Milanese to be told, that some of *their* ancestors came a thousand years since from the same Hungarian morass which now pours forth their oppressors. Nor will the Duke of Angoulême be able to disarm the Gallicians by telling them, that the Suevi once inhabited France,—or induce Cadiz to clasp a French fleet to her bosom, because the Alans quitted Guienne for Andalusia. Do Mina's Catalans hate Moncey's Conscripts the less, because the throne of the Visigoths was once fixed at Narbonne? There is not a Guerilla now watching for his prey, whose ancestors may not have inhabited France; but is he therefore the less a Spaniard? Are *we* not Englishmen, and do we hesitate to call Alfred, and even Caractacus or Galgacus, our countrymen,

because Romans, Danes, Saxons and Normans, have successively taken root in our soil?

By such reasoning as Sir William applies to the Greeks, every nation in Europe might be proved to be—not itself; but it is as absurd to trace nations through the ocean of time, as to aim at identifying the waves that we see now distinct and conflicting, now confounded and lost in the abyss. This quibble of proving the Greeks to be no Greeks, is as worthy of Sir William as it is unworthy of the reviews and newspapers which have taken it up.

Pages 149, 50, 51, and 52, are occupied by a story, which is among the most unaccountable parts of this strange publication—being the strongest printed instance of sincerity, or voluntary confession, we remember to have met with. Having persuaded a Greek physician of Philiatra to travel with him as dragoman, and having carried him as far as Karitena, he says—'As I was not in want of interpretation, and my companion' (the Mr F. over whom Sir William so carefully hints his intellectual superiority) 'was not in the habit of asking questions, we were reduced the next day to explain to my friend's *servant*, a Spaniard by birth, the perplexed situation in which we were placed. He immediately conceived a plan for producing the desired result, and said he would contrive that the Doctor should come himself, and ask permission to retire. In a short time he returned with the assurance that all was settled,—that he had *pretended to have overheard a* conversation, in which we had complained of the great expense of employing a man of his merit; that he was certain we should not like to retain the Doctor much longer, to whom he *was sure we should give a handsome present on his departure*; that he had therefore betrayed our conversation, that the dragoman might himself propose to withdraw, which would have a more dignified appearance.'—'The doctor fell readily into the *snare*;' - - 'and having (*i. e.* as we had) his whole month's pay ready, which amounted to twenty sequins, he was in an instant put in possession of it, and went out,' &c. *without one farthing of his promised present!* and, after being taken from a lucrative profession, which does not bear chasms to be made in its exercise, having to retrace his steps, at his own expense, in violation of the established custom with respect to the meanest courier.

We shall make no remarks on this feat, as thus narrated by the performer. Every reader will judge, or rather *feel*, for himself. We shall only say, that we cannot but think few people would have been tempted to record such an anecdote in print, even for the glory of having drawn the accompanying caricature of the Greek doctor, who was thus diddled by the English gentlemen, and their Spanish servant.

The injury which rankles most in his breast, is, his hosts

having generally presumed to give him their company. Yet, of the only person, a Greek gentleman at Argos, who did not thus intrude, he says, at the top of page 396, 'Our host, Blasopoulo, either *through contempt or neglect*, gave us no disturbance; and his female relations regarded (looked at) us, with wonder and horror, from a high latticed balcony, when we went to see the palace. They did not, however, on that account, scruple to pester me with letters, when I had quitted Argos, proving clearly, as they thought, that I ought to *pester* the ambassador to confer some signal mark of his esteem on the archon Blasopoulo, and to protect him in some affair of smuggling corn, in which he was engaged.' Most travellers, we should think, would be pleased with an opportunity of requiting kindness, shown in the shape of food, protection and shelter, which cannot be always paid for at the moment. But why must Sir William allow Blasopoulo and his female relatives only the alternative of contempt or neglect, for showing that delicacy, the absence of which, in other houses, had been his constant theme for invective? In page 203, 'Our host, 'the Archon Zane,' whose hospitality, even after the lapse of nineteen years, Sir William continues bitterly to resent, is accused of 'contriving another *plot*,' (the first having been treating him to 'a concert of drums and hautboys'), after they had a-'voided the *torment* of *children*,'—and is called an 'old wretch,' for providing them, as an attendant, 'a Turk with a red turban, a finely embroidered blue and gold jacket,' &c. &c. Sir William alludes, in page 308, with equal good taste and good humour, to that respect for old age, of which it must be allowed the Greeks are preeminently guilty. 'This most *awkward* 'veneration for hoary locks yet exists as in the history of an-'cient Sparta.'—'A Greek boat has always some old, obsti-'nate, and ignorant monster on board, whose only merit con-'sists in being unwilling to learn more than his grandfather 'knew before him.' Nothing certainly can be more elegantly facetious than this ridicule of all tenderness towards age, or deference for experience; and we feel quite ashamed at being unable to detect in ourselves any rancour against a certain Baba Giorgi, whose awkwardness would have drowned us, if we had not run our boat ashore in the Morea. *Our* monster, however, would perhaps have found favour with Sir William, because his constant answer to all recommendations of resistance was—'Il non si puo cacciare il Turco'—an opinion in which Sir William seems to have been equally positive—though happily the Greeks have not found the impossibility so absolute.

Without exacting from Sir William any excessive deference for Christianity, because he happens to be a Christian himself, we

cannot speak with too much reprobation of the unfair and illiberal method in which he pursues his object of aggravating the faults of the Christians, and extenuating those of the Mussulmans. He says, for example, in page 299, 'The Mahometan religion 'has suffered every species of degradation, from the time of the 'Caliphs to the present day; but as to the ceremonies with 'which the Santons and Dervishes have loaded it, the better 'part of the Turks themselves speak of them and their authors 'with aversion, and of the latter with disgust.' Why did he not say the same thing, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Caloyers and Papas? Our own experience would lead us to say, that the travelled, that is, the educated young men of Greece, have generally *too little* religion. In some of the points which distinguish the Greek and Roman Catholic churches, the advantage appears to a Protestant to incline to the former. The marriage of the secular, and the celibacy of the regular clergy, is a more rational arrangement than the compulsory celibacy of both. The prohibition of a second marriage, and the injunction on the widower to become a monk, create a body of men, not alien, yet weaned from the world, out of whom the functionaries of the hierarchy are advantageously chosen. The worship of pictures is not *more* absurd than that of images. The numerous fasts of the Greek Church may be superfluous, but form no bad discipline for both body and mind, while its frequent holidays did less harm than might have been imagined, in a country where the labour of comparatively few days sufficed to procure food and clothing for the whole year, and where any further acquisition would have been only seized by the Turks. The numerous monasteries too, in Greece, were of the greatest service, by the protection which such associations, recognised, and even respected by the Government, afforded to the previously oppressed individuals of whom they were formed; and no one who has ever perused tours in the East, will attribute idleness, the cardinal disease of most monastic foundations, to the Grecian Caloyers.

Next to this attempt to prove that the Greeks, who are now fighting in *a religious war*, who suffer only because they *choose* to worship their Saviour, and among whom so many *martyrs* who have lately met death, and formerly endured βιον ἀβιαστον from devotion to Christ, are *not* Christians, Sir William's most amusing absurdity is the attempt to prove, that the Turks *are* all but Christians, if not something better. 'The Mussulman of the 'country,' says he, 'is a pure Deist, totally unacquainted with 'all the motives of religious persecution;' and the Lalliotes and Barduniotes, 'having no belief except in one God, regard-

'ed in pity, but not in anger, the Greek Christians.' We do not wonder that the facetious Knight, who so warmly enters into the pity which a Deist must feel for a Christian, is 'in high force' whenever he has occasion to speak of the Societies for dispersing the Scriptures. We may sum up the subject with the following anathemas of this great theologian. 'The Greek 'church is infinitely more estranged from the precepts of the 'Gospel than the Koran itself.'—'Wo be to him, who should 'attempt to preach the Gospel in the country where Greeks 'shall rule uncontrolled.'—'Assuredly no species of Paganism 'would inspire them with such hatred, as a *slight difference* in 'the *most* trival opinion.' Christianity might have appeared in a much better shape, than one which has lost all the elegance of its precursor (Paganism) p. 19. It would be easier 'to 'convert the *whole interior of Africa* to the true faith, than *one* 'single Greek to the religion of the New Testament,' &c. &c.

To these insolent and intolerant denunciations, we beg leave, in the first place, to oppose the following passage from Bishop Watson.

'I scruple not giving the name of Christian churches to as-'semblies of men uniting together for public worship, though 'they may differ from each other in doctrine and in discipline, 'whilst they all agree in the fundamental principle of the 'Christian religion, that Jesus is the Christ, the Saviour of the 'world. In this *the Greek*, the Latin, and all the Reformed 'Churches, have one and the same faith.' After stating the other points in which they agree, and observing, in opposition to his brother theologian Sir William, that 'abuse of any sect 'of Christians is judging another man's servant—is assuming 'dominion over another man's faith—is having too high an 'opinion of our own wisdom—is presuming that we are ren-'dering God service, when it may be that we are merely *sup-'porting our own prejudices, flattering our own self-sufficien-'cy,*' &c. this liberal and learned divine thus completes his description of the Greek Church. 'The Russian Greek 'Church does not use in its public service what is common-'ly called the *Apostle's Creed*, nor what is improperly called '*the Athanasian Creed*, but simply that which we use in our 'communion service, which is usually denominated the *Nicene* '*Creed.*'—'I do not presume to blame the Russian Church 'for the exclusive use of the Nicene Creed in its public ser-'vice,'—'nor do I blame it for differing from the Romish 'Church in one article of ths Creed, respecting the Holy 'Ghost.'

'The Russian Church differs from the Romish Church, in

'not acknowledging a Purgatory; in not denying the sacramental cup to the laity; in allowing their priests to marry; in explaining transubstantiation in a mystical manner; in not invocating saints and the Virgin Mary as mediators; acknowledging Jesus Christ as the only mediator; and in many other points. *In those, and in other particulars, the Greek Church seems to have a leaning to the principles of Protestantism, rather than of Popery.*' The whole Letter, in Bishop Watson's Life (pp. 412, &c.), is worth consulting; and we have found its good sense and sound information most refreshing, after the poor invectives of our Tourist.

In the *next* place, we would beg leave to quote the two first articles of the Constitution, sworn to at Corinth on the 1st of January 1822, which are as follows:—1*st*, 'The established religion of Greece is that of the orthodox Church of the East; but *all* other forms of worship are tolerated, and all their ceremonies and religious observances may be followed without the slightest hinderance.' 2*d*, 'Christians of every persuasion, whether natives or residents in Greece, are by law Greeks, and enjoy equally all the privileges of Greek citizens.'

Such were the two first laws decreed by 'these wretched bigots;' and decreed not only without one dissentient voice, but by acclamation, and with enthusiasm, in which ecclesiastics joined. They did not debate about *toleration*, or *indulgence* towards a man's pious adherence to the faith of his fathers; but they unhesitatingly established, as the basis of their political system, the perfect equality of all forms of Christianity. These two articles appeared in Raffenel's History of the Greek Revolution, published in 1822. Sir William's 'Present State' rose in all the splendour of information and argument in 1823. He may or may not have issued his bull—or rather, as we ought to say of so true a believer, his *fetfah*, against Grecian intolerance, after reading these articles. He has the choice of writing dogmatically, without acquiring the most easily attainable knowledge, or of urging a charge which the articles in question disprove. In either case, we may apply to his evidence his own witty words, '*Ti time eche?*'

For the Peloponnesian patriots, they *have* a pretence 'for thinking themselves better than the rest of the world;' for they have shown that perfection of religious liberality, which neither the reformers of Naples, nor of Spain, nor of Portugal, have hitherto displayed. Gloriously has Greece atoned for those ancient enmities between the Greeks and Latins of the Ægean, on which Sir William so complacently dwells, but which had long

ceased before that act was repealed, which authorized every renegado in Ireland to pay himself the wages of apostasy out of the plunder of his Catholic parent.

On the glorious feats of the ancient Greeks, and the liberal institutions of their descendants, we find, in p. 303, two sentences, which we extract, the first for its wit, the second for its accuracy. 'The only circumstances they seem to have forgotten, are the lighting the Piræan road with gas lamps, the name of the Prima Donna of the Opera at Thebes, and the notification of the reward offered by the Amphictyons for the discovery of the longitude!

'Of all the hard pills to be swallowed, the Bible Society of Athens, the Smyrna Gazette, and, what one would have thought sufficient to have damned the whole string of *fabrications*, "the Athenian Society of Philomusæ, which was instituted by the Vienna Congress in 1815," are the most difficult of digestion.' Now, this 'damning' fabrication is a mere verbal inaccuracy; the substance of it is true. The Society of the *Philomusæ* was founded, for merely literary objects, in 1811, by Lord Guilford, who has emulated the venerable Coray in unostentatiously labouring, and with equal judgment and patience, to ameliorate the condition of Greece; but *the Society of Mount Pelion was founded at the Congress of Vienna* in 1815, for the political object of delivering the Greeks, and dispossessing the Turks. It reckoned among its subscribers the Emperors Francis and Alexander, as well as Lord and Lady Londonderry; and its indiscretion unfortunately accelerated the premature explosion of the Greek Revolution. The Philomusæ Society was a sort of club or academy; and the exclusion of Mahometans, which Sir William calls 'wicked,' and which he chastised by withdrawing his own name, was a fair exercise of inoffensive *club* law, against men who were in the daily habit of insulting and oppressing the members. This great sceptic, however, admits that 'there really was a large school on the mainland, east of Scio, which, like the German colleges, being the first to rebel, was the first to be *extinguished*.' *Scio* and *extinguishing* have, when coupled, a most ominous sound; we trust *the German Colleges* will never make up the trio. The Smyrna Gazette may allude either to the 'Spectateur Oriental,' a paper still published at Smyrna, but hostile to the Greek cause, or to the 'Hellenic Trumpet,' a paper printed in the Morea, with types which had been saved from the ruins of Scio, abandoned after the destruction of those types by the Turks, and which we hope the Romaic letter-press, which the Greek Committee has purchased for exporta-

tion, will enable the Greeks to resume. A Bible Society *did* exist at Athens.

Sir William, of course, speaks triumphantly of the ferocity shown by the Greeks at Tripolitza. It is a scene to be shuddered at and deplored—and by none more than by the Greeks themselves, whose dawning freedom it clouded with infamy. But it was surpassed in horror by the carnage of Santa Fe di Bogota, and other scenes in South America, which have not desecrated her holy cause: and it was provoked by the horrors with which a Turkish army had just marked its road from Epirus to Tripolitza, by the recent murder of the Greek hostages, and by the perfidy of the Turkish garrison of Monemvasia, which had violated a sacred convention, and was then inflicting the most horrid cruelties on the nation which had just spared their lives. From the moment that anarchy was succeeded among the Greeks by the influence of Mavrocordato, they have not had to blush for a single act of needless ferocity; and they may boast of many of mercy. The destruction of Scio, and the other massacres perpetrated by the Grand Seignor, were official and deliberate measures; the cruelties of the Greeks were the excesses of the ruffians who pollute every army, and disgrace every cause—chastised *then*, and repressed ever since.

We are compelled to pass as severe a censure upon Sir William's speculations on the future lot of the Greeks, as we have on all his feelings and sayings about religion and liberty. His nearest approach to consistent reasoning, is an attempt to smooth the way for Russia's taking possession of Greece. According to him, not only the enslaved Greeks, but even the free mountaineers, would gain by being unconditionally handed over to Russia. In page 295, he tell us, that the Greeks of Maina 'would however receive more benefit than the rest by any 'change which might take place;' for this English gentleman's eleutherophobia makes him suppose that Russian despotism must be still further endeared by coming after freedom, rather than after Turkish tyranny; and he adds, 'I know of no lot 'which must be so desirable to any Mainote of common sense, 'if such exist, as that of being suddenly placed under the do-'minion of Russia.' The joy of a free mountaineer who finds himself suddenly placed under the dominion of a despot, would, we doubt not, amount to mental intoxication; but, unfortunately, men who are in the habit of braving death in defence of their liberty, are apt to be sadly destitute of the 'common sense' of this archpolitician.

Ludicrous, however, as this dull dogmatism must appear, Greece, we fear, has been materially injured by the belief,

that in escaping from the talons of Turkey, she would fall into the open arms of Russia. From the dreadful struggle of the last two years, this blessing at least has resulted—The Greeks have at length learned, *not* to feel *doubts* about Russia, for these they must have always felt, but to *know* her national policy to be false and unprincipled. She will not be *a fourth time* duped and deserted; and even so able a jurist as Sir William Gell, will fail to write her into submission to Russia. It is no small delight, indeed, to the lovers of Truth, Freedom, and England, those sacred names which should never be disunited, to see that the Northern Giant has, by mere dint of too much finesse, suffered his once willing prey to slip through his hands; and that the entail, which seemed to have secured him Turkey, has been cut off by the Grecian recovery.

We really cannot envy Sir W. G. this publication; and even his dull folio on Ithaca was better than this *rechauffé* of odious opinions, and predictions already falsified by the event. Though he has kept his piece more than double the period recommended in the Horatian precept, we can see no trace of the mellowing effects of time and experience. The sole effect of the nineteen years that have elapsed since the work was written, seems to have been to refute his political theories; for we cannot find in the book any symptoms of their having softened the momentary peevishness excited by a rainy day, or a dawdling guide, or sobered down the exaggerations of predetermined hostility. A few days at least out of that long period might have been profitably employed in compressing his wordy tautological narrative, and clothing his charitable conceptions in simple and decent English.

Bound as we are to warn 'the reading public' against all hawkers of spurious commodities, we really cannot recommend this work to *their* notice; but we think it but fair to add, that it may be of considerable use to the owners of Masquerade warehouses, as containing some choice descriptions of breeches, sashes and waistcoats, which, we have no doubt, might prove serviceable in making up an Oriental costume.

ART. III. 1. *Report from the Select Committee on Captain Manby's Apparatus for saving the Lives of Shipwrecked Seamen.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 16th of May, 1823.

2. *Papers relating to Captain Manby's Plan for affording Relief in Cases of Shipwreck.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 30th of May, 1816.

3. *Papers relating to Captain Manby's Plan for saving the Lives of Shipwrecked Mariners.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 7th of December, 1813.

4. *Report of the Committee of the House of Commons on Captain Manby's Petition.* Ordered to be printed, 26th of March, 1810.

CAPTAIN MANBY'S Plan has now been for some years before the public; and although its success, wherever it has been fairly brought into practice, has sufficiently proved its importance, it is too evident that it has not yet been adopted to the extent which it deserves; and since every year furnishes dreadful instances of shipwreck on the coasts of our islands, and of the loss of many lives, which might probably have been saved by this simple apparatus, all humane persons must rejoice that the subject has again been taken up by Parliament; and to many, a short abstract of the Report of the late Committee, and a clear account of what has been already effected, cannot fail to be interesting.

It appears from the Parliamentary papers, that sufficient evidence has been adduced to prove the utility of Captain Manby's invention, and the lamentable waste of life which has been occasioned by the neglect of it: And therefore we deem it important to spread as widely as possible the knowledge of the plan, and to point out the means of effecting its general adoption.

It is evident that, in most cases of shipwreck, the only possibility of safety depends upon communication with the shore, —which it is generally quite impossible to reach by mere efforts of strength in swimming. Along the coasts of Great Britain, vessels generally take the ground from within 300 to 60 yards of the shore; and to an inexperienced calculator, it might seem that persons who could swim might have a chance of saving themselves; but experience proves the contrary. In the tempestuous state of the sea which usually occasions shipwreck, the best swimmer will find himself powerless to contend with the breakers, and will need some aid to direct and assist his efforts; but then a slight support will be found sufficient to insure his safety. A singular expedient for gaining communication with the shore, devised in a moment of the ututmost danger, is related in a letter from Mr Wheatley of Mundesley, a gentleman who has since zealously adopted Captain Manby's plan, by the means of which, and by his personal intrepidity, he has been eminently happy in saving the lives of his fellow-creatures. The letter is printed in the Report of the Committee on Captain Manby's Petition, 1810. After express-

ing his opinion of the high value of the invention, Mr Wheatley tells the following story. 'I have been three different times 'wrecked myself. On the 11th of December 1792, I was 'shipwrecked on the island of Silt, on the coast of Jutland, 'coming from the East to London; and unfortunately we could 'not get any communication with the people on shore, although 'we were not more than 160 yards from them. I had a small 'line made fast to the seamen's chests and trunks, but nothing 'would go to the beach that had a line to it, the surf taking 'the bight of the line, and preventing any thing landing. Two 'seamen who could swim well, jumped overboard with an in-'tent to swim on shore, but both perished in the attempt. I 'fortunately had a Newfoundland dog on board, which I bent 'the lead line to, and he swam on shore with it; and by that 'means seven seamen, the mate and myself, were saved. Nine-'teen other vessels were then on shore, and only two men 'saved out of the whole. If such a mode of communication '(as Captain Manby's) had been known on that island at that 'period, upwards of 200 lives would have been saved.'

But dogs are not always in a wreck, nor, if they were, would they always be able to make a landing through breakers, so that it was necessary to find some less precarious method of effecting communication between the shore and a vessel in danger; and the best plan for this purpose, we owe to the benevolence of Captain Manby. In the year 1803, that gentleman was appointed to the charge of the barracks at Great Yarmouth, and in this situation he was accustomed to hear of shipwrecks, till he, like others, began to consider these calamities as equally irremediable and dreadful. But, on the 18th of February 1807, he was a spectator of the loss of the gun-brig the Snipe, and saw 67 persons perish within 60 yards of the Yarmouth beach, after remaining five or six hours without a possibility of receiving assistance. This distressing scene, and the other * disasters of that terrible gale (after which 147

* Amongst others, the Hunter cutter was lost the same day off Hasborough, within 150 yards from the Cliff. (*Report*, 1810.) In Mr Wheatley's letter to Captain Manby, another sad catastrophe of this day is thus described by John Fowler, Esq. a magistrate of Suffolk.

'Before I conclude, I will relate what I was an eyewitness of 'last year. The same morning the Snipe gun-brig was on shore, a 'large coal-laden brig came on shore on the Gunten Beach, a little 'to the north of the Ness Point, and where it is rather steep, in con-'sequence of which, she grounded very near the shore, so that the

dead bodies were picked up on a line of coast of not more than 30 miles), made a strong impression on Captain Manby's mind, and set him upon endeavouring to contrive some means of affording relief on the recurrence of a similar catastrophe. He at first thought of throwing a line to a stranded vessel from a kind of balista, but he found that such a machine would be too unwieldy. It then occurred to him that a piece of ordnance * might answer his purpose; and a successful experi-

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'same sea that struck her broke on the beach; and so very heavy 'was the surf, that it broke over her as high as her leading-blocks, 'the brig lying broadside on the beach. Being in this dreadful situ-'ation, her people were all obliged to take to the rigging for safety, 'the deck being, by the fury of the sea, cleared of every thing; 'nor was it in our power, although so near them, to give any assist-'ance to the poor men (nine of whom were in the main rigging, and 'two in the fore-top), but we were obliged to be silent spectators of 'the dreadful scene. Now, if we had been so fortunate as to have 'been provided with your excellent apparatus, I am confident that, 'before the end of the dreadful catastrophe, we should have been 'able to have saved with ease every soul on board; but we were not 'so fortunate: the consequence of which was, that all but one man 'were lost to their friends and country for ever; for the brig, after 'lying some time in this situation, parted at the bins, her upper 'works, masts and men, all falling together with a most tremendous 'crash to sea board, and in a moment were the nine poor men in the 'lee main shrouds lost for ever to our view. The two men in the fore-'top were in a better situation; for when the masts, &c. fell, the 'wind being at N. (parallel to the shore) canted them round, and, in 'consequence, the mast heads swung on the beach, when one of the 'men getting from the top of the mast head was saved, the other 'getting down into the fore chains, jumped off to clear the wreck by 'swimming, and was lost, the sea being too heavy for him. Such is 'the dreadful tale which might (had we been provided) have ended 'differently. JOHN FOWLER.' (*Report*, 1810, *p.* 8.)

* In the year 1792, Lieutenant Bell of the Artillery had laid before the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, 'a plan for throw-'ing a rope on shore by means of a shell from a mortar on board 'the vessel in distress,' and had received 50 guineas on his experiments at Woolwich, (*see the 10th and 25th vols. of the Trans. Soc. Arts.*) Some of Lieutenant Bell's friends considered his invention entitled to a Parliamentary reward; nor can it be desired to preclude any mark of national approbation for a suggestion which, had it been prosecuted and improved upon, might have been of important service: but Lieutenant Bell's plan appears never to have been brought into practice, nor indeed would it generally be practicable to use a mortar from a wreck as he proposed. The same may be

ment which he had made about the year 1783, when he threw a line from a small mortar over the church of Downham, in Norfolk, convinced him that the scheme was practicable. He therefore obtained from the Board of Ordnance the use of a small mortar, and made numberless experiments before he succeeded in his object. The grand difficulty lay in connecting the shot securely with the rope. Chains of every form broke on the discharge; but at length stout strips of raw hide, platted closely, were found to answer the purpose. Repeated trials during high gales, in rain, hail, and snow, gave Captain Manby confidence in his invention, and he was now prepared to give proof of its utility.

An opportunity soon occurred. On the 12th of February 1808, at day break, a brig appeared in the utmost danger, at least 150 yards from the beach. The crew had lashed themselves in the rigging; it was blowing a hard gale from the N. E., and the waves were breaking over them. Many vain attempts had been made to get off a boat to their assistance, when Captain Manby brought down his mortar, and presently threw a line over the vessel: by this line a boat was hauled off, and the crew, consisting of seven men, brought in safety to the land. The brig was the Elizabeth of Plymouth. The master, J. Prouting, said afterwards, that, benumbed by cold, and exhausted by fatigue, he and his men had been ready to sink under their apparently inevitable fate; but that when the rope was unexpectedly thrown on board, they felt as if a new life had been given them, and instantly became collected, and able to exert themselves for their own preservation. (*Report on Captain Manby's Petition*, 1810. *Trans. Soc. Arts*, vol. xxvi.)

During the following winter, Captain Manby had the satisfaction of rescuing the crews of several vessels; and in 1810 Mr Curwen brought the subject of his services before Parliament, and he was employed to survey, * and to report the dangerous points of the Eastern coast, from Yarmouth to the Firth of Forth. He also surveyed part of the coast of Hampshire. In 1814, the House of Commons took his plan into further consideration, and sent an address to the Prince Regent, praying that it might be carried into effect; and in the course of the

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said of the suggestion of General Henniker, Dr Carey, and others, Captain Manby informed the Committee that he had never heard of these inventions till he had completed his own. (*Min. of Ev.* 1823, p. 10.)

* The result of this survey is printed in the Papers relating to Captain Manby's plan, 1813.

next year, it appears that a number of mortars were stationed along the coasts of England. In the 'Papers' of 1816, we find a list of 59 stations to which the apparatus had been sent or ordered; but the list of mortars actually provided, given by Captain Manby to the late Committee, amounts, we observe, only to 45. Without pretending to offer an opinion as to the number of mortars that might be placed with advantage along the coasts of this kingdom, it may be observed that, according to the statement of the Committee on the Report 1814, Captain Manby gave it as his opinion, that about 170 or 180 would be required; and Mr Wheatley, in the letter to Captain Manby (part of which we have quoted), expresses his wish that mortars might be stationed at distances of not more than five miles from each other. In a violent storm, wrecks are often scattered thickly along the coast; and if mortars are not placed within moderate intervals, one crew may be lost whilst the apparatus is engaged in saving another. Such a circumstance once happened with regard to the Mundesley mortar which was brought to Trimingham, three miles off, to save the crew of a small vessel; and, before it could return, a larger ship, a transport, struck and went to pieces at Mundesley, and all hands perished.

Captain Manby's estimate of the expense of furnishing the number of mortars he proposes, is 4000*l.*, and about 200*l.* per annum for keeping them in repair. Probably the annual expense might be greater; but should it appear that a larger number of mortars than Captain Manby has mentioned, might be desirable, it is hoped that the expense would not prevent the establishment being formed on a scale calculated to effect all the good that is possible. Whether it be the intention of Government to establish mortars at the stations of the preventive service only, is not stated; but should this be the case, it may be feared that many dangerous points will be left unprovided. It would be most desirable that the inhabitants of any parts of the coast where shipwrecks have been known to occur, should represent the circumstances, and apply for mortars to the Board of Admiralty, who, it is said, will now have the direction of the system. It would even be desirable that individuals should provide mortars, on the chance of their being called into service. The inhabitants of the coasts of England have never shown themselves reluctant to assist their fishermen and sailors. When fifteen fishermen of Cromer and its vicinity were lost in the storm of the 13th of October 1822, a subscription of nearly 600*l.* was raised in a very short time, for the relief of their families. With how much greater alacrity, may we believe, would persons

contribute to the establishment of a plan which should systematically save the lives of seamen, and prevent such scenes of distress and desolation! The sum of twenty or thirty pounds is the price of an apparatus, and it is a price which we can have no doubt that individual benevolence will be prompt to pay for the hope, and which will be richly recompensed by the satisfaction, of saving even one crew from destruction. We may be quite confident, therefore, that private charity will do something, and it is equally certain that it is the duty of Government to do all the rest.

The late select Committee, in the Report before us, refer to the benefits likely to result from Captain Manby's system anticipated in the Report of the Committee of 1810, and declare their conviction that these anticipations have been fully verified by the number of lives saved since that period. 'The number 'of lives stated to have been saved, before the first Committee, 'was 33; and before the second Committee, 67; it is now in 'evidence before your Committee, that 139 lives have been 'saved within the last eight years. There appear but two in-'stances of successful application of the apparatus on the whole 'western coast, so that out of 229 persons whose lives have 'been saved, 220 have been on the coast of Norfolk and Suf-'folk.'

The Committee then allude to the Mortars established in compliance with the recommendation of the Committee of 1814, and placed under the direction of the preventive service, and add, that it is in evidence before them, 'that through ignorance in some instances, and most culpable remissness in others,' the full success which might have attended the system has been defeated. They suggest 'the propriety of having periodical ex-'aminations of the state of the Mortars and the condition of 'the Stores, and conceive it desirable that attention should be 'paid to the instruction of those who have the care of the Mor-'tars, not only in the proper means of throwing the lines, but 'also as to the mode of proceeding after the communication 'with the vessel is effected, for removing the crews.' They recommend besides, that the House should offer a bounty for each life saved; and suggest that directions, instructing crews of shipwrecked vessels how to avail themselves of the assistance afforded, should be given out at the several customhouses, and also translated into foreign languages, and distributed by the consuls abroad, among vessels trading to Britain. They notice the highly meritorious services of Mr Wheatley, and recommend that a mortar and the necessary apparatus be placed under his care at Mundesley. They also unanimously recommend that a further grant of 2000*l.* be given to Captain Manby, 'for

'his zealous and unremitting exertions in promoting and perfecting his plan;' and conclude by suggesting the desirableness of placing the apparatus under the direction and control of the Board of Admiralty.

In all these wishes we heartily concur. We deem the measure last recommended of *essential importance, and especially likely to promote* the general efficiency of the system. It does not appear that the officers, under whose charge the mortars have been placed, have been hitherto required to make any regular returns of their condition, nor of the services performed; and though the zeal and activity with which some of these gentlemen (Lieutenant Matthews of Winterton, Lieutenant Woodger of Yarmouth, Lieutenant Culmer of Sidmouth, and others), have used them, cannot be too highly praised, we fear that, in some instances, great remissness has prevailed as to this part of their duty. The remedy for this is a more regular system of inspection.

A short account of Captain Manby's plan, as detailed in the papers of 1816, and in his 'Lecture,'* may now be given, and his directions may be illustrated by a few facts, chiefly taken from the Parliamentary papers.

Captain Manby first speaks of the mortar, and recommends that it should be as light as is compatible with the service to be performed; he says that 'an iron mortar' (brass, though more expensive, would be in less danger of bursting), 'cast on its 'bed, weighing, with its bed, 2½ cwt. (which may be removed 'from place to place by two men, on a hand-barrow, with ease), 'will project a 24 lib. shot, with an inch-and-half rope attached to it, 250† yards, or a deep sea line 320 yards, against the 'utmost power of the wind.'—(*Pap.* 1816, p. 23). On parts of the coast where it is particularly uncertain at what point vessels may come ashore, it might be useful to have a very small mortar also at the station, which could be carried from place to place with great expedition; for in many instances, if a mere cord can be sent to a vessel, a rope may thereby be hauled on board. The Lecture (p. 20) records an experiment made at Woolwich, where a horseman, with a portable howitzer, 'travelled a mile and a third: the howitzer was dismounted, and 'the line projected 153 yards—all in six minutes.'

* Captain Manby's 'Lecture on the Preservation of Persons in the Hour of Shipwreck.' London, printed for J. Asperne, Cornhill.

† The rope will not go so far on a second discharge when wet, and perhaps clogged with sand.—*Min. of Ev.* 1823, *p.* 20.

Small mortars should also be provided, to be placed in the bows of the boats which go out to the assistance of vessels stranded on a bar, or on a bank at a distance from land, as they often get near the wreck, and yet from the eddying of the waves, and the broken water giving no resistance to the blade of the oar, are unable to pull up to it. 'This circumstance occurred twice in one day at Blakeney 'in Norfolk, when the boats could not, by every exertion of 'the people on board, for several hours, get nearer than within 'twenty yards of the vessels, and remained spectators of the 'melancholy catastrophe of every soul on board the wrecks 'perishing, unable to afford the smallest assistance.' (*Lecture*, p. 56.) The following is another melancholy instance of a loss which might have been prevented, had such an apparatus been at hand. One stormy day in November 1819, the inhabitants of Pakefield, a village near Lowestoff, perceived about noon, a Shields collier stranded on the home sands. The ship had stuck fast, and lay on its side. Seven or eight men were seen clinging to the part which remained above water, the waves breaking over them. It was a dismal day, blowing and raining hard. The Pakefield people had no boat that could live in such a sea, and they could do nothing for the assistance of the poor men. At length they observed a yawl from Lowestoff (which had saved many crews before) making towards the wreck. They watched her progress with intense interest, and several times she seemed on the point of reaching the vessel. The yawl did indeed get within speaking distance, and her crew made every possible effort, at the risk of their lives, to save the unhappy sufferers; but they could not pull up to them, *and they had no means of communication.* Thus, after rowing round them for hours, hearing their entreaties to save them, and increasing their agony by disappointment, when evening came on they were obliged to return, and leave them to their fate! The cries of the poor wretches, on seeing the yawl return, were dreadful; and they were heard through the storm, on the road from Pakefield to Lowestoff, till ten o'clock at night. In the morning, no remains of the wreck were to be seen. It is believed that the crew consisted of eleven persons, who, in all probability, might have been saved from this lingering and horrible death, had the yawl carried out a mortar.

Where the mortar is used, it should be pointed * to wind-

* 'In the case of a strong side-wind, the lower the elevation '(about the angle of 15 degrees) at which the mortar is fixed, the 'less power the wind will have over the rope, and the more certain

ward of the vessel, more or less in proportion to the force of the wind, that the bight or slack of the rope may fall over the rigging: it is only when the wind blows full on the shore, that the mortar must be pointed over the vessel, and always at a sufficient elevation, to prevent the possibility of mischief by the shot striking the wreck.

The shots used by Captain Manby are of two kinds, a simple round shot, with a neck and eye for the insertion of the thong of platted hide, or a shot furnished with barbs and counter-barbs, which may, on the line being drawn in, catch hold of the rigging, and thus enable the persons on shore to send out a boat, even should the crew have no power to give any assistance. Several instances of the utility of this contrivance are given in the Lecture, p. 23: to these we may add that of the Plough of Copenhagen, 'saved by throwing the barbed shot 'across the vessel, which enabled the people to haul off the 'life boat.' (*Min. of Ev.* 1823, p. 17.)

To obtain a momentary view of a vessel in a dark night, Captain Manby proposes to throw up balls filled with stars which should explode at a certain height, and also suggests the use of shells filled with a burning composition, which may enable the crew to discern the flight of the rope. (*Pap.* 1816, p. 33, 34, *Lecture* 6165.)

The ropes for this service should 'possess pliancy, strength, and durability;' * and it is obvious that these and the other stores should be frequently examined, and ascertained to be fit for service, since the most cruel failures may result from the want of this care. Thus, the Bird of North Shields appears to have been lost at Mundesley, 31st of March 1822, solely in consequence of such neglect. The vessel took the ground at 6 *a. m.*, within 250 yards of the Cliff, and the mortar was fired under the direction of the officer on the preventive service. 'Four discharges 'took place without effect. The first fell short of the vessel, the

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'it will be to fall on the weathermost part of the rigging.' (*Papers*, 1816, *p.* 27.)

* To prevent mildew and rot, Captain Manby advises the disuse of vegetable mucilage in the manufacture of ropes, and recommends their immersion in a solution of equal parts of sugar of lead and alum. (*Papers*, 1816, *p.* 23.)

A common tan of oak bark, in which fishermen soak their nets, may answer the purpose. When a gale of wind comes on, the person who has charge of the apparatus ought to lay the leathern straps in water, to supple them, and prevent their breaking when used. (*Min. of Ev.* 1823, *p.* 18.)

'three others failed by the breaking of the lines or the leather 'which attaches them to the shot; after which no farther effort 'could be made, for want of ammunition. One pound of powder 'was procured, after much loss of time, from a small shop in the 'parish; but it was then too late, as the vessel went to pieces, 'and drowned the whole crew, consisting of seven persons, at '7 *a. m.*, having remained a whole hour.' (*Min. of Ev.* 1823, p. 18.)

As much nicety was required in laying out the rope in fakes, so that it might not get entangled in its flight, Captain Manby contrived a basket in which it could be kept ready for immediate use. Mr Hayes, of Saxthorpe, near Aylesham, has also invented a reel * for this purpose, which is recommended by Mr Wheatley. For the rest of the apparatus, it may be sufficient to say, that no means of giving certainty to its effect has been omitted by Captain Manby, and, when fairly used, it does appear that there is scarcely a possibility of its failure; but its success entirely depends on its being kept ready for immediate service, and on the promptitude and steadiness of the persons employed in using it, who should often be practised in the operations required.

When the rope has been made fast to the vessel, the best method of bringing the persons on shore is, of course, by means of a boat, † and by the help of the line it will be found practicable, in most seas, to keep its head to the wind and waves, and thus to prevent its upsetting. Captain Manby also suggests a plan for giving to all boats the principle of the life-boat, by placing an empty oil cask between each thwart upright, and securing it by two pins on each side. Should a boat thus fitted fill, the water may be let out at the plug-hole.—(*Papers*, 1816, pp. 34, 35). Should no boat be near, or the vessel in momentary danger of going to pieces, the crew may easily be landed upon the rope from a distance of 300 yards or more, on the

* This is a conical reel, on which the rope may be wound with accuracy in the dark. When the rope has been reeled on, the machine is fixed at an angle of 45 degrees, and the rope flies off without impediment; and three or four lines may be wound on the same reel, separated by splints. Mr Wheatley recommends having two reels to each mortar. (*Min. of Ev.* 1823, *p.* 21.)

† On coasts where the shoals lie beyond the range of the mortar, Captain Manby recommends laying down anchors with a slack rope and buoy, that a line may be cast over it, with a barbed shot; and, being thus drawn in, and made fast, may serve to guide the boat through the breakers.

plan adopted by Mr Wheatley.*—(*Min. of Ev.* 1823, p. 20); and described in the following letter of Lieutenant C. Woodger to Captain Manby, an extract of which is given in the Papers, 1816, p. 29, and the whole may be found in Captain Manby's 'Appeal to the Society of Arts,' p. 37.

'*Signal Station, Yarmouth, March 12th*, 1814.

'Sir,—I here send you a statement of the happy success of the 'means that you have brought to such perfection in saving ship-'wrecked mariners. On the 20th of January last, at about half past 'six, *a. m.*, I was informed that a vessel was on shore at South 'Ham, in Corton Bay, which place I immediately proceeded to, 'with the mortar under my charge, about three miles from my sta-'tion, it then blowing very hard from N. N. E., dead on the shore, 'with drifting snow. At the time I got to the place it was near 'high water, and the sea was breaking some height up the cliff, 'which made it impossible for any boat to render the distressed 'vessel any assistance. At this time her main and mizen masts 'were gone, and her boats and spars were all washed off her decks, 'and her rudder unshipped, and in her rising and falling, the head 'of the rudder was ripping her stern and decks up all to pieces; 'and the sea was breaking violently quite over the vessel, and there 'was every appearance of her soon going to pieces. If she had 'parted, there were not the least hopes of the crew being saved; 'but by the means I made use of I had the satisfaction, on firing 'the second shot from the top of the cliff, of throwing a line over

* If the danger is very imminent, the crew must reeve the line through a tail or snatch-block; and, having hauled on board line enough to reach the shore again, must send the end back by a bow line knot. The men may then, one after another, get into a knot made on the bight of the leemost line, and thus be hauled ashore. They must take care that the knot is fixed on the chest, that they may not be drowned in passing through the water. If the masts are in no danger of giving way, they should reeve the line through a tail block in the tops, and fasten, just above it, a three-inch rope, which may be kept taught by the men on shore moving with the motion of the vessel. Along this stout rope runs a top block, to the lower part of which the small line should be made fast, thus acting as a traveller. The top block should be furnished with a hook and strap, through which a man may place his leg, and another may sit on his knee, and they may thus be brought on shore without going into the water; and in the same way persons may be brought to the top of a cliff; only, in this case, the snatch-block, with the travelling line, must be on the land. The men must not put their hands on the large rope before the block, or they will get pinched. Those who work the ropes should stand several yards asunder, and take care that the lines do not cross each other.—(*See Mr Wheatley's Evidence, Report*, 1823.)

'the vessel (I suppose the vessel was full 230 yards from the cliff), 'to which line, on signs being made to the people to haul a sufficient quantity on board for the bight to return to the shore, they 'then made a hawser fast that was fortunately lying abaft. As 'soon as the people on the cliff had hauled the said hawser on 'shore, and taught from the vessel, I cut a piece of the hawser off, 'and made a grummet on the hawser with it, sufficiently large for 'a man to sit in, to which I made the bight of the line fast. On 'waving to the people on board, they hauled the grummet along the 'hawser to the vessel, and one man got into it at a time, and was 'hauled on shore hanging on the hawser, and the grummet was 'hauled to the vessel again; by which method the whole crew, consisting of five men and two boys, were saved. And it is my opinion, that the mortar is the only means that can give immediate 'relief to shipwrecked mariners. CHARLES WOODGER, *Lieut. R.N.*'

As it is of the greatest importance that no time should be lost in getting the men on shore when communication with a wreck has once been effected, it is greatly to be wished that a set of instructions, directing the crews how to avail themselves of the assistance afforded, may soon be published, according to the recommendation of the Committee. The following letter will show how much they are wanted.

'*Winterton, 3d February*, 1823.

'SIR,—Agreeably to the wish you expressed when you did me 'the honour of calling, I relate the circumstance of saving the crew 'of the Supply of Sunderland. The second shot went over her 'main top-gallant stay; a man immediately went aloft, but not 'having sufficient strength to haul the shot up to him, he cut the 'line, made the end fast round his middle, and jumped over board. 'As soon as we had got him on shore, we fired again, and threw 'the line across her jib stay, which they succeeded in getting. I 'then sent them a tail-block with a two-inch rope in it, and got the 'end of the three-inch rope alongside; but finding they could not 'get it on board, and being fearful of delay, I directed it to be hauled on shore again, and making a bow-line knot on the whip, slung 'one of my own crew to show them how to act, by which means 'they were saved. The want of knowledge they displayed when they 'received the line, proves how necessary it is that merchant vessels 'should be supplied with instructions how to proceed in cases of shipwreck; for when I spoke to them of the three-inch rope, they replied, that had they got it on board, they should not have known 'what to have done with it.—I am, &c.

'*To Captain Manby.* R. B. MATTHEWS, R. N.'

In the same way, Lieutenant Woodger brought the crew of the brig Leipsic, wrecked on Yarmouth Bar, 7th of December, 1815, safely to the Pier, having sent them directions on a tally. (*Min. of Ev.* 1823, p. 26.)

Another recommendation of the Committee is, that a bounty be given for each person saved. It is indeed extraordinary, that, while 15*l.* is given on the apprehension of a smuggler, and 5*l.* on the capture of a prisoner, no reward should be held out for the rescue of a British sailor. Captain Manby proposes that 5*l.* should be given for every life saved in cases of difficulty (*Min. of Ev.* 1823, p. 14.); which sum Mr Wheatley would limit to those saved by means of a boat, and proposes 3*l.* for each man saved by the apparatus alone. It is impossible to doubt, that private subscriptions will also be raised for rewarding instances of peculiar heroism. There is reason to believe that many lives have been lost, from the want of encouragement to exertion. It may, indeed, be said, that we should not hold forth sordid motives for the performance of acts of mercy and of duty. We answer, that we must take men as they are; that in these cases our instruments are rough ones; and that, though we have found amongst our fishermen noble instances of disinterested self-exposure for the rescue of others, it is not the class in which we must look for acute sensibility to the misery of their fellow-creatures. Some of them too may have been accustomed not to deprecate the chance of plunder from a wreck. Besides, if we would inspirit our people, we must show them that we are ourselves in earnest. It will not do to exclaim against the selfish hard-heartedness of a sailor who hesitates to expose himself to a tempestuous sea, and to hazard his life for the preservation of others, when, for the very same object, we refuse to make the smallest sacrifices of our money, or of our personal convenience. A fund should also be provided for the assistance of the rescued, and encouragement given to the people of the coast to bring early notice of a vessel in distress.

A regular establishment * of watchers along the coast would be the most effectual means of securing early information; and it is deeply to be lamented that such a plan did not exist on the Norfolk coast at the time of the melancholy loss of the Ranger, cutter, last October. In stormy weather, might not Life-boats,

* There is an excellent institution for the relief of vessels in distress at Bamborough Castle, founded by Lord Crew, formerly Bishop of Durham. Amongst other provisions, 'in a storm, two men 'on horseback are sent out to patrol along the coast from sun-set to 'sun-rise, that, in case of an accident, one may remain by the ship, 'and the other return to alarm the Castle.'—(*New Seaman's Guide and Coaster's Companion*, p. 132.)

furnished with Mortars, be sent to ply round the rocks and shoals, at a distance from the land, without unnecessarily venturing among the breakers? Some such plan seems desirable for the Shambles rocks off Portland, where many vessels appear to have been wrecked. From an account of the loss of the Earl of Abergavenny East-Indiaman, written by G. A. Burgoyne, Esq. one of the few survivors, it appears that many might have been saved, had the catastrophe been known in Weymouth some hours sooner than it was. But it is hoped, that gentlemen residing near the coast may now be induced to turn their attention towards providing against the peculiar dangers of their shores, and to employ their ingenuity in overcoming local obstructions. Enough has been effected to prove the benefit of attention to the subject; but much might yet be done for the security of our shipping. Must Portland and its race ever remain a Scylla and Charybdis to the fleets of Britain? It is said that a winter seldom passes without whole crews being lost in the West Bay, which is a particularly dangerous part of the Portland coast. The Chesil Beach, which bounds this bay, is a remarkable bank of pebbles, on which, in gales from S. to N.W., the sea breaks with tremendous fury, accompanied with an undertow which carries every thing back, and occasions an extreme difficulty of saving any lives from wrecks in this situation. It may seem presumptuous in those who have little knowledge of the spot, and are unable perhaps to estimate its peculiar difficulties, to suggest any plan for alleviating the horrors of such shipwrecks. But it is earnestly to be wished that the subject may be considered by the persons best qualified to undertake it; and we rejoice to learn, that the able chief officer of the Portland station, Lieutenant Spark, is of opinion, that, in some cases at least, a mortar may be serviceable. The surge, it seems, is so heavy, that ships of burthen have usually gone to pieces with the third sea; but it has also been stated, that vessels of 200 or 300 tons do not strike till they are within their own length of the higher curb of the beach. Would it not therefore be possible to send a line to vessels before they get into this situation, and in time to save the men? for, however quickly they may be driven on, it is probable that they must be some minutes within range of the mortar before they strike on the beach. Might it not also be expedient to have three or four mortars stationed along the pebble bank? as it seems, that nothing but the utmost promptitude can afford any chance of success, and the loose shingles would greatly retard their conveyance from point to point. That the mortar might, in some instances, have been of service in this

destructive bay, appears certain. The Alexander, returning from Bombay, was wrecked on the night of the 26th of March 1815, and all her crew and passengers (except five Lascars), to the number of 400 persons, perished! Some of them were long seen struggling in the waves, and heard shrieking for assistance: surely assistance could have been rendered, had Captain Manby's apparatus been at hand.

It has been objected to this system, that the prospect it affords of safety, may encourage crews to run ashore and abandon their vessels, and may thus lead to an unjustifiable sacrifice of property. To this surmise may be opposed the fact, that the frequency of shipwrecks has not increased of late years, on the Norfolk coast, where the establishment of the apparatus is best known; though it is also true, that ships in danger, coming from the North, have often made for Mundesley, on purpose to be wrecked under the eye of Mr Wheatley.

On the other hand, it appears that the knowledge of the mortars has induced Captains of vessels in Yarmouth roads to depend more on their anchors than formerly. Mr Wheatley has heard many masters and seamen say, that the conviction that, if they should go on shore, assistance could be given them, has led them to ride out a gale, when they should otherwise have run for the shore at high water, as the only chance of saving their lives. (*Min. of Ev.* 1823, p. 22.) It has been proposed, that vessels should carry their own guns; but how could they be fired when the ship is rolling and the sea washing over her decks? Rockets * also have been invented, for the purpose of carrying the line on shore; but they must be more liable to be affected by the force of the wind than a cannon ball. It is also well known that sailors have a dislike to taking on board any provision for shipwreck; perhaps the prejudice may have its use, and it does seem rather the part of the landsmen to provide against the dangers of their coasts.

Of the 220 persons saved by Captain Manby's plan, on the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk, 38 were subjects of Holland, 17 of Denmark, 13 of Sweden, and 152 subjects of Great Britain. A system which has in view the benefit of all nations, may soon, we would fain hope, be practised on other shores than our own; but we cannot be surprised that it is so little known

* Rockets might be used to convey lines from a ship at a distance from land, within reach of the barbed shot. So also might casks with a line attached to them, which will float to leeward of the vessel, and sometimes the currents may bring them near the shore.

abroad, whilst it has been so grievously neglected in the country of its invention. Even in the limited distribution of mortars in 1815, it does not appear that any provision whatever was made for the coasts of Scotland or Ireland, though (as the Committee, 1814, observe) 'If it be thought right to adopt the plan 'in this part of the United Empire, it must be at least equal-'ly desirable that Ireland should have the benefit of it.' In fact, its operations have been nearly confined to a small portion of the eastern coast of England, though there have been instances of its success on other parts of the coast. The reader may be referred to the account of the rescue of the crew of the Sally at Sidmouth, June 26th, 1822, by Lieutenant Culmer, (*Min. of Ev.* 1823, p. 12), and to that of the crew of the Willem of Amsterdam, at Ilfracombe, December 21st, 1821, an interesting account of which was written by a lady, one of the passengers, and translated by the Rev. R. Frizell.* But many, indeed, we fear, are the stories that might be collected of cases to which this mode of relief was applicable, and not afforded.† Surely those who have it in their power to obviate such disasters, will feel themselves bound no longer to rest in indolence and apathy, when the lives of their fellow-creatures are at stake, remembering, that if they withhold the means of assistance, it is to them, and not to the winds and waters, that their fellow-creatures owe an untimely fate.

On a general review of the papers before us, this much is clear:—Captain Manby's plan has been tried—it has proved eminently beneficial—and there we have stopped. We see that the experiment has succeeded, and we act as if it had failed. It has been confined almost to the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk: there it has saved upwards of 200 lives. Throughout the greater part of the kingdom, on the coasts of Ireland and Scotland, it has never been put in practice; and the consequence has been, that thousands of men have perished,

* A pamphlet printed in Ilfracombe, 1822.

† Mr Curwen made the following statement before the late Committee:—'About two years ago, a Liverpool packet missed the har-'bour of Whitehaven, and came into the bay at the back of the piers 'on the north wall. She was within sixty or eighty yards of the shore. 'There was such a violent surf, that it was found impracticable to force 'the life-boat off, and between thirty or forty persons perished, who 'were so near, that people could hear and converse with them; and 'there could not have been the smallest doubt, that, with the use of 'Captain Manby's apparatus, a communication might have been effect-'ed, and every life might have been saved.' (*Min. of Ev.* 1823, p. 16.)

t have been preserved. We would trust that, before inter, the Government will take measures to divest all es of their worst terrors; but we may be certain that be will still be left for the exercise of individual zeal se; and most earnestly is it to be desired, that the co- of the magistrates and gentlemen residing on the ay not be wanting to give energy and effect to the

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The St James's Chronicle—The Morning Chronicle—imes—The New Times—The Courier, &c.—Cobbett's Journal—The Examiner—The Observer—The Gen- s Magazine—The New Monthly Magazine—The Lon- c. &c.

ten hear it asked, *Whether Periodical Criticism is, upon whole, beneficial to the cause of literature?* And this is usually followed up by another, which is thought to first, *Whether Shakespeare could have written as he did, ed in the present day?* We shall not attempt to an- er of these questions: But we will be bold to say, that at least one author at present, whose productions spring and numberless, in the very hotbed of criticism—a living refutation of the chilling and blighting effects neighbourhood. 'But would not the author of Wa- himself,' resumes our tritical querist, 'have written if he had not had the fear of the periodical press be- eyes?' We answer, that he has no fear of the perio- s; and that we do not see how, in any circumstances, have written better than he does. 'But a single ex- oes not disprove the rule.' But he is not a single ex- Is there not Lord Byron? Are there not many more? at we are too near them to scan the loftiness of their ns, or to guess at their unknown duration. Genius n an unequal strife with Fame; nor will our bare word rst presume to give it) make the balance even. Time show who are the authors of mortal or immortal and it is the height of wilful impertinence to anticipate , and assume, because certain living authors are new, never can become old.

ng, however, any answer to these ingenious questions, ontent ourselves with announcing a truism on the sub- ch, like many other truisms, is pregnant with deep —*viz. That periodical criticism is favourable—to perio-*

dical criticism. It contributes to its own improvement—and its cultivation proves not only that it suits the spirit of the times, but advances it. It certainly never flourished more than at present. It never struck its roots so deep, nor spread its branches so widely and luxuriantly. Is not the proposal of this very question a proof of its progressive refinement? And what, it may be asked, can be desired more than to have the perfection of one thing at any one time? If literature in our day has taken this decided turn into a critical channel, is it not a presumptive proof that it ought to do so? Most things find their own level; and so does the mind of man. If there is a preponderance of criticism at any one period, this can only be because there are subjects, and because it is the time for it. We complain that this is a Critical age; and that no great works of Genius appear, because so much is said and written about them; while we ought to reverse the argument, and say, that it is because so many works of genius *have appeared*, that they have left us little or nothing to do, but to think and talk about them—that if we did not do that, we should do nothing so good—and if we do this well, we cannot be said to do amiss!

It has been stated as a kind of anomaly in the history of the Fine Arts, that periods of the highest civilization are not usually distinguished by the greatest works of original genius. But, instead of a remote or doubtful deduction, this, if closely examined, will be found a self-evident proposition. Take the case, for example, of ancient Greece. The time of its greatest splendour, was when its first statues, pictures, temples, tragedies, had been produced, when they existed in the utmost profusion, and the taste for them had become habitual and universal. But the time of the greatest Genius was undoubtedly the time that produced them,—which was necessarily antecedent to the other: So that if we were to wait till the era of the most general refinement, for the production of the highest models of excellence, we should never arrive at them at all; since it is these very models themselves, that, by being generally studied, and diffused through social life, give birth to the last degrees of taste and civilization. When the edifice is raised and finished in all its parts, we have nothing to do but to admire it; and invention gives place to judicious applause, or, according to the temper of the observers, to petty cavils. While the niches are empty, every nerve is strained, every faculty is called into play, to supply them with the masterpieces of skill or fancy: when they are full, the mind reposes on what has been done, or amuses itself by comparing one excellence with another. Hence a masculine boldness and creative vigour is

the character of one age, a fastidious and effeminate delicacy that of a succeeding one. This seems to be the order of nature: and why should we repine at it? Why insist on combining all sorts of advantages (even the most opposite) forcibly together; or refuse to cultivate those that we possess, because there are others that we think more highly of, but which are placed out of our reach? 'We are nothing, if not critical.' Be it so: but then let us be critical, or we shall be nothing.

The demand for works of original genius, the craving after them, the capacity for inventing them, naturally decay, when we have models of almost every species of excellence already produced to our hands. When this is the case, why call out for more? When art is a blank, then we want genius, enthusiasm, and industry to fill it up: when it is teeming with beauty and strength, then we want an eye to gaze at it, hands to point out its striking features, leisure to luxuriate in, and be enamoured of, its divine spirit. When we have Shakespeare, we do not want more Shakespeares: one Milton, one Pope or Dryden, is enough. Have we not plenty of Raphael's, of Rubens's, of Rembrandt's pictures in the world? *Terra plena matri laboris*, is almost literally true of them. Who has seen all the fine pictures, or read all the fine poetry, that already exists?—and yet, till we have done this, what do we want with more? It is like leaving our own native country unexplored, to travel into foreign lands. Do we not neglect the standard works to hunt after mere novelty? This is not wisdom, but affectation or caprice. Learning becomes, by degrees, an undigested heap, without pleasure or use. We do not see the absolute necessity why another work should be written, or another picture painted, till those that we already have are becoming worm-eaten, or mouldering into decay. We can hardly expect a new harvest till the old crop is off the ground. If we insist on absolute originality in living writers or artists, we should begin by destroying the works of their predecessors. We want another Osmyn to burn and spare not—and then the work of extermination and the work of regeneration would go on kindly together. Are we to learn all that is already known, and, at the same time, to invent more? This would indeed be the 'large discourse of reason looking before and after.' Who is there that can boast of having read all the books that have been written, and that are worth reading? Who is there that can read all those with which the modern press teems, and which, did they not daily disappear and turn to dust, the world would not be able to contain them? Are we to blame for despatching the most worthless of these from

time to time, or for abridging the process of getting at the marrow of others, and thus leaving the learned at leisure to contemplate the time-hallowed relics, as well as the ephemeral productions, of literature?

To instance in our own language only, is there not many a sterling old author that lies neglected on solitary, unexplored shelves, or tottering bookstalls, unknown to, or passed over by, the idle and the diligent, the republication of which would be the greatest service that could be performed by the modern man of letters? To master the old English Dramatic Writers, the most esteemed novelists, the good old comedies and periodical works alone, would occupy the leisure of a life devoted to taste and study. If we look at the rise and progress, the maturity and decay, of each of these classes of excellence, we shall find that they were limited in duration, and successive. The deep rich tragic vein of Shakespeare, Webster, Ford, Deckar, Marlow, Beaumont and Fletcher, was discovered and worked out in the time of Elizabeth and the two first Stuarts. All that the heart of man could feel, all that the wit of man could express on the most striking and interesting occasions, had been exhausted by half a dozen great writers, who left little to their successors but pompous turgidity or smooth commonplace,—the art of swelling trifles into importance, or taming rough boldness into insipidity. But Comedy rose as Tragedy fell; and, in the age of Charles II. and Queen Anne, Congreve, Wycherley and Vanburgh, were contemporary with Dryden, Lee and Rowe. Otway, it is true, belonged to the same period, a straggler from the veteran corps of tragic writers;—as, in a range of lofty mountains, we generally see one green hill thrown to a distance from the rest, and breaking the abrupt declivity into the level plain. But at each of the periods here spoken of, the Tragic or the Comic Muse was attended by a group of writers such as we can scarcely hope to see again, and such as we have no right to complain of seeing unrivalled, while *they* are themselves suffered to remain undisturbed in old collections and odd volumes. These probed the follies, as those unveiled the passions, of men: depicted jealousy, rage, ambition, love, madness, affectation, ignorance, conceit, in their most striking forms and picturesque contrasts: took possession of the strong-holds, the 'vantage points of vice or vanity: filled the Stage with the mask of living manners, or 'the pomp of elder days:' shook it with laughter, or drowned it with tears—poured out the wine of life, the living spirit of the drama, and left the lees to others. Little could afterwards be made of the subject, except by resorting to

inferior branches of it, or to a second-hand imitation. No doubt, nature is exceedingly various; but the capital eminences, the choicest points of view, are limited; and when these have been once seized upon, we must either follow in the steps of others, or turn aside to humbler and less practicable subjects. When the highest places have been occupied, when the happiest strokes have been anticipated, the ambition of the poet flags: without the stimulus of novelty, the rapidity or eagerness of his blows ceases; and as soon as he can avail himself of commonplace and conventional artifices, he shrinks from the task of original invention. Or, if he is bent on trying his native strength, and adding to the stock of what has been effected by others, it must be by striking into a new path, and cultivating some neglected plot of ground. So, the Periodical Essayists, Steele and Addison, succeeded to our great Comic Writers, and the Novelists, Fielding, Sterne, Smollett, to these; and each left works superior to any thing of the kind before, and unrivalled in their way by any thing since. Thus genius, like the sun, seems not to rise higher and higher, but from its first dawn to ascend to its meridian, and then decline; and art, like life, may be said to have its stated periods of infancy, manhood, and old age. Alas! the miracles of art stand often like proud monuments in the waste of time. The age of Leo the Tenth is like a rock rising out of the abyss,—with nothing before it, with nothing behind it! As art rose high then, so did it sink low afterwards: and the Vatican overlooks modern Italian art, stagnant, puny, steril, unwholesome, ague-struck, as Rome itself overlooks the marshes of the Campagna. What then? Does not the Vatican remain, the wonder of succeeding ages and surrounding nations? And when it yields (as yield it must) to time's destructive rage, and its glories crumble into dust, a new Vatican will arise, and other Raphaels and Michael Angelos will breathe the inspiration of genius upon its walls! As fires kindled in the night send their light to a vast distance, so Taste, an emanation from Genius, lingers long after it; and when its mild radiance is extinguished, then comes night and barbarism. Modern art, which took its rise in Italy, was transplanted indeed elsewhere, and flourished in Holland, Spain, and Flanders—it never took root in France, nor has it yet done so in England—but the soil, where it first sprung up, became effete soon after, and has produced scarcely any thing worth naming since.

Not only are literature and art circumscribed by the limits of nature or the mind of man, but each age or nation has a standard of its own, which cannot be trespassed upon with impuni-

ty. Tragedy was at its height in France, when it was on the decline with us; but then it was in a totally different style of composition, which could never be successfully naturalized in this country. Popularity can only be insured by the sympathy of the audience with any given mode of representing nature. The English genius excludes sententious and sentimental declamations on the passions; and Shakespeare, were he alive, would be 'cabin'd, cribbed, confined,' to say the least, on that very stage where his plays still flourish, by the change of feeling and circumstances. He would not have scope for his fancy: the passion would often seem groundless and overwrought. To produce any thing new and striking at present, it is necessary to shift the scene altogether, to take new subjects, an entire new set of *Dramatis Personæ*,—to pitch the interest in the Heart of Mid-Lothian, or suspend it in air with the Children of the Mist. We see what Sir Walter Scott has done in this way, by turning up again to the day the rich accumulated mould of ancient manners and wild unexplored scenery of his native land; and we already see what some of his imitators have done. In a word, literature is confined not only within certain *natural*, but also within *local* and *temporary* limits, which necessarily have fewer available topics; and when these are exhausted, it becomes a *caput mortuum*, a shadow of itself. Nothing is easier, for instance, than to show how, from the alteration of manners, the brilliant dialogue of the older comedy has gradually disappeared from the stage. The style of our common conversation has undergone a total change from the personal and *piquant* to the critical and didactic; and, instead of aiming at elegant raillery or pointed repartee, the most polished circles now discuss general topics, or analyze abstruse problems. Wit, unless it is exercised on an indiscriminate subject, is considered as an impertinence in civil life: yet we complain that the stage is dull and prosaic.

Farther, the Fine Arts, by their spread, interfere with one another, and hinder the growth of originality. All the greatest things are done by the division of labour—by the intense concentration of a number of minds, each on a single and chosen object. But by the progress of cultivation, different arts and exercises stretch out their arms to impede, not to assist one another. Politics blend with poetry, painting with literature; fashion and elegance must be combined with learning and study: and thus the mind gets a smattering of every thing, and a mastery in none. The mixing of acquirements, like the *mixing of liquors*, is no doubt a bad thing, and *muddles* the brain; but in a certain stage of society, it is in some degree unavoidable.

Rembrandt lived retired in his cell of gorgeous light and shade. Night and Day waited upon him by turns, or together: his eye gazed on the dazzling gloom, nor did he ask for any other object. He existed wholly in this part of his art, which he has stamped on his canvas with such vast and wondrous power. He was not distracted or diverted from his favourite study by other things, by penning a Sonnet, or reading the Morning's Paper. Had he lived in our time, or in a state of manners like ours, he would have been a hundred other things, but not Rembrandt—a polite scholar, an imitator probably of the antique, a pleasing versifier, 'a chemist, statesman, fiddler, and 'buffoon,'—every thing but what he was, the great master of light and shade! Michael Angelo, again, had diversity of genius enough, and grasped more arts than one with hallowed hands. Yet did he not use to say, that 'Painting was jealous, 'and required the whole man to herself?' How many modern accomplishments would it take to make a Michael Angelo? Yet perhaps the flutter of idle pretensions, the glitter of fashion, the cant of criticism, with the sense of his own deficiencies in frivolous pursuits, might have dismayed the dauntless Youth who, with a blow of his chisel, repaired the Meleager; who afterwards carved the Moses, painted the Prophets and Sybils, reared the dome of St Peter's, and fortified his native city against a foreign foe! The little might have turned aside, in his triple career of renown, him whom the great could not intimidate.

One effect of the endowment of Institutions for the Fine Arts is, to make the union of the accidents of fortune and fashion, that is, of the extrinsic and meretricious, indispensable to the artist. He is violently taken out of his own sphere, and thrust into one for which he is qualified neither by nature nor habit. He must be able to make speeches to assembled multitudes, to hold conversation with Princes. He climbs to the highest honours of his profession by arts which have nothing to do with it—by frivolous or servile means. He must have the ear of committees, the countenance of the great. He takes precedence as a matter of etiquette or costume. He rises, as he would at college or at court. The chair of a Royal Academy for the Fine Arts must be filled by a gentleman and scholar. So Sir Thomas Lawrence *(absit invidia)* is chosen President, not more because he is the best portrait-painter in existence, than because he is one of the finest gentlemen of the day. This is confounding the essential differences of things, and weakening the solid superstructure of art at its foundations.—A scholar was formerly another name for a sloven, an artist was known

only by his works. Now, a professional man, who should come into the world, relying on his genius or learning for his success, without other advantages, would be looked upon as a pedant, a barbarian, or a poor creature. 'Though he should have all knowledge, and could speak with the tongues of angels, yet, without *affectation*, he would be nothing.' He who is not acquainted with the topic, who is not fashioned in the mode of the day, is no better than a brute. We will not have the arts and sciences 'relegated to obscure cloisters and villages: no, we will have them to lift up their sparkling front in courts and palaces,'—in drawing-rooms and booksellers' shops. 'The toe of the scholar must tread so close on the heel of the courtier, that it galls his kibe.'

This is also a consequence of the approximation and amalgamation of different ranks and pretensions from the more general diffusion of knowledge. Each takes something of the colour, or borrows some of the advantages, of its neighbour. A reflected light is thrown on all parts of society. The polite affect literature: the literary affect to be polite. Such a state of things, no doubt, produces a great deal of mock-patronage and mock-gentility. What then? It cannot be prevented: and is it not better to make the most of this florid and composite style of manners, than to proscribe and stigmatize it altogether, or insist on going back to the simple Doric or pure Gothic—to barbaric wealth or cynical knowledge? 'Take the good the Gods provide ye'—is our motto, and our advice. The impulse that sways the human mind cannot be created by a *fiat* of captious discontent: it floats on the tide of mighty CIRCUMSTANCE. By resisting this natural bias, and peevishly struggling against the stream, we shall only lose the favourable opportunities we possess, both for enjoyment and for use. It is not sufficient to say, 'Let there be Shakespeares, and there were Shakespeares:'—but we have writers in great numbers, respectable in their way, and suited to the mediocrity of the age we live in: And, by cultivating sound principles of taste and criticism, we can still point out the beauties of the old authors, and improve the style of the new. There is a change in the world, and we must conform to it. Instead of striving to revive the spirit of old English literature, which is impossible, unless we could restore the same state of things, and push the world back two centuries in its course, let us add the last polish and fine finish to the modern *Belles-Lettres*. Instead of imitating the poets or prose-writers of the age of Elizabeth, let us admire them at a distance. Let us remember, that there is a great gulf between them and us—the gulf of ever-rolling years. Let them be

something sacred, and venerable to the imagination: But let us be contented to serve as priests at the shrine of ancient genius, and not attempt to mount the pedestal ourselves, or disturb the sanctuary with our unwarranted pretensions.

This is the course dictated no less by modesty than wisdom. Half the cant of criticism (on the other side of the question) is envy of the moderns, rather than admiration of the ancients. It is not that we really wish our contemporaries to rival their predecessors in grandeur, in force and depth; but that we wish them to fall short of themselves in elegance, in taste, in ingenuity, and facility. The exclusive outcry in favour of ancient models, is a *diversion* to the exercise of modern talents, and a misdirection to the age. If we cannot produce the great and lasting works of former times, we may at least improve our knowledge of the principles on which they were raised, and of the distinguishing characteristics of each. If we have nothing to show equal to some of these, let us make it up (to the best of our power) by a taste susceptible of the beauties of all. If we do not succeed in solid folio, let us excel in light duodecimo. If we are superficial, let us be brilliant. If we cannot be profound, let us at least be popular.

Why should we dismiss *the reading public* with contempt, when we have so little chance with the next generation? Literature formerly was a sweet Heremitress, who fed on the pure breath of Fame, in silence and in solitude; far from the madding strife, in sylvan shade or cloistered hall, she trimmed her lamp or turned her hourglass, pale with studious care, and aiming only to 'make the age to come her own!' She gave her life to the perfecting some darling work, and bequeathed it, dying, to posterity! Vain hope, perhaps; but the hope itself was fruition—calm, serene, blissful, unearthly! Modern literature, on the contrary, is a gay Coquette, fluttering, fickle, vain; followed by a train of flatterers; besieged by a crowd of pretenders; courted, she courts again; receives delicious praise, and dispenses it; is impatient for applause; pants for the breath of popularity; renounces eternal fame for a newspaper puff; trifles with all sorts of arts and sciences; coquettes with fifty accomplishments—*mille ornatus habet, mille decenter;* is the subject of polite conversation; the darling of private parties; the go-between in politics; the directress of fashion; the polisher of manners; and, like her winged prototype in Spenser,

'Now this now that, she tasteth tenderly,'

glitters, flutters, buzzes, spawns, dies,—and is forgotten! But this very variety and superficial polish show the extent and

height to which knowledge has been accumulated, and the general interest taken in letters.

To dig to the bottom of a subject through so many generations of authors, is now impossible: the concrete mass is too voluminous and vast to be contained in any single head; and therefore we must have essences and samples as substitutes for it. We have collected a superabundance of raw materials: the grand *desideratum* now is, to fashion and render them portable. Knowledge is no longer confined to the few: the object therefore is, to make it accessible and attractive to the many. The *Monachism* of literature is at an end; the cells of learning are thrown open, and let in the light of universal day. We can no longer be churls of knowledge, ascetics in pretension. We must yield to the spirit of change (whether for the better or worse); and 'to beguile the time, look like the time.' A modern author may (without much imputation of his wisdom) declare for a short life and a merry one. He may be a little gay, thoughtless, and dissipated. Literary immortality is now let on short leases, and he must be contented to succeed by rotation. A scholar of the olden time had resources, had consolations to support him under many privations and disadvantages. A light (that light which penetrates the most clouded skies) cheered him in his lonely cell, in the most obscure retirement: and, with the eye of faith, he could see the meanness of his garb exchanged for the wings of the Shining Ones, and the wedding-garment of the Spouse. Again, he lived only in the contemplation of old books and old events; and the remote and future became habitually present to his imagination, like the past. He was removed from low, petty vanity, by the nature of his studies, and could wait patiently for his reward till after death. We exist in the bustle of the world, and cannot escape from the notice of our contemporaries. We must please to live, and therefore should live to please. We must look to the public for support. Instead of solemn testimonies from the learned, we require the smiles of the fair and the polite. If princes scowl upon us, the broad shining face of the people may turn to us with a favourable aspect. Is not this life (too) sweet? Would we change it for the former if we could? But the great point is, that *we cannot!* Therefore, let Reviews flourish—let Magazines increase and multiply—let the Daily and Weekly Newspapers live for ever! We are optimists in literature, and hold, with certain limitations, that, in this respect, whatever is, is right!

It has been urged as one fatal objection against periodical criticism, that it is too often made the engine of party-spirit and personal invective. This is an abuse of it greatly to be la-

mented; but, in fact, it only shows the extent and importance of this branch of literature, so that it has become the organ of every thing else, however alien to it. The current of political and individual obloquy has run into this channel, because it has absorbed every topic. The bias to miscellaneous discussion and criticism is so great, that it is necessary to insert politics in a sort of sandwich of literature, in order to make them at all palatable to the ordinary taste. The war of political pamphlets, of virulent pasquinades, has ceased, and the ghosts of Junius and Cato, of Gracchus and Cincinnatus, no longer 'squeak and gibber' in our modern streets, or torment the air with a hubbub of hoarse noises. A Whig or Tory *tirade* on a political question, the abuse of a public character, now stands side by side in a fashionable Review, with a disquisition on ancient coins, or is introduced right in the middle of an analysis of the principles of taste. This is a violation, no doubt, of the rules of decorum and order, and might well be dispensed with: but the stock of malice and prejudice in the world is much the same, though it has found a more classical and agreeable vehicle to vent itself. Mere politics, mere personal altercation, will not go down without an infusion of the Belles-Lettres and the Fine Arts. This makes decidedly either for the refinement or the frivolity of our taste. It is found necessary to poison or to sour the public mind, by going to the well-head of polite literature and periodical criticism,—which shows plainly how many drink at that fountain, and will drink at no other. As a farther example of this rage for conveying information in an easy and portable form, we believe that booksellers will often refuse to purchase in a volume, what they will give a handsome price for, if divided piecemeal, and fitted for occasional insertion in a newspaper or magazine; so that the only authors who, as a class, are not starving, are periodical essayists, as almost the only writers who can keep their reputation above water are anonymous critics. But we have enlarged sufficiently on the general question, and shall now proceed to a more particular account of the state of the Periodical Press. We consider this Article, however, as an exception to our general rules of criticizing, and protest against its being turned into a precedent; for if our several contemporaries were to criticize one author as a constant habit, there would be no end of the repeated reflections and continually lessening perspective of cavils and objections, which would resemble nothing in nature but the *Caffée des Milles Colonnes!*

The staple literature of the Periodical Press may, we presume, be fairly divided into Newspapers, Magazines, and Re-

views; and of each of these, if we have courage to go through with it, we shall say a word or two in their order.

The St James's Chronicle is, we have understood, the oldest existing paper in London. We are not quite sure whether it was in this or in another three-times-a-week paper (the Englishman *) that we first met with some extracts from Mr Burke's Letter to a Noble Lord in the year 1796, and on the instant became converts to his familiar, inimitable, powerful prose-style. The richness of Burke, showed, indeed, more magnificent, contrasted with the meagreness of the ordinary style of the paper into which his invective was thrown. Let any one, indeed, who may be disposed to disparage modern intellect and modern letters, look over a file of old newspapers (only thirty or forty years back), or into those that, by prescription, keep up the old-fashioned style in accommodation to the habitual dulness of their readers, and compare the poverty, the meanness, the want of style and matter in their original paragraphs, with the amplitude, the strength, the point and terseness which characterize the leading journals of the day, and he will perhaps qualify the harshness of his censure. We have not a Burke, indeed—we have not even a Junius; but we have a host of writers, working for their bread on the spur of the occasion, and whose names even are not known, formed upon the model of the best writers who have gone before them, and reflecting many of their graces.

Let any one (for instance) compare the St James's Chronicle, which is on the model of the old school, with the Morning Chronicle, which is, or was at least, at the head of the new. This paper we have been long used to think the best, both for amusement and instruction, that issued from the daily press. It is full, but not crowded; and we have breathing-spaces and openings left to pause upon each subject. We have plenty and variety. The reader of a morning paper ought not to be crammed to satiety. He ought to rise from the perusal light

* The Editor of the Englishman for many years was a Mr Radcliffe. He had been formerly attached to some of our embassies into Italy, where his lady accompanied him; and here she imbibed that taste for picturesque scenery, and the obscure and wild superstitions of mouldering castles, of which she has made so beautiful a use in her Romances. The fair authoress kept herself almost as much *incognito* as the Author of Waverley; nothing was known of her but her name in the title page. She never appeared in public, nor mingled in private society, but kept herself apart, like the sweet bird that sings its solitary notes, shrowded and unseen.

and refreshed. Attention is paid to every topic, but none is overdone. There is a liberality and decorum. Every class of readers is accommodated with its favourite articles, served up with taste, and without sparing for the sharpest sauces.* A copy of verses is supplied by one of the popular poets of the day; a prose essay appears in another page, which, had it been written two hundred years ago, might still have been read with admiration; a correction of a disputed reading, in a classical author, is contributed by a learned correspondent. The politician may look profound over a grave dissertation on a point of constitutional history; a lady may smile at a rebus or a charade. Here, Pitt and Fox, Burke and Sheridan, maintained their nightly combats over again; here Porson criticized, and Jekyll punned. An appearance of conscious dignity is kept up, even in the Advertisements, where a principle of proportion and separate grouping is observed; the announcement of a new work is kept distinct from the hiring of a servant of all-work, or the sailing of a steam-yacht.

The late Mr Perry, who raised the Morning Chronicle into its present consequence, held the office of Editor for nearly forty years; and he held firm to his party and his principles all that time,—a long term for political honesty and consistency to last! He was a man of strong natural sense, some acquired knowledge, a quick tact; prudent, plausible, and with great heartiness and warmth of feeling. This last quality was perhaps of more use to him than any other, in the sphere in which he moved. His cordial voice and sanguine mode of address made friends, whom his sincerity and gratitude insured. An overflow of animal spirits, sooner than any thing else, floats a man into the tide of success. Nothing cuts off sympathy so

* Many of these articles (particularly the Theatrical Criticisms) are unavoidably written over night, just as the paper is going to the press, without correction or previous preparation. Yet they will often stand a comparison with more laboured compositions. It is curious, that what is done at so short a notice should bear so few marks of haste. In fact, there is a kind of *extempore* writing, as well as *extempore* speaking. Both are the effect of necessity and habit. If a man has but words and ideas in his head, he can express himself in a longer or a shorter time (with a little practice), just as he has a motive for doing it. Where there is the necessary stimulus for making the effort, what is given from a first impression, what is struck off at a blow, is in many respects better than what is produced on reflection, and at several heats.

much as the obvious suppression of the kindly impulses of our nature. He who takes another slightly by the hand, will not stick to him long, nor in difficulties. Others perceive this, and anticipate the defection, or the hostile blow. Among the ways and means of success in life, if good sense is the first, good nature is the second. If we wish others to be attached to us, we must not seem averse or indifferent to them. Perry was more vain than proud. This made him fond of the society of lords, and them of his. His shining countenance reflected the honour done him, and the alacrity of his address prevented any sense of awkwardness or inequality of pretensions. He was a little of a coxcomb, and we do not think he was a bit the worse for it. A man who does not think well of himself, generally thinks ill of others; nor do they fail to return the compliment. Towards the last, he, to be sure, received visitors in his library at home, something in the style of the Marquis Marialva in Gil Blas. He affected the scholar. On occasion of the death of Porson, he observed, that '*Epitha-* '*lamia* were thrown into his coffin;' of which there was an awkward correction next day,—' For *Epithalamia* read *Epice-* '*dia!*' The worst of it was, that a certain consciousness of merit, with a little overweening pretension, sometimes interfered with the conduct of the paper. Mr Perry was not like a contemporary editor, who never writes a sentence himself, and assigns, as a reason for it, that 'he has too many interests to 'manage as it is, without the addition of his own literary vani- 'ty.' The Editor of the Morning Chronicle wrote up his own paper; and he had an ambition to have it thought, that every good thing in it, unless it came from a lord, or an acknowledged wit, was his own. If he paid for the article itself, he thought he paid for the credit of it also. This sometimes brought him into awkward situations. He wished to be head and chief of his own paper, and would not have any thing behind the editor's desk, greater than the desk itself. He was frequently remiss himself, and was not sanguine that others should make up the deficiency. He possessed a most tenacious memory, and often, in the hottest periods of Parliamentary warfare, carried off half a Debate on his own shoulders. The very first time he was intrusted with the task of reporting speeches in the House of Commons, a singular lapse of memory occurred to him. Soon after he had taken his seat in the Gallery, some accident put him out, and he remained the whole night stupified and disconcerted. When the House broke up, he returned to the office of the paper for which he was engaged, in despair, and profess-

ing total inability to give a single word of it. But he was prevailed upon to sit down at the writing-desk. The sluices of memory, which were not empty, but choked up, began to open, and they poured on, till he had nearly filled the paper with a *verbatim* account of the speech of a Lord Nugent, when his employer, finding his mistake, told him this would never do, but he must begin over again, and merely give a general and *historical* account of what had passed. Perry snapped his fingers at this release from his terrors; and it has been observed, that the *historical* mode of giving a Debate was his delight ever afterwards. From the time of Woodfall, the Morning Chronicle was distinguished by its superior excellence in reporting the proceedings of Parliament. Woodfall himself often filled the whole paper without any assistance. This, besides the arduousness of the undertaking, necessarily occasioned delay. At present, several Reporters take the different speeches in succession—(each remaining an hour at a time)—go immediately, and transcribe their notes for the press; and, by this means, all the early part of a debate is actually printed before the last speaker has risen upon his legs. The public read the next day at breakfast-time (perhaps), what would make a hundred octavo pages, every word of which has been spoken, written out, and printed within the last twelve or fourteen hours!

The Times Newspaper is, we suppose, entitled to the character it gives itself, of being the 'Leading Journal of Europe,' and is perhaps the greatest engine of temporary opinion in the world. Still it is not to our taste—either in matter or manner. It is elaborate, but heavy; full, but not readable: it is stuffed up with official documents, with matter-of-fact details. It seems intended to be deposited in the office of the Keeper of the Records, and might be imagined to be composed as well as printed with a steam-engine. It is pompous, dogmatical, and full of pretensions, but neither light, various, nor agreeable. It sells more, and contains more, than any other paper; and when you have said this, you have said all. It presents a most formidable front to the inexperienced reader. It makes a toil of a pleasure. It is said to be calculated for persons in business, and yet it is the business of a whole morning to get through it. Bating voluminous details of what had better be omitted, the same things are better done in the Chronicle. To say nothing of poetry (which may be thought too frivolous and attenuated for the atmosphere of the city), the prose is inferior. No equally sterling articles can be referred to in it, either for argument or wit. More, in short, is effected in the Morning

Chronicle, without the formality and without the effort. The Times is not a *classical* paper. It is a commercial paper, a paper of business, and it is conducted on principles of trade and business. It floats with the tide: it sails with the stream. It has no other principle, as we take it. It is not ministerial; it is not patriotic; but it is *civic*. It is the lungs of the British metropolis; the mouthpiece, oracle, and echo of the Stock Exchange; the representative of the mercantile interest. One would think so much gravity of style might be accompanied with more steadiness and weight of opinion. But *the* TIMES conforms to the changes of the time. It bears down upon a question, like a first-rate man of war, with streamers flying and all hands on deck; but if the first broadside does not answer, turns short upon it, like a triremed galley, firing off a few paltry squibs to cover its retreat. It takes up no falling cause; fights no up-hill battle; advocates no great principle; holds out a helping hand to no oppressed or obscure individual. It is 'ever strong upon the stronger side.' Its style is magniloquent; its spirit is not magnanimous. It is valiant, swaggering, insolent, with a hundred thousand readers at its heels; but the instant the rascal rout turn round with the 'whiff and wind' of some fell circumstance, the Times, the renegade, inconstant Times, turns with them! Let the mob shout, let the city roar, and the voice of the Times is heard above them all, with outrageous deafening clamour; but let the vulgar hubbub cease, and no whisper, no echo of it is ever after heard of in the Times. Like Bully Bottom in the play, it then 'aggravates its voice so, as if it were a singing dove, an it were any nightingale.' Its coarse ribaldry is turned to a harmless jest; its swelling rhodomontade sinks to a vapid commonplace; and the editor amuses himself in the interval, before another great explosion, by collecting and publishing from time to time, Affidavits of the numbers of his paper sold in the last stormy period of the press.

The Times rose into notice through its diligence and promptitude in furnishing Continental intelligence, at a time when foreign news was the most interesting commodity in the market; but at present it engrosses every other department. It grew obscene and furious during the revolutionary war; and the nicknames which Mr Walter bestowed on the French Ruler were the counters with which he made his fortune. When the game of war and madness was over, and the proprietor wished to pocket his dear-bought gains quietly, he happened to have a writer in his employ who wanted to roar on, as if any thing more was to be got by his continued war-hoop, and who scandalized the whole body of disinterested Jews, contractors, and stock-

jobbers, by the din and smithery with which, in the piping time of peace, he was for rivetting on the chains of foreign nations. It was found, or thought at least, that this could not go on. The tide of gold no longer flowed up the river, and the tide of Billingsgate and blood could no longer flow down it, with any pretence to decency, morality, or religion. There is a cant of patriotism in the city: there is a cant of humanity among hackneyed politicians. The *writer* of the LEADING ARTICLE, it is true, was a fanatic; but the *proprietor* of the LEADING JOURNAL was neither a martyr nor confessor. The principles gave way to the policy of the paper; and this was the origin of the NEW TIMES.

This new Morning paper is one which every Tory ought to encourage. If the friend of the people cannot *away with* it, the friend of power ought not to be without it. Nay, it may be of use to the liberal or the wavering; for it goes all lengths, boggles at no consequences, and unmasks the features of despotism fearlessly and shamelessly, without remorse and without pity. The Editor deals in no half measures, in no half principles; but is a thorough-paced stickler for the modernized doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. Dr Sacheverel, in his day, could not go beyond him. He is no flincher, no trimmer; he 'champions *Legitimacy* to the outrance.' There is something in this spirit, that if it exposes the possessor to hatred, exempts him from contempt. The present Editor of the New, and late Editor of the Old Times, whatever we may think of his opinions, must be acknowledged to be staunch, determined, and consistent in maintaining them. He is a violent partisan, blind to the blots in his own cause; and, by this means, he often opens the eyes of others to them. He has no evasion, no disguises. Let him take up a wrong argument (which he does on principle) and no one can beat him in pushing it to the *reductio ad absurdum*: let him engage in a bad cause (which he does by instinct) and no consideration of prudence or compassion will make him turn back. He is a logician, and will not bate one ace of his argument. He goes the utmost length of the spirit, as well as the principles, of his party. If we like the spirit of despotism, we see it exemplified in his views and sentiments: if we like the principles, we find them in full perfection, and without any cowardly drawback in his reasonings. He is the true organ of the *Ultras*, at home or abroad. It is the creed, we believe, of all legitimate princes, that the world was made for them; and this sentiment is stamped, fixed, seared in inverted but indelible characters, on the mind of the Editor of the New Times,

who, we believe, would march to a stake, in testimony of the opinion that he and all mankind ought to be held as slaves, in fee and perpetuity, by half a dozen lawful rulers of the species. He lays it down, for instance, in so many words, that 'Louis XVIII. has the same undoubted right (in kind and in degree) to the throne of France, that Mr Coke has to his estate of Holkham in Norfolk:' and from this declaration he never swerves, not even in thought. Other writers may argue upon the assumption of this principle, or now and then, in a moment of unexpected triumph, avow it; but he alone has the glory and the shame of making it the acknowledged, undisguised basis of all his reasoning. He is fascinated, in short, with the abstract image of royalty; he has swallowed love-powders from despotism; he is drunk with the spirit of servility; mad with the hatred of liberty; flagrant, obscene in the exposure of the shameful parts of his cause; and his devotion to power amounts to a prostration of all his faculties. It is strange, as well as lamentable, to see this misguided enthusiasm, this preposterous pertinacity in wilful degradation. Yet it is not without its use. Its honesty warns us of the consequences we have to dread: as its consistency ensures us some compensation in some part or other of the system. There is no pure evil, but hypocrisy. Every principle (almost) if consistently followed up, leads to some good, by some reaction on itself. It is only by tergiversation, by tricking, by being false to all opinion, and picking out the bad of every cause to suit it to our own interest, that we get a vile compost of intolerable and opposite abuses. Thus, we should say that superstition, while it was real, with all its evils, had its redeeming points, in the faith and zeal of those who were actuated by it, into whatever excesses they might be hurried: but we object entirely to modern fanaticism, which is the patchwork product of a perverted intellect, with all the absurdity and all the mischief, without one particle of sincerity, to justify it. Despotism even has its advantages; but we see no good in modern despotism, which has lost its reverence, and retains only the odiousness of power. The STATE DOCTOR of the NEW TIMES is, however, a perfect *Preux Chevalier*, compared with some of his hireling contemporaries: another Peter the Hermit, to preach an everlasting crusade against Jacobins and Levellers, and to rekindle another Holy War in favour of *Divine Right*. There is a dramatic interest in the fury of his exclamations, which induces us to make some allowance for the barbarism of his creed. He is less mischievous than when he wrote in the OLD TIMES, which trimmed between power and popularity, and oiled the wheels of Despotism with the cant of Liberty.

He does not now fawn on public opinion, but sets it at defiance, both in theory and practice. He does not mix up the grossness of faction with the refinements of sophistry. He does not uphold the principles, and insult the persons, of the aristocracy. No one was more bitter against the late queen, or more able or strenuous in the cause of her enemies; but he maintained a certain respect for her rank and birth. He did not think that every species of outrage and indecency, heaped on the daughter of a prince, the consort of a king, was the most delicate compliment that could be paid to royalty; but conceived, that when we forget what is due to place and title, we make a gap in ceremony and outward decorum, through which all such persons may be assailed with impunity. Perhaps this starched, pedantic preference of principles to persons, may not, after all, be the surest road to court-favour; but we respect any one who is ever liable to a frown from a patron, or to be left in a minority by his own party. There is nothing truly contemptible, but that which is always tacking and veering before the breath of power.

This naturally leads us to the COURIER; which is a paper of shifts and expedients, of bare assertions, and thoughtless impudence. It denies facts on the word of a minister, and dogmatizes by authority. 'The force of *dulness* can no farther go:' —but its pertness keeps pace with its dulness. It sets up a lively pretension to safe commonplaces and stale jests; and has an alternate gaiety and gravity of manner:—The *matter* is nothing. Compared with the solemn quackery of the Old or New Times, the ingenious editor is the Merry-Andrew of the political show. The Courier is intended for country readers, the clergy and gentry, who do not like to be disturbed with a *reason* for any thing, but with whom the self-complacent shallowness of the editor passes for a self-evident proof that every thing is as it should be. It is a paper that those who run may read. It asks no thought: it creates no uneasiness. In it the last quarter's assessed taxes are always made good: the harvest is abundant; trade reviving; the Constitution unimpaired; the minister immaculate, and the Monarch the finest gentleman in his dominions. The writer has no idea beyond a certain set of cant phrases, which he repeats by rote, and never puzzles any one by the smallest glimpse of meaning in what he says. This lacquey to the Treasury, in short, puts one in mind of those impudent valets at the doors of great houses—sleek, saucy, empty, and vulgar—who give short answers, and laugh into the faces of those who come with complaints and grievances to their masters—think their employers great men, and themselves clever fellows—eat, drink, sleep, and let the world *slide!*

The SUN is a paper that *appears* daily, but never *shines*. The editor, who is an agreeable man, has a sinecure of it; and the public trouble their heads just as little about it as he does.

The TRAVELLER is not a new, but a newly-conducted evening paper; which, if it has not much wit or brilliancy, is distinguished by sound judgment, careful information, and constitutional principles.

We really cannot presume to scan the transcendant merits of the MORNING POST and FASHIONABLE WORLD—and, in short, the other daily papers must excuse us for saying nothing about them.

Of the WEEKLY JOURNALISTS, Cobbett stands first in power and popularity. Certainly he has earned the latter: would that he abused the former less! We once tried to cast this Antæus to the ground; but the earth-born rose again, and still staggers on, blind or one-eyed, to his remorseless, restless purpose,—sometimes running upon posts and pitfalls—sometimes shaking a country to its centre. It is best to say little about him, and keep out of his way; for he crushes, by his ponderous weight, whomsoever he falls upon; and, what is worse, drags to cureless ruin whatever cause he lays his hands upon to support.

The EXAMINER stands next to Cobbett in talent; and is much before him in moderation and steadiness of principle. It has also a much greater variety both of tact and subject. Indeed, an agreeable rambling scope and freedom of discussion is so much in the author's way, that the reader is at a loss under what department of the paper to look for any particular topic. A literary criticism, perhaps, insinuates itself under the head of the Political Examiner; and the theatrical critic, or lover of the Fine Arts, is stultified by a *tirade* against the Bourbons. If the dishes are there, it does not much signify in what order they are placed. With the exception of a little egotism and *twaddle*, and flippancy and dogmatism about religion or morals, and mawkishness about firesides and furious Buonapartism, and a vein of sickly sonnet-writing, we suspect the Examiner must be allowed (whether we look to the design or execution of the general run of articles in it) to be the ablest and most respectable of the publications that issue from the weekly press.

The NEWS is also an excellent paper—interspersed with historical and classical knowledge, written in a good taste, and with an excellent spirit. Its circulation is next, we believe, to that of the OBSERVER, which has twice as many murders, assaults, robberies, fires, accidents, offences, as any other paper, and sells proportionably. Shadows affright the town as well as

substances, and ill news fly fast. We apprehend these are the chief of the weekly journals. There are others that have become notorious for qualities that ought to have consigned them long ago to the hands of the common hangman; and some that, by their tameness and indecision, have been struggling into existence ever since their commencement. There is ability, but want of direction, in several of the last.

As to the Weekly Literary Journals, Gazettes, &c. they are a truly insignificant race—a sort of flimsy announcements of favoured publications—insects in letters, that are swallowed up in the larger blaze of full-orbed criticism, and where

'Coming *Reviews* cast their shadows before!'

We cannot condescend to enumerate them. Before we quit this part of our subject, we must add, that Scotland boasts but one original newspaper, the SCOTSMAN, and that newspaper but one subject—Political Economy.—The Editor, however, may be said to be king of it!

Of the *Magazines*, which are a sort of *cater-cousins* to ourselves, we would wish to speak with tenderness and respect. There is the Gentleman's Magazine, at one extremity of the series, and Mr Blackwood's at the other—and between these there is the European, which is all abroad, —and the Lady's, which is all at home,—and the London, and the Monthly, and the New Monthly—nay, hold; for if all their names were to be written down, one Article or one Number would hardly contain them—so many of them are there, and such antipathy do they hold to each other! For the GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE we profess an affection. We like the name, we like the title of the Editor, (Mr Sylvanus Urban —what a rustic civility is there in it!)—we like the frontispiece of St John's Gate—a well-preserved piece of useless antiquity, an emblem of the work—we like the table of contents, which promises no more than it performs. There we are sure of finding the last lingering remains of a former age, with the embryo productions of the new—some nine days' wonder, some forlorn *Hic jacet*—all that is forgotten, or soon to be so—an alligator stuffed, a mermaid, an Egyptian mummy—South-sea inventions, or the last improvement on the spinning-jenny—an epitaph in Pancras Church-yard, the head of Memnon, Lord Byron's Farewell, a Charade by a Young Lady, and Dr Johnson's dispute with Osborn the bookseller! Oh! happy mixture of indolence and study, of order and disorder! Who, with the Gentleman's Magazine held carelessly in his hand, has not passed minutes, hours, days, in *lackadaisical* triumph over *ennui!* Who has not taken it up on parlour window-seats?

Who has not ran it slightly through in reading-rooms? If it has its faults, they are those of an agreeable old age; and we could almost wish some ill to those who can say any harm of it.

The MONTHLY MAGAZINE was originally an improvement on the Gentleman's, and the model on which succeeding ones have been formed. It was a literary Miscellany, variously and ably supported—a sort of repository for the leading topics of conversation of the day; but it has of late degenerated into a register of patents, and an account of the proprietor's philosophy of the universe, in answer to Sir Isaac Newton! Other publications have succeeded to it, and prevailed. Which of these is the best, the LONDON, or the NEW MONTHLY? We are not the Œdipus to solve this riddle; and indeed it might be difficult, for we believe many of the writers are the same in each. But both contain articles, we will be bold to say, in the form of Essays, Theatrical Criticism, *Jeux-d'esprit*, which may be considered as the flower and cream of periodical literature. To those who judge of books in the lump, by the cubic contents, the binding, or the letters on the back, and who think that all that is conveyed between blue or yellow or orange-tawny covers, must be vain and light as the leaves that flutter round it, we would remark, that many of these fugitive, unowned productions, have been collected, and met with no unfavourable reception, in solid octavo or compact duodecimo. Are there not the quaint and grave subtleties of Elia, the extreme paradoxes of the author of Table-talk, the Confessions of an Opium-eater, the copious tales of Traditional Literature, all from one Magazine? We believe, the agreeable lucubrations of Mr Geoffrey Crayon also first ventured to meet the public eye in an obscure publication of the same sort—

> 'With a blush,
> Modest as morning, when she coldly eyes
> The youthful Phœbus!'

To say truth, some such ordeal seems almost necessary as a passport to literary reputation. The public like to taste works in the sample, before they swallow them whole. If in the two leading Magazines just alluded to, we do not meet with any great fund of anecdote, with much dramatic display of character, with the same number of successful experiments in the world of letters as at an earlier period of our history, yet the reader may perhaps think the want of these in a great measure compensated by a better sustained tone of general reflection, of mild sentiment, and liberal taste; which we hold, in spite of some strong exceptions, to be the true characteristics of the age. The fault of the London Magazine is, that it

wants a sufficient unity of direction and purpose. There is no particular bias or governing spirit,—which neutralizes the interest. The articles seem thrown into the letter-box, and to come up like blanks or prizes in the lottery—all is in a confused, unconcocted state, like the materials of a rich plum-pudding before it has been well boiled. On the contrary, there may be said to be too much tampering with the management of the New Monthly, till the taste and spirit evaporate. A thing, by being overdone, stands a chance of being insipid—the fastidious may end in languor—the agreeable may cloy by repetition. The Editor, we are afraid, *pets* it too much,—and it is accordingly more remarkable for delicacy than robustness of constitution, and, by being faultless, loses some of its effect.

Over-refinement, however, cannot be charged as the failing of most of our periodical publications. Some are full of polemical orthodoxy—some of methodistical deliration—some inculcate servility, and others preach up sedition—some creep along in a series of dull truisms and stale moralities—while others, more 'lively, audible, and full of vent,' subsist on the great staple of falsehood and personality, and enjoy all the advantages that result from an entire contempt for the restraints of decency, consistency, or candour. There is no pretence, indeed, or concealment of the principles on which such works are conducted: and the reader feels almost as if he were admitted to look in on a club of thorough-going hack authors, in their moments of freedom and exaltation. There is plenty of *slang-wit* going, and some shrewd remark. The pipes and tobacco are laid on the table, with a set-out of oysters and whisky, and bludgeons and sword-sticks in the corner! A profane parody is recited, or a libel on an absent member—and songs are sung in mockery of their former friends and employers. From foul words they get to blows and broken heads; till, drunk with ribaldry, and stunned with noise, they proceed to throw open the windows and abuse the passengers in the street, for their want of religion, morals, and decorum! This is a modern and an enormous abuse, and requires to be corrected.

The illiberality of the Periodical Press is 'the sin that most easily besets it.' We have already accounted for this from the rank and importance it has assumed, which have made it a necessary engine in the hands of party. The abuse, however, has grown to a height that renders it desirable that it should be crushed, if it cannot be corrected; for it threatens to overlay, not only criticism and letters, but to root out all common honesty and common sense from works of the greatest excellence, upon large classes of society. All character, all decency, the

plainest matters of fact, or deductions of reason, are made the sport of a nickname, an inuendo, or a bold and direct falsehood. The continuance of this nuisance rests not with the writers, but with the public; it is they that pamper it into the monster it is; and, in order to put an end to the traffic, the best way is to let them see a little what sort of thing it is which they encourage. Both of the extreme parties in the State, the Ultra-Whigs as well as the Ultra-Royalists, have occasionally trespassed on the borders of this enormity: But it is only the worst part of the Ministerial Press that has had the temptation, the hardihood, or the cowardice to make literature the mere tool and creature of party-spirit; and, in the sacredness of the cause in which it was embarked, to disregard entirely the profligacy of the means. It was pious and loyal to substitute abuse for argument, and private scandal for general argument. He who calumniated his neighbour was a friend to his country. If you could not reply to your opponent's objections, you might caricature his person; if you were foiled by his wit or learning, you might recover your advantage by stabbing his character. The cry of 'No Popery,' or 'the Constitution is in danger,' was an answer to all cavils or scruples. Who would hesitate about the weapons he used to repel an attack on all that was dear and valuable in civil institutions? He who drew off the public attention from a popular statement, by alluding to a slip in the private history of an individual, did well: he who embodied a flying rumour as an undoubted fact, for the same laudable end, did better; and he who invented a palpable falsehood, did best of all. He discovered most invention, most zeal, and most boldness; and received the highest reward for the sacrifice of his time, character, and principle. If the jest took, it was gravely supported; if it was found out, it was well intended: To belie a Whig, a Jacobin, a Republican, or a Dissenter, was doing God and the king good service; at any rate, whether true or false, detected or not, the imputation left a stain behind it, and would be ever after coupled with the name of the individual, so as to disable him, and deter others from doing farther mischief. Knowledge, writing, the press was found to be the great engine that governed public opinion; and the scheme therefore was, to make it recoil upon itself, and act in a retrograde direction to its natural one. Prejudice and power had a provocation to this extreme and desperate mode of defence, in their instinctive jealousy of any opposition to their sentiments or will. They felt that reason was against them—and therefore it was necessary that they should be against reason.—they felt, too, that they could extend impunity

to their agents and accomplices, whom they could easily screen from reprisals. Conscious that they were no match for modern philosophers and reformers in abstract reasoning, they paid off their dread of their talents and principles by a proportionable contempt for their persons, for which no epithets could be too mean or hateful. These were therefore poured out in profusion by their satellites. The nicknames, the cant phrases, too, were all in favour of existing institutions and opinions, and were easily devised in a contest where victory, not truth, was the object. The warfare was therefore turned into this channel from the first; and what passion dictated, a cunning and mercenary policy has continued. The Anti-Jacobin was one of the first that gave the alarm, that set up the war-whoop of reckless slander and vulgar abuse. Here is a specimen.

'Mr Coleridge having been dishonoured at Cambridge for 'preaching Deism, has, since that time, left his native country; 'commenced citizen of the world; left his poor children father-'less, and his wife destitute. *Ex hoc disce omnes*—his friend 'Southey and others.'

This is the way in which a man of the most exemplary habits and strict morals was included in the same sentence of reprobation with one of greater genius, though perhaps of more irregular conduct; while the imputations in both cases were impudent falsehoods—probably known to be so, or else founded on some idle report, eagerly caught up and maliciously exaggerated. What has been the effect? Why, that these very persons have, in the end, joined that very pack of hunting-tigers that strove to harass them to death, and now halloo longest and loudest in the chase of blood. Nor was the result, after all, so unnatural as it might at first appear. They saw that there was but one royal road to reputation. The new Temple of Fame was built as an outwork to the rotten boroughs, and the warders were busy on the top of it, pouring down scalding lead and horrible filth on all those who approached, and demanded entrance, without well-attested political credentials. 'The manna' of court favour 'was falling;' and our pilgrims to the land of promise, slowly, reluctantly, but perhaps wisely, got out of the way of it. Who, indeed, was likely to stand, for any length of time, 'the pelting of this pitiless storm'—the precipitation of nicknames from such a height, the thundering down of huge volumes of dirt and rubbish, the ugly blows at character, the flickering jests on personal defects—with the complacent smiles of the great, and the angry shouts of the mob, to say nothing of the Attorney-General's informations, filed *ex officio*, and the well-paid depositions of spies and informers?

It was a hard battle to fight. The enemy were well entrenched on the heights of place and power, and skulked behind their ramparts—those whom they assailed were exposed, and on the *pavé*. It was the forlorn hope of genius and independence struggling for fame and bread; and it is no wonder that many of the candidates *turned tail*, and fled from such fearful odds.

The beauty of it is, that there is generally no reparation or means of redress. From the nature of the imputations, it is frequently impossible distinctly to refute them, or to gain a hearing to the refutation. But if the calumniators are detected and exposed, they plead authority and the *King's privilege!* They assume a natural superiority over you, as if, being of a different party, you were of an inferior species, and justly liable to be tortured, worried, and hunted to death, like any other vermin. They have a right to say what they please of you, to invent or propagate any falsehood or misrepresentation that suits their turn. The greater falsehood, the more merit; the more barefaced the imposture, the more pious the fraud. You are a Whig, a reformer—does not that of itself imply all other crimes and misdemeanours? That being once granted, they have a clear right to heap every other outrage, every other indignity, upon you as a matter of course; and you cannot complain of that which is no more than a commutation of punishment. You are an enthusiast in the cause of liberty: does it not follow that you must be a bad poet? You are against Ministers; is it to be supposed that you can write a line of prose without repeated offences against sense and grammar? If it be once admitted that you are an opposition writer of some weight and celebrity, it follows, of course, that the government scribbler should get a *carte blanche* to fill up your character and pretensions, life, parentage, and education. Your mind and morals are, in justice, *deodands* to the Crown, and should be handed over to the court critic to be dissected without mercy, like the body of a condemned malefactor. The disproportion between the fact and the allegation only points the *moral* the more strongly against you; for the odiousness of your conduct, in differing with men in office and their sycophants, is such, that no colours can be black enough to paint it; and if you are not really guilty of all the petty vices and absurdities imputed to you, it is plain that you ought to be so, to answer to their theory, and as a *fiction* in loyalty, for the credit of church and state. You are a bad subject, they pretend: that you are a bad writer and bad man, is a self-evident consequence that will be at once admitted by all the respectable and well-disposed part of the community. You are entitled, in short,

neither to justice nor mercy: and he who *volunteers* to deprive you of a livelihood or your good name by any means, however atrocious or dastardly, is entitled to the thanks of his own country.

One of their most common expedients is, to strew their victim over and over with epithets of abuse, and to trust to the habitual association between words and things for the effect of their application. There was an instance of this, some little time ago, in a well known paper, with which we shall exemplify our doctrine. It was in reference to the assault made on Sir Hudson Lowe by young Las Casas.

'A French lad, of the name of Las Casas, the son of one of Buonaparte's Counts, waylaid Sir Hudson Lowe in the street on Tuesday, and struck him, because Sir Hudson did his duty properly, as an English Governor, at St Helena, and as keeper of the *miscreant* of whom he had the charge. The Chronicle put forth yesterday a letter without an address, said to be from the boy himself, signed Baron ——, something. In this he confesses the assault, which, in default of other witnesses, will substantiate the fact, and consign him, *as soon as the thief-takers can catch him*, no doubt to the pleasing recreation of the tread-mill for a given time.'

We pass over the terms 'miscreant,'—'fellow,' &c.; but there is a refinement, in one part of this paragraph, worth notice. It is said, as if casually, that the 'thief-takers were after him.' What! had he been accused of picking pockets, of shop-lifting, or petty larceny? No; but though the fact was known to be quite different, the feeling, it was thought, would be the same. His offence would be transferred, by the operation of this choice expression, to the class of misdemeanors which thief-takers are employed to look after; and thus young Las Casas, for resenting the unworthy treatment of his father and old master, has an indirect imputation fastened on him, by which he is confounded in the imagination with felons and housebreakers, and other persons for whom the 'tread-mill' is a suitable punishment! Such is the force of words—the power of prejudice—and the means of poisoning public opinion.

Take another illustration in a native instance. A man of classical taste and attainments appears to be editor of an Opposition Journal. He publishes (it is the fault of his stars) an elegant and pathetic poem. The first announcement of the work, in a Ministerial publication, sets out with a statement, that the author has lately been relieved from Newgate—which gives a felon-like air to the production, and makes it necessary for the fashionable reader to perform a sort of quarantine against it, as if it had the gaol-infection. It is declared by another critic, in the same pay, to be unreadable from its insipidity, and after-

wards, by the same critic, to be highly pernicious and inflammatory—a slight contradiction, but no matter! This, and fifty other inconsistencies, would all go down, provided they were equally malignant and unblushing. The writer may contradict himself as often as he pleases: if he only speaks *against* the work, his criticism is sound and orthodox. Nor is it only obnoxious writers on politics themselves, but all their friends and acquaintance, or those whom they casually notice, that come under this sweeping anathema. It is proper to make a clear stage. The friends of Cæsar must not be suspected of an amicable intercourse with patriotic and incendiary writers. A young poet comes forward: an early and favourable notice appears of some boyish verses of his in the Examiner, independently of all political opinion. That alone decides his fate; and from that moment he is set upon, pulled in pieces, and hunted into his grave by the whole venal crew in full cry after him. It was crime enough that he dared to accept praise from so disreputable a quarter. He should have thrown back his bounty in the face of the donor, and come with his manuscript in his hand, to have poetical justice dealt out to him by the unbiassed author of the Barviad and Mæviad! His tenderness and beauties would then have been exalted with *faint* praise, instead of being mangled and torn to pieces with ruthless, unfeeling rage; his faults would have been gently hinted at, and attributed to youth and inexperience; and his profession, instead of being made the subject of loud ribald jests by vile buffoons, would have been introduced to enhance the merit of his poetry. But a different fate awaited poor Keats! His fine fancy and powerful invention were too obvious to be treated with mere neglect; and as he had not been ushered into the world with the court-stamp upon him, he was to be crushed as a warning to genius how it keeps company with honesty, and as a sure means of inoculating the ingenuous spirit and talent of the country with timely and systematic servility! We sometimes think that writers are alarmed at the praises that even we bestow upon them, lest it should preclude them from the approbation of the authorized sources of fame!

This system thus pursued is intended to amount, and in fact does amount, to a prohibition to authors to write, and to the public to read any works that have not the Government mark upon them. The professed object is to gag the one, and hoodwink the others, and to persuade the world that all talent, taste, elegance, science, liberality and virtue, are confined to a few hack-writers and their employers. One would think the public would resent this gross attempt to impose on their understandings, and encroach on their liberty of pri-

vate judgment. When a gentleman is reading a new work, of which he is beginning to form a favourable opinion, is it to be borne that he should have it snatched out of his hands, and tossed into the dirt by a retainer of the *literary police*? Can he be supposed to pick it up afterwards, either to read himself, or to lend it to a friend, sullied and disfigured as it is? But the truth we fear is, that the public, besides their participation in the same prejudices, are timid, indolent, and easily influenced by a little swaggering and an air of authority. They like to amuse their leisure with reading a new work; and if they have more leisure, have no objection to fill it up with listening to an abuse of the writer. If they approve of candour and equity in the abstract, they do not disapprove of a little scandal and tittle-tattle by the by. They take in a disgusting publication, because it is 'amusing and clever'—that is, full of incredible assertions which make them stare, and of opprobrious epithets applied to high characters, which, by their smartness and incongruity, operate as a lively stimulus to their ordinary state of ennui. This happens on the Sunday morning; and the rest of the week passes in unravelling the imposture, and expressing a very edifying mixture of wonder and indignation at it. Such a paper was detected, not long ago, in the fabrication of a low falsehood against a most respectable gentleman, who was said to have proposed a dinner and rump and dozen, in triumph over the death of Lord Castlereagh. This was said to have taken place in a public room, so that the exposure of the falsehood was immediate and complete. Not long before, it put a leading question to a popular member for the city, as if some ill-conduct of his had caused his father's death: it was shown that this gentleman's father had died before he was born! Is it to be supposed that the writer knew the facts? We should rather think not. He probably neither knew nor cared any thing about them. It was his vocation to hazard the dark insinuation, and to trust to chance and the malice of mankind for its success. The blow was well meant, though it failed. But was it not a blow to the paper itself? Alas, no; it still blunders on; and the public gape after it, half in fear half in indignation. It slanders a virtuous lady; it insults the misfortunes of a Noble House; it rakes up the infirmities of the dead; it taints (for whatever it touches it contaminates) the unborn. No matter. They or their family had sinned in being Whigs—and there are still men in England, it would appear, who think that this is the way by which differences of opinion should be revenged or prevented.

It used to be the boast of English gentlemen, that their political contentions were conducted in a spirit, not merely of per-

fect fairness, but of mutual courtesy and urbanity; and that, even among the lower orders, quarrels were governed by a law of honour and chivalry, which proscribed all base advantages, and united all the spectators against him by whom *a foul blow* was given or attempted. We trust that this spirit is not yet extinguished among us; and that it will speedily assert itself, by trampling under foot that base system of mean and malignant defamation, by which our Periodical Press has recently been polluted and disgraced. We would avoid naming works that desire nothing so much as notoriety; but it is but too well known, that the work of intimidation and deceit, of cruel personality and audacious fabrication, has been carried on, for several years, in various periodical publications, daily, weekly, monthly, and quarterly,—that it has been urged with unrelenting eagerness in the metropolis, in spite of the public discountenance of the leaders of the party which it disgraces by its pretended support; and been propagated into various parts of the country, for purposes of local annoyance. It is equally well known and understood too, that this savage system of bullying and assassination is no longer pursued from the impulse of angry passions or furious prejudices, but on a cold-blooded mercenary calculation of the profits which idle curiosity, and the vulgar appetite for slander, may enable its authors to derive from it. Where this is to stop, we do not presume to conjecture,—unless the excess leads to the remedy, and the distempered appetite of the public be surfeited, and so die. This is by no means an unlikely, and, we hope, may be a speedy consummation. In the mean time, the extent and extravagance of the abuse has already had the effect, not only of making individual attacks less painful or alarming, but even, in many cases, of pointing out to the judicious the proper objects of their gratitude and respect. For ourselves, at least, we do not hesitate to acknowledge, that, when we find an author savagely and perseveringly attacked by this gang of literary retainers, we immediately feel assured, not only that he is a good writer, but an honest man; and if a statesman is once selected as the butt of outrageous abuse in the same quarter, we consider it as a satisfactory proof that he has lately rendered some signal service to his country, or aimed a deadly blow at corruption.

We have put ourselves out of breath with this long lecture on the great opprobrium of our periodical literature,—and dare not now go on to the ticklish chapter of *Reviews*. We do not, however, by any means renounce the design; and hope one day to be enabled to resume it, and to astonish our readers with a full and ingenuous account of our own merits and demerits, and those of our rivals.

ART. V. 1. *Annual Reports of the Trustees of the British Museum.* 1822.

2. *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum.* 1820.

3. *Description of the Marbles, &c. deposited in the British Museum.* 1821.

OUR object in placing these publications at the head of this article, is not to enter into any examination of their contents; but to call the attention of the public to some circumstances connected with the present state of our great NATIONAL MUSEUM, which appear to demand an early consideration.

This noble Institution may be said to have originated in the bequest of Sir Hans Sloane, who, dying in 1752,* left his immense collections of every kind to the nation, on the condition of paying 20,000*l.* in legacies to different individuals; a sum considerably less than the intrinsic value of the medals, coins, gems, and precious metals of his Museum. This bequest included a library of 50,000 volumes, among which were 3566 volumes of MSS. in different languages; an herbarium of 334 volumes; other objects of natural history, to the number of six-and-thirty or forty thousand, the descriptive catalogue of which filled thirty-eight volumes in folio, and eight in quarto;† and the house at Chiswick, in which the Museum was deposited.

The Harleian Collection of MSS., amounting to 7,600 vo-

* According to Biograph. Brit.; but his friend George Edwards says 1753.

† The following synopsis of Sloane's Collections is given by Edwards from the notes of the owner, a short time before his death.

Library, including books of prints and illustrated works, MSS. &c. about	50,000 vols.	Corals, sponges, &c.	1,421
Medals and coins	23,000	Testacea or shells, &c.	5,843
Cameos and intaglios, about	700	Echini, echinites, &c.	659
Seals, &c.	268	Asteriæ trochi, entrochi, &c.	241
Vessels of agate, jasper, &c.	542	Crustacea	363
Antiquities	1,125.	Stellæ marinæ, &c.	173
Precious stones, &c.	2,256	Fishes and their parts	1,555
Other minerals	7,686	Birds and their parts, nests, eggs, &c.	1,172
		Quadrupeds, &c.	1,886
		Vipers, serpents, &c.	521

lumes, chiefly relating to the history of England, and including, among many other curious documents, 40,000 ancient charters and rolls, being about the same time offered for sale, Parliament voted a sum of 40,000*l.* to be raised by lottery, and vested in Trustees, for the establishment of a National Museum. Of this money, 20,000*l.* were paid to the legatees of Sir Hans Sloane; 10,000*l.* were given for the Harleian MSS., and 10,000*l.* for Montague-house, as a receptacle for the whole. Sloane's Museum was removed thither with the consent of his trustees. In 1757, George II. presented to the museum the whole of the Royal Library collected by our kings, from the time of Henry VII. to that of William III.; which included the libraries of Archbishop Cranmer, of Henry Fitzallan, Earl of Arundel, and of the celebrated scholar Isaac Causabon: And, in 1759, the British Museum was opened to the public.

The Collection embraces three grand departments—a library of printed works and MSS.—a collection of antiquities of every description—and collections in every branch of natural history.

I. The value of the library has been greatly enhanced by magnificent donations, and by immense Parliamentary purchases. Among the great benefactors to this department, we ought to mention, in the first place, his late Majesty George III., who presented to it upwards of 50,000 scarce tracts; and its value was greatly augmented by the bequests of Thomas Tyrwhit, Esq.—of Sir Richard Musgrave—of the Reverend Mr Cracherode—and, above all, by that of Major Arthur Edwards, who left to it his noble library, and 7000*l.* as a fund for the purchase of books. Parliament has, at different times, granted specific sums, for the purchase of various highly valuable collections of books; and, among others, of the Cottonian Library of 861 MS. volumes, of which, however, 54 had been much damaged by a fire in 1731, including Madox's Collections 'on the Exchequer,' in 94 volumes, besides many precious documents connected with our domestic and foreign history about the time of Elizabeth and James. Dr Birch bequeathed 337 volumes of MSS.; and the libra-

Insects, &c. - -	5,439	Miscellaneous, things natural, &c. - -	2,098
Vegetables, including seeds, roots, &c. -	12,506	Mathematical instruments - - -	55
Hortus siccus, or volumes of dried plants -	334	Pictures and framed drawings - - -	471
Humana, calculi, and anatomical preparations	756		

See Memoirs of the Life of George Edwards, London, 1776.

ry was, about the same time, augmented by the acquisition of Halhed's Oriental MSS., in 93 volumes; of which, 14 are in Sanscrit, and the rest chiefly in Persian and Arabic. This department of literature received some valuable additions by Colonel Hamilton's acquisitions in Egypt, and several MSS. presented by later travellers. One of the most important additions to the MSS., was the purchase of the Landsdowne Collection, consisting of 1352 volumes; of which, 114 are Lord Burleigh's State Papers, 46 Sir Julius Cæsar's Collections respecting the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., and 108 the Historical Collections of Bishop Kennet. In 1818, Parliament granted 13,500*l.* for the purchase of Dr Burney's library of scarce books and MSS.; which was a noble addition to the Museum. Many years ago, Sir Joseph Banks was the donor of many curious Icelandic MSS.; and this donation was *crowned*, in 1820, by his bequest of his whole prodigious library, unrivalled in some departments of knowledge, especially in what relates to every branch of natural history. By far the greatest and most important accession it has lately received, however, is that which it owes to the truly royal munificence of the present king; viz. the library of 150,000 volumes, and a most valuable series of maps and charts, collected by his father.

These various acquisitions, minor donations, the numerous purchases by the Trustees—and the right of obtaining copies of all British publications entered at Stationers Hall, have contributed to render the library of the British Museum a vast and noble depositary of every species of literature.

II. The original antiquities of Sloane's collection, with the exception of the coins and medals, do not appear to have been of high value; and until the present century, the additions in this department of the Museum were not numerous. The antiquities which the conquest of Egypt threw into our hands, and the purchase of Mr Townley's collection of marbles in 1805 for 20,000*l.*, may be considered as the first grand additions to this department. This was followed by the purchase of Sir William Hamilton's vases, &c. at an expense of 8,400*l.* It would be injustice here to omit the princely gift of the Barberini vase in 1810, by the late Duke of Portland, who had bought it from Sir William Hamilton for 1000*l.* The riches of the Museum were greatly augmented by the acquisition of the matchless collection of Lord Elgin, for which Parliament voted 35,000*l.* in the year 1816. Our national collection has since been farther enriched by the purchase of the Phigalian frieze, a well preserved series of very spirited high-reliefs, of the pure age of Grecian sculpture. When contemplating these last mentioned

treasures, we could not conceal our mortification at the unfortunate error by which our country was deprived of the possession of the very interesting statues of the Tympana of the Temple of Egina. These marbles seem to have been buried by an earthquake, to which they may be said to owe their fortunate preservation. They were discovered in 1811 by two of our countrymen, Messrs Cockrell and Foster, and two German travellers, who agreed to join in excavating the dilapidated temple of Jupiter Panhellenius. In the course of their excavations, they discovered ten nearly entire statues of the western, and five of the eastern pediment; besides such fragments of the remainder of the two groups, as showed completely the whole design of the first, and much of the latter of these decorations; and also the four small figures which stood on the *acroteria*. These fruits of an arduous and expensive search, were first embarked for Zante, and then, for security, sent to Malta. Their sale was afterwards advertised for a long time in all the capitals of Europe, as to take place at Zante, on a certain day. One of the gentlemen on the establishment of the British Museum was despatched to secure the prize for our country; but by some strange fatality, Mr Taylor Combe stopped at Malta instead of proceeding to Zante; and this most curious collection of marbles, highly interesting, as forming a link between the stiff style of Egyptian, and the refined period of Grecian art, remarkable for the singularity of some parts, and the excellence of most of the details, unique as an instance of an antique group of large size, discovered on the very spot it was originally designed to decorate, was knocked down at 8000*l.* (the upset price) to the agent of the King of Bavaria, the only bidder who appeared at the sale!

It is to be hoped that the Egyptian antiquities sent home by M. Salt and Belzoni, will not be permitted to leave this country, where they have acquired a fresh interest, from the curious discoveries of Dr Young, who appears to hold the key to the sacred characters of Egypt in his hands.

III. The collections of Natural History have been greatly augmented in the Mineral department, by many donations, and several extensive purchases. The specimens of Sloane's cabinet were united with those bequeathed by Mr Cracherode, and with the collection purchased in 1798 from Mr Hatchet. In 1810, the noble mineral cabinet of the honourable Mr Greville, which was first accurately examined, and valued by competent judges at 13,727*l.*, was purchased by Parliament for that sum. Besides several minor acquisitions, this department was farther augmented by the purchase of the collections of

Baron Mole and of Baron Beroldingen; and by Lord Grenville's present of Peruvian minerals.

On the management and classification of the Library, the Antiquities, and Minerals, we do not mean at present to enter; because we are satisfied that these are as well conducted as the accommodation in Montague House will permit; and we have had personal experience of the urbanity and attention of the gentlemen to whose care they are committed, in rendering them of utility to the student, and an amusement to the public. We may here also express our approbation of the greater liberality in the mode of admission to the National Museum, which was adopted in the year 1811 or 1812. In this respect, Englishmen now have less occasion to blush for the contrast between the systems pursued in our own country and in France, where the freedom of admission formed one of the greatest pleasures we received on visiting the superb depositaries of science and of art in Paris. The effect of the new regulations adopted by the Trustees of the British Museum has not been lost on the public. In the year ending 25th March 1812, the number of admissions to the British Museum did not exceed 27,499; while in the year ending March 25, 1822, the persons admitted amounted to 91,151,—a result equally proving the foresight of the Trustees, and the increasing taste of the people.

It is to the state of the Zoological department of the Museum that we at present mean chiefly to direct the attention of our readers.

The Zoological additions have not kept pace with the other departments of the British Museum. After the acquisition of Sloane's cabinet, we do not recollect any considerable purchases, with the exception of a collection of birds, some years ago, for which about 500*l.* were given, and what was bought at the sale of Bullock's Museum, when about 400*l.* were laid out in Zoological specimens. The number of specimens, however, ought by this time to be immense. Very valuable presents have been given by private individuals; and Sir Joseph Banks presented the whole of his superb collection of animals, formed during his voyage round the world. From these sources, and the original cabinet of Sloane, a most extensive collection of Zoological specimens ought to have been accumulated. This part of Sloane's collection consisted of 19,275 articles connected with animal life. Of these there were 1886 quadrupeds, 1172 birds and their parts, 1555 fishes and their parts, 5439 insects, and 9221 specimens of the lower animals, including shells, serpents, &c. When to these we add all that has been presented or purchased in the course of more

than half a century, how comes it that a visitor to the Museum can see so little of all these Zoological treasures? Foreigners inquire with eagerness where this department of the British Museum is to be viewed; and, in spite of politeness, are tempted to laugh outright when they are referred to the half dozen quadrupeds that are exhibited on the staircase, and the few specimens of birds, which add little either to the interest or ornament of one of the saloons of Montague House.

The state of decay and ruin in which the Zoological collections of the Museum in general exhibit, and the very little which can be learnt in a visit to it, from the small number exposed to public view, the want of labels or references to most even of these, and the strange names attached to the most familiar animals in some of the cases, where a second *Adam* appears to have been at work, have long excited our surprise and our inquiries; and we are concerned to state, that the result of our investigation reflects no credit on those whose duty it was to have seen that due attention was paid to the preservation of this species of national property. 1st, The Testacea of Sloane, exceeding 5800 in number, augmented by innumerable donations, and the purchase of Colonel Montague's collection of British shells, ought to have formed a noble source of study to the conchologist; but the shells of the British Museum, with the exception of a portion of what Dr Leach was engaged in arranging at the time of his lamented illness, are of as little use for the purposes of general study, as if they were in China. The collection of the genus Lepas (cirrhipedes) to which Dr Leach paid great attention, is indeed fine, and is beautifully arranged; but very few of the other shells are labelled; and many private cabinets in London greatly surpass the national collection of Testacea. The British shells of Colonel Montague's collection, are in a separate room, and are complete and well arranged; but the student cannot have access to any part of it, without formal application to trustees and principal keepers; and several days must elapse between the request and the obtaining of the favour. * This sort of property was certainly intended for the public benefit when it was purchased with public money, and not solely for the studies of the keepers of the Museum. If any shells are buried in the vaults of Montague-House, or locked up in private rooms, they are lost to the public; and there is

* This certainly was the state of things less than a year ago; and probably it still remains unchanged.

reason to fear, that a vast number of what were originally deposited in the Museum, are no longer to be found in its repositories, owing to the little attention which has been bestowed on the preservation of objects, which, in themselves, are certainly among the least destructible specimens of natural history. It has happened to one of our friends, who was admitted into the subterranean repositories of Montague House, to observe no less than five specimens of that rare shell *Murex Carinolus*, which is so well figured in the title page of Pennant's fourth volume of British Zoology, lying on the floor, among a heap of other shells which had been thrown aside as rubbish! And yet, this shell is no where visible among those that are open to the public.

We may here take the opportunity of stating, that the zoological specimens which have been arranged and named, are of comparatively little utility *to* the student who visits the Museum for information; for the attached names are generally such as are not to be found in any published system; and the caprice of the nomenclator seems not to have allowed almost any specimen to retain the appellation imposed by his predecessors. The rage for new nomenclature is the epidemic malady of our Continental neighbours. With all due respect for the French naturalists, we cannot admit the propriety or utility of their perpetual endeavours to substitute a nomenclature of their own, for that which has been long received by civilized nations. Naturalists of that country, and their imitators among ourselves, too often dream that they are enlarging the boundaries of science, and establishing for themselves the character of discoverers, when they have invented new names for familiar objects; when, in truth, they are only encumbering science with a needless load of words, calculated to impede the progress of the student of nature. We are far from being hostile to *all deviations* from a received nomenclature or arrangement. Where there is an evident impropriety in descriptive language, or where an arrangement is founded on erroneous principles, or may lead to false conclusions, we always wish to meet the correcting hand of the scientific reformer; but we object to all unnecessary deviations from established nomenclature; especially to all changes which have no ostensible motive, but the silly vanity of proposing new names, or the pompous egotism of dabblers in classification. The adoption of such innovation in a private collection, would be ascribed to bad taste; in a new book they would draw down the wholesome castigation of the reviewer; in a public museum they merit the reprobation of every true friend to science.

If called on to state what nomenclature or classification we should prefer in a national collection of organized nature; we have little hesitation in saying, that we should be inclined to recommend a system, which has for its basis the outline of the illustrious Swede, corrected, modified, and subdivided, according to modern discoveries; because its language is interwoven with the national science of civilized nations, for more than half a century of most important discoveries in this branch of knowledge, and is the most universally received of any which has ever been given to the world. We are, however, far from inculcating a servile adherence to the divisions of the Swedish naturalist; a lingering '*on the steps of the temple where Linnæus had left us,*' as it has been well expressed by one writer. The progress of science demands many alterations of his classification, and some in his nomenclature; but we would warn the young naturalist against indulging in a restless love of change, indiscriminately involving equally the merits and defects of a system which, for convenience, and accurate discrimination of species, has never been excelled, and is superior to all in the philosophic principles of its nomenclature. It should not be forgotten, that Linnæus never considered his system as complete; he gave it as convenient, though imperfect; and we have always considered as one of its excellences, the ease with which it admitted of modifications and subdivisions, when found advantageous, beyond that of any system with which we are acquainted.—— But to return to our more immediate subject.

2d, With respect to the Corals, Sponges, and other lower animals of the British Museum, we are not prepared to elucidate the state in which they are. We know, that little in this department is visible to the public; and they may be mouldering or blackening in the crypts of Montague-house, the tomb or charnel-house of unknown treasures.

3d, The Insects of Sloane's Collection alone amounted to upwards of 4500 specimens. Of these, not *one* remains entire; but the scattered ruins may be found, with the piled up cabinets, in a corner of one of the subterranean passages. When Dr Leach was appointed zoologist to the Museum, he presented to the nation his valuable collection of Insects; and Mr Browne transmitted all those brought home in Captain Flinders's voyage; yet, of these, which we hope have not shared the fate of the other collection, not one is exposed to public view.

4th, The collection of Animals, or parts of Animals, preserved in spirits, which have been deposited in the Museum, was most extensive [illegible] Fishes, Snakes, and Reptiles, in

particular, were once most numerous and curious. From these, or from the small Quadrupeds preserved in bottles, the public is not permitted to derive any gratification or instruction; and we know, that many of these preparations have been irreparably injured, from the want of attention to supplying the spirit wasted by evaporation. The principal part of these, if still in existence, are buried in the crypts of the Institution, six or seven of which are absolutely crammed with cabinets, piles of shells, and boxes with 'contents unknown,' articles which have not seen the light since they first entered Montague-house, remains of quadrupeds, and bottles * of all sizes, some still containing preserved animals, but many presenting disfigured and noisome remnants of what were once rare and interesting objects of natural history.—All this, too, notwithstanding the sums annually allowed '*for the preservation of the Zoological Collections.*'

Besides the purchases which have been made from time to time in this department, innumerable donations have been made to the Museum, by individuals who felt an honest pride in the idea of contributing to the cause of Science, while they were adding to the richness of the National collection. We have reason to know the bitter disappointment which has awaited the donors of extensive collections, when, on a subsequent visit to the British Museum, they were unable to perceive, or even to learn from the keepers, where their donations had been deposited, or if they were then in existence.

5th, The ornithological department of Sloane's Museum contained 1172 articles. This was augmented some years ago by the purchase of an extensive collection of birds, and by a prodigious number of presents, it is said, both from foreigners and natives, amongst which the magnificent collection of birds, formed by Sir Joseph Banks, during his voyages, stood pre-eminent, for the number of beautiful and unique specimens. Of these various collections, we are informed, by those who have taken much pains to investigate the subject, that there are now but 322 specimens left! and that these, from being crowded together on shelves, in old-fashioned, lofty, unsightly presses, which cannot sufficiently guard them from dust and insects, present a most slovenly spectacle; and, in a few years, for want of care, will probably 'leave not a wreck behind.'

The fate of Sir J. Banks's Collection, appears almost incredible, yet not the less true. Will it easily be believed, that this

* We are concerned to state, that the *number* of bottles now in the vaults seem to us *surprisingly small*, considering the multitude of such preparations once belonging to the Museum.

noble collection has disappeared from the Museum! The packages which contained it filled, we are told, a large waggon, when conveyed from the house of the generous donor, to the British Museum. They were there safely deposited in the *mysterious vaults*, and seem, in a great measure, to have been forgotten, as they were wholly lost to the public, until a singular accident called them from their hiding-place.

When the College of Surgeons commenced furnishing their Museum, they obtained an order from the Trustees of the British Museum, for such objects of natural history as could be spared from the latter Collection. Unfortunately, Dr Shaw stumbled on those cases, and they were sent to the Museum of the College. It was afterwards deemed prudent by that Body to confine their collections to subjects of human and comparative anatomy; and a well known collector, having in his possession many skeletons, and other articles suited to the purposes of the College, agreed to exchange them for specimens more adapted to his already magnificent collection; and we are told, that the cases containing Sir J. Banks's Collection, which had remained, it seems, *unopened* at Surgeon's Hall, were, *en masse*, consigned to him, in exchange for his anatomical preparations. He found these cases, admirably secured and pitched over, to contain the greatest rarities, in the most perfect preservation; and thus a private individual became fairly possessed of the largest collection of uncommon and splendid birds which was ever at one time imported into Britain. The mistake was discovered when too late; and the Trustees of the British Museum, anxious to repair, as much as possible, the unlucky accident, authorized Dr Leach to purchase up those very articles, at the subsequent dispersion of the collection above alluded to. The concourse of distinguished foreign naturalists whom the fame of the intended sale attracted to England, made some of the birds fetch most exorbitant prices; and near 400*l.* were expended by Dr Leach, in restoring to the National Museum perhaps but a small part of what had been presented to it, by one of the most munificent patrons of natural history which this country ever produced! We do not state this transaction as one consistent with our individual knowledge: but it has come to us in a way that leaves little doubt of the fact; and every inquiry we have made has tended to confirm our conviction.

These observations on the neglected state of the Ornithological department of the Museum, do not apply to the British birds, which make a part of the collections lately purchased from the heirs of Colonel Montague for 1000*l.* These are fitted up with taste, and even elegance, in a separate room, and

are provided with labels; but here, again, we recognise the rage for new names in its wildest form. Our old acquaintance the yellow wagtail, that has often delighted our boyish eyes, we were surprised to find metamorphosed into the *yellow bradyte*—an appellation not to be found in any published system of ornithology with which we are acquainted.

The purchases made two or three years ago by Dr Leach, for the Museum, included some extremely rare and splendid trochili, or humming birds, several of which cost three and four guineas a piece; but so little care is taken of these beautiful wonders of the feathered creation, since Dr Leach's resignation, that, on a recent visit to the British Museum, they were observed to be swarming with insects; and a few months more will probably consign them to the grave of Sloane's collections—the vaults of Montague-House. Indeed, we may remark, that except *moths*, *ptini*, and *dermestes*, busily employed amid the splendours of exotic plumage, or roaming through the fur of animals, we do not know that a single insect is visible to the public, of all that have been deposited in the British Museum. The foreign birds exhibited in the Museum now, only amount to 322—and of these not one has its name attached to it, nor is there a single specimen named in the catalogue. If any birds were collected in our late Polar expeditions, not one has yet appeared in the Museum.

6*th*, The destruction among the quadrupeds is not less complete. Sloane's Museum contained 1886 specimens of *mammalia;* and a vast number of articles of this description have, at different times, been presented to the National Collection. But except what may be preserved in bottles, or falling to pieces in the vaults, all Sloane's quadrupeds have been annihilated. It is well known, that such articles require considerable attention to exclude insects and dust, and that, without this care, they are very perishable. But it is as well known, that with due attention to proper *stoving*, when insects first appear, and to impregnating the skins and fur with preparations, of which arsenic, corrosive sublimate and camphor, form the active ingredients, tight glazed cases will preserve such objects unimpaired for ages. The quadrupeds of the British Museum, for want of attention to these precautions, are *now reduced to thirteen* (exclusive of the smaller species, which may be still decaying in bottles), a few of which ornament the great staircase. Of these, six are named; and one of them recently labelled, '*Felis tigris, jun. tiger-cat, young male, from India,*' really appears to us to be nothing more than a *young bear!* Some of the existing quadrupeds were the gift of Mr Burchill, the Afri-

can traveller; and two, the musk ox and Polar bear, were brought to England by Captain Parry. We do not even find that the skulls of the specimens destroyed by insects have been preserved, though this would have been an important point for comparative anatomy. We hope that they were sent to Surgeons' Hall, with other articles less appropriate. We recollect hearing, some years ago, of a large fire being kindled in the courts of Montague House, into which the rotten or mutilated fragments of various zoological specimens were thrown, and a guard placed over this funeral pile, to prevent any sacrilegious hand from snatching a feather or a bone from destruction.

As a supplement to the devastation which has taken place in the zoological collections of the Museum, we shall offer a few remarks on the state of Sloane's collection of vegetable nature. Of the 12,506 specimens of vegetable substances, including woods, seeds, gums, resins, roots, &c. the condition is not satisfactory; for a small part of them only can be now seen, and these are in a very slovenly state. This immense herbarium filled 334 volumes, including what he himself had collected in the West Indies, and the horti sicci of some distinguished botanists. About fifty or sixty volumes only are now visible, piled up on some lofty shelves, in one of the rooms, on a level with the library; and these are black with the dust of half a century, which has not only defiled their exterior, but has penetrated into their inmost recesses; while the leaves and the plants are equally the prey of worms, undisturbed in their sacrilegious banquets. Such a collection should have been preserved in well closed cases; and how long they may thus be kept unimpaired, can be well understood by those who have witnessed the perfect preservation of the Herbarium of the celebrated Linnæus, in the hands of the distinguished botanist who has enriched his country by the acquisition of this treasure.

Such are the stories which we find in very general circulation among naturalists; and, we fear, from the sources through which they have reached our ears, that they are not exaggerated: though nothing would give us greater pleasure than to find that our information was erroneous.

The state of the Library attached to the collections of Natural History, is most wretched. Scarcely a book is there to be found, which has been published for the last fifty years; and in its present state, it may be said to be almost useless to the student. In short, the whole Zoological and Botanical department of the Museum is disgraceful to the nation, and very discreditable to the Trustees, to whose charge it has been consigned.

These Trustees are forty-one in number. Of these, twenty are

trustees from holding certain public offices of honour or emolument; * six are the representatives of the families of Sloane, Cotton, and Harley; and fifteen are chosen by the preceding twenty-six. It is quite obvious, that the election of the fifteen may be said to rest with the first class: and as it consists almost wholly of the ministry for the time being, the King's ministers are in no small degree responsible for the manner in which the Museum is conducted. It is however proper to state, that the numerous other avocations of the majority of the *ex officio* trustees, affords them but little leisure to attend to the internal management of the British Museum. Report states, that either from apathy, or consciousness of want of power to introduce salutary regulations, the family trustees take little part in the management: and that the whole *patronage* and government of the British Museum devolves on two or three of the first class of Trustees. Common fame assigns the *patronage of the appointment of officers* to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons. Should this be the fact, the present Archbishop may be regarded as the Regent of the Museum: for Lord Eldon is too much involved in the arduous duties of his station, to have any time to spare to the minor concerns of the Museum; and the Speaker at this moment, the son of the Archbishop, has probably as little leisure as inclination to oppose the wishes of his father. It is therefore chiefly to the ecclesiastical head of the Anglican Church, that the public will look for the preservation of so much valuable national property; and we are not without hope, that, in appealing to him, we shall not in vain call his attention to the present lamentable state of the Zoological department of the Museum.

At no period since the opening of the Museum to the pub-

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* These are—

Archbishop of Canterbury.
Lord Chancellor.
Bishop of London.
Lord President of the Council.
First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord Privy Seal.
First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Steward.
Lord Chamberlain.
2 Principal Secretaries of State.
Speaker of the House of Commons.
Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.
Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
Master of the Rolls.
Attorney-General.
Solicitor-General.
President of the Royal Society.
President of the College of Physicians.

lic, has there been sufficient attention paid to the preservation of the zoological specimens: and the almost total disappearance of the animals of Sloane's Collection, and of the immense number of donations of this sort from private individuals, is highly disgraceful to those to whose charge this department was committed. We are not prepared to state at what period the work of destruction began to make rapid strides: but we are certain that, before it came under the superintendance of Dr Leach, much irreparable mischief was done. When that gentleman came into office, in 1813, his zeal and talents prompted him to attempt all that the efforts of one man could perform in this Augean stable; and his generous donation of his own private collections, sufficiently evinced his wish to improve the National Museum. Unfortunately, the ruin of innumerable specimens was already completed; and, latterly, he was infected with the rage for new names. These circumstances rendered his labours less valuable than they would otherwise have been, to the public; and his health has compelled him to resign the situation, while the various contents of the vaults are still very imperfectly explored. It is but justice to this gentleman to state, that, while health permitted, he was assiduously employed in arranging a series of Entomological cabinets, which he left in a good state of preservation; and he had made considerable progress in the classification of the shells in the Museum. The arrangement of the British Zoological Collection is likewise due to him. It is about four years since Dr Leach was occupied in the Museum: and all that appears to have been done since his retirement from its duties, is the restoration of some of the British birds to their old appellations. With the highest respect for the acquirements of his successor, we cannot approve of his appointment to that department, in which he had certainly little previous experience, and of which, we are told, he has even professed his entire ignorance. No talents and no industry, without long previous study, and practical application, can qualify a man for the charge of the Zoological Collection in the British Museum. His duty is not (in the present state of things) to be confined to comparing the articles with a catalogue. He ought to be an experienced zoologist, capable not only of arranging, but describing the various articles, and of ascertaining how far they are still susceptible of being serviceable, where decay has already commenced; and, when new specimens are obtained, he ought to be able to ascertain whether they be nondescript, or otherwise deserving of the attention of the learned. To much practical knowledge of zoology, he should unite great zeal for the science, and intensity of application for years

to come, before our National Collection can be rendered respectable. In its present state, it is an object of disgust and lamentation to native naturalists, and of ridicule and contempt to foreigners. We have heard hints of a permanent provision for an *extra* Librarian being the cause of the removal of Mr Children, from the antiquarian to the zoological department: But we are unwilling to credit this; and it can scarcely be supposed to be owing to an indisposition on the part of Parliament to supply the *necessary* funds for so essential a part of the Museum, when we reflect on the liberal annual votes for its *general support*. We have examined the printed Parliamentary papers, connected with this subject, for the last twenty-three years (being all at present within our reach); and the following Table shows the sums granted annually 'to the Trustees of the British Museum, to enable them to fulfil their trust,' since the year 1798; and these, it will be seen, do not include sums voted to them for different specific purposes, but merely for the general support of the Institution.

TABLE of PARLIAMENTARY GRANTS to the BRITISH MUSEUM, in 23 Years.

In the year 1799	L.2,000	0	0 *	In the year 1808	L.6,790	0	10	
1800	3,000	0	0	1809	7,639	17	2	
1801	3,000	0	0	1810	7,152	0	6	
1802	6,000	0	0	1811	7,999	19	8	
1803	3,000	0	0	1812	7,405	12	11	
1804	11,000	0	0(*a*)	1813	7,197	19	1	(*e*)
1805	11,000	0	0(*b*)	1814	8,231	11	4	
1806	19,000	0	0(*c*)	1815	7,066	4	10	(*f*)
1807	5,556	5	0(*d*)					

* In this year Parliament also purchased Dr Hunter's collection for 15,000*l*., and gave it to the College of Surgeons in London. Subsequent grants have been made to that Body, at different times, for building a hall, lecture-rooms, &c.

(*a*) In two separate grants.

(*b*) In two separate grants: besides which, Parliament purchased the Townley collection of marbles for the Museum, at an expense of 20,000*l*.

(*c*) In two separate grants.

(*d*) This was for the general purposes of the Museum: besides which, 4925*l*. were voted for the purchase of the Lansdowne MSS.

(*e*) For general purposes: besides 1000*l*. for the purchase of books.

(*f*) For general purposes: besides 1000*l*. for purchasing books, and 2000*l*. allowed for printing the Alexandrian MS. of the Bible, and 250*l*. allowed *for preserving specimens of natural history*.

TABLE of PARLIAMENTARY GRANTS to the BRITISH MUSEUM, in 23 Years.

In the year	1816	L.10,253	19	6(*g*)	In the year	1820	L.10,009	16	10
	1817	8,577	16	5		1821	8,479	0	0
	1818	8,663	16	8(*h*)					
	1819	10,018	16	8			L.170,922	17	5

To which, if we add the specific grants mentioned in the Notes, amounting to 75,000*l.*, we shall have a sum of no less than 245,000*l.* advanced in that period.

Besides these Parliamentary grants, the British Museum derives a small income from permanent sources. L.30,000 were originally vested in the reduced annuities, by act of Parliament, for its benefit; and 7000*l.* were left as a legacy to the Institution, by Major Arthur Edwards, which became the foundation of what forms a separate account, under title of the Book Fund.

In the accounts given in to Parliament, we find a profit arising from the sale of the Exchequer bills issued for the grants, and some income from the sale of catalogues. The receipt of the Parliamentary grants has of late years been saddled with the expense of Treasury stamps, &c. which, however, only has amounted to between 2*l.* and. 3*l.* To complete this sketch of the pecuniary concerns of the Museum, we shall annex a copy of the account rendered to Parliament by the Trustees, during the last Session.

BRITISH MUSEUM, FOR THE YEAR ENDING 25TH MARCH, 1822.

Receipts.

Balance from the last year	L.1,089	14	3
Dividend on 30,000*l.* reduced annuities	900	0	0
Parliamentary grant	8,479	0	0
Profit on Exchequer bills	67	13	4
Cash received for catalogues	337	16	10
	L.10,874	4	5

Payments.

Officers salaries	L. 2360	0	0
Ditto for extra services	1210	0	0
Carry over	L.3570	0	0

(*g*) For general purposes: besides 35,000*l.* voted for the Elgin marbles, 800*l.* for removing them to the Museum, and 1700*l.* for a temporary building for their reception.

(*h*) For general purposes: besides which, Parliament purchased the valuable library of Dr Burney for 13,500*l.*

Brought over -	L.3570	0	0
board-wages of attendants and servants	1747	10	6
xes - - -	637	11	6
g - - - -	453	7	6
- - -	144	10	6
- - - -	308	0	0
l lamplighting - -	113	12	9
for domestic use - -	166	8	5
er - - -	13	9	0
ods at the Customhouse and cartage -	101	18	9
helves and other repairs, not paid for by the Works - - -	372	18	0
f Minerals - - -	137	8	0
and preserving the zoological collection	274	19	6
nased - - -	2	10	6
d engraving drawings of catalogues -	363	11	0
f MSS. - - -	69	14	0
f books - - -	216	2	0
Alexandrian MS.* - -	1000	11	3
inventory of Sir Joseph Banks's library	63	0	0
amps, &c., on the Parliamentary grant	2	2	6
	L.9758	5	8

account, we find the heads of the general expenditure; ears, that the liberality of Parliament in the last year, surplus in the Trustees = 1119*l.* 18s. 9d.: hence, it alleged that the neglected state of the Zoological de- s owing to the *stingyness* of Parliament. The Parlia- grants for the support of the Museum have, in the y-three years, amounted, as we have seen, to near or have annually averaged, in that period, above and we can scarcely think that the Parliament, which to been so liberal, would hesitate to provide any trif- on which might be requisite to pay a qualified keeper of gical collections, provided it were satisfactorily shown were no supernumeraries, and no needless expenditure er departments. Were the Trustees to represent the e decay and ruin impending over the yet remaining

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ng this most ancient existing MS. of the Bible, has already 2s. 6d.; of which sum, according to the last general ac- *l.* 16s. remain unpaid: the remaining 714*l.* 4s. (of the last 000*l.*) will be expended in printing the *Prolegomena*; and ated that 436*l.* more will complete this great undertaking

Zoological specimens, we certainly think that the greatest sticklers for retrenchment and economy in the expenditure of public money, would be induced to grant what is absolutely necessary to prevent their total destruction. Much might be done, we are persuaded, by a due economy in the other branches of the Establishment. At all events, it seems unreasonable to complain of want of Parliamentary support, while the Trustees, for several years, have had a surplus in their hands, to be carried forward from one account to that of the succeeding year.

If those objects are not reckoned worthy of preservation, there seems a strange inconsistency in expending considerable sums in purchasing them; and it would be better at once to declare, that it is not intended to collect Zoological specimens, than to hold out the lure of a public depôt for such objects, to tempt the generosity of private contributors, and then to abandon their donations, as well as the national purchases, to certain destruction. If no more care is to be bestowed on these collections, to what purpose are 200*l.* or 300*l.* occasionally expended, 'in preserving Zoological specimens, as may be seen in many of the accounts rendered to Parliament?'

It has been offered as some apology for the state of the Zoological department, that Montague-House affords no suitable accommodation for displaying the acquisitions of the Museum. There is, at first sight, some reason in this plea for the little which is exhibited to the public: but would it not be better to appropriate some of the many rooms, now occupied as *dwellings* by the officers of the Museum, for the reception of the collections of Natural History? According to the return made to two orders of the House of Commons, dated February 16th, 1821, there are fifty-nine apartments so occupied within the walls of Montague-House by eight officers. Surely some of these might be spared for displaying the contents of the Museum, * without any great hardship on the officers. We believe, that a suitable remuneration for this deprivation would amount to a very trifling expense; and we know, that this additional accommodation would be more than sufficient to display all the objects of Natural History, now in the vaults of Montague-House, advantageously to the public, for whose amusement and instruction a National Museum is chiefly valuable.

If this plan be objected to, why not at least secure the objects of Natural History, now mouldering in the vaults, or a

* Mr Planta occupied 10 rooms—Mr Ellis, 9—Mr Combe, 9—Mr Baber, 9—Mr König, 7—Mr Maurice, 4—Mr Bean, 4—Dr Leach, 7

prey to insects? After sufficient *stoving*, to kill the vermin and their eggs, they might be put in air-tight cases, where they would remain until happier times, when the nation could afford to provide a suitable building for their classification and public exhibition. We have heard of plans for building more safe and commodious receptacles for all our national collections now in Montague-House. The present times are certainly not favourable to very extensive architectural undertakings of this sort: yet the ruinous state of the present building, the enormous sums frequently required for repairs, and the hazard from fire to which the whole is now exposed, tempt us to wish that something should speedily be done to put the invaluable property contained in the British Museum beyond the risk of a conflagration, that would be of incalculable and irreparable mischief to the cause of literature, science, and the fine arts. The daily and hourly danger of such an evil is enhanced by the dwellings of the officers being under the same roof with the collections; and we shudder to think of the consequences of a neglected fire or light in a pile of such combustible materials. The rebuilding of Montague-House on a more commodious plan, and, what the use of cast-iron renders easy, so as to be fire-proof, would be a great national object; and it might be *gradually accomplished* at no very great annual expense, so as to answer the purposes proposed. There is sufficient space in the garden for proceeding in this manner; and it would be preferable to resolve at once to make every addition part of a permanent fire-proof plan, than to expend nearly as much as this would cost, in propping up the present shattered fabric, which, after all, can never be either a safe or commodious receptacle for our now extensive national collection.

In submitting these observations to the public, our aim has been, to stimulate those who are intrusted with the management of the Museum to extend their inquiries in the alleged grievances which, we are confident, require only to be generally known to insure attention, and, we trust, redress.

That Museum, in which so many valuable collections of natural history have been deposited, ought not to be permitted to remain without competent officers to arrange and preserve the specimens; and we cannot sufficiently reprobate the mistaken economy, which would suffer property of immense value to perish, for the paltry saving of a small salary to some naturalist qualified, by his studies and habits, to discharge the duty of his situation. That several such may be found, we know, because more than one well qualified individual became a

candidate for Dr Leach's situation: but it behoves those who have the power of such appointments, to let themselves be influenced by no motives but the known talents and zeal of the candidates, for so important an office as the superintendance of the Zoological department. The highly respectable gentleman, M. König, who is *nominally* at the head of the department of natural history, in fact attends almost exclusively to the mineralogical collection, the state of which is highly to his credit; but the Zoological department requires the undivided attention of at least one able and experienced naturalist. For a long period, such a person would require to dedicate himself to no other business than the arrangement and preservation of the specimens, and the formation of a scientific catalogue of all the collections committed to his care. These duties would occupy the time of one man for years, in the now neglected state of that department of the Museum, and, to ensure complete success, would require a union of science, skill, zeal and industry, that fall not often to the lot of the same individual.

While calling the attention of the public generally to this subject, we earnestly entreat *all the Trustees* to consider the responsibility which their important trust imposes; and beg leave to remind them, that their tame acquiescence in any measure which they do not approve, will not acquit them of blame 'in the Court of Honour,' though it may satisfy their indolence that they have not participated in the transaction. We call on them as Gentlemen, as Men of Science, and as Englishmen, to rescue our National Museum from the contemptuous sneers of foreign naturalists, and their country from the opprobrium of being the only State in Europe, with the exception of Turkey, in which national encouragement is not afforded to the study of the productions of ANIMATED NATURE.

ART. VI. *Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land.* By WILLIAM RAE WILSON, Esq. 8vo. pp. 555. Longman, London. 1823.

THIS is the work of an author, pious even to enthusiasm, who appears to have performed his voyage with the view of indulging, upon the spot, those feelings which local associations are calculated to excite in the devout student of the sacred writings, in the neighbourhood of the scenes where the events recorded in them took place. As this was almost exclu-

sively his object, we can the less wonder that he has preserved comparatively few particulars of a more secular description. Some things which he has mentioned, however, deserve attention; and there is one satisfaction in perusing his narrative, that his veracity appears to be beyond all suspicion. Here and there, indeed, we may perceive traces of his being misled by the *ciceroni* of the place taking advantage of his zeal about holy things. He probably lends too ready an ear to the groundless traditions every where current in the East, which fix each spot commemorated in Scripture, even where the objects have ceased to exist; but we have seldom met with a traveller who seemed to be so free from all design of giving a false colouring to what he saw, or what befell him. He has another merit with reference to his own subject; he is thoroughly versed in the Book to illustrate which he travelled and wrote; and if he does not write strikingly, or even correctly, he at least writes without any affectation. It is the fate of critics, when they enter into details, generally to find faults; and as our subsequent remarks will probably be of this cast, we are the more desirous to preface them by these general admissions of Mr Wilson's merits.

He very properly does not stop to describe his journey through France; nor does he dwell upon his voyage in the Mediterranean from Marseilles to Alexandria. As, however, almost every thing furnishes materials for his favourite study, it is impossible not to be struck with one or two slips into which his enthusiasm betrays him during the passage. At Candia he remarks, that cloudy and tempestuous weather prevails between the island and the coast of Greece, in so much that the passage is proverbially dangerous; upon which he observes, that 'the authenticity of Revelation, in his apprehension, derives 'the strongest confirmatory evidence' from what is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, respecting the storm in which St Paul was wrecked in those parts—forgetting that the same evidence would be as strong confirmatory testimony of the authenticity of Falconar's Shipwreck, or any other work the scene of which may be laid in the same seas. Where no occasion presents itself for quoting Scripture, he generally makes one: Thus, a flight of swallows passes the ship; whereupon he cites Jeremiah, who says, 'The swallows observe the time of their 'coming;' with a passage in the Psalms, and one in Deuteronomy, prohibiting the worship of images of '*any winged fowl* 'that flieth in the air;' which no doubt comprehends the swallow, but does not seem to point very distinctly at that bird. On the coast of Egypt he encounters a storm; and after it has sub-

sided, observes some fishes of enormous size sporting about the ship. This furnishes him with a triumphant argument against those sceptics who 'revile the veracity of the book of Jonah, 'by contending that there are no fish of such magnitude in the 'Mediterranean as that described to have been the *miraculous* 'preserver of the prophet.' So absurd an objection certainly hardly required any answer; for the passage relates to a miracle, and not to a natural event; and therefore the cavil in question is a complete blunder; which we take to be a much more easy reply than the one furnished by Mr Wilson from the fact; for that mode of arguing admits the false principle upon which the objection proceeds.

The author devotes a considerable space to remarks upon Alexandria and Egypt in general: but the information which he affords is not of sufficient novelty or importance to detain us long. His interview with Mahomet Ali, the Pacha, deserves notice from the curious coincidence of one of his remarks with the observations of Buonaparte upon the same subject. His Highness was pleased to ridicule the notion of Lord Amherst 'refusing to conform to the customs of the country, to accom-'plish those objects he had in view.' It seems, this potentate is a very skilful merchant. He discoursed of trade, but particularly of the corn-trade, as knowingly, says our author, as any one in Mark-Lane; and when seized with a fit of sentiment, somewhat rare, we should think, in the breasts of Bashaws with three tails, upon occasion of the Franks joining very warmly in rejoicings at his arrival, he observed, that much as he believed in their attachment to his person, he never till then knew its extent; and that it had given him 'more pleasure 'than gaining 25,000 piasters by a bargain in grain.' It is but justice to add, that this chief is not only a person of distinguished merit in war, having in person retaken Mecca and Medina from the Waochabees after a warfare of eight years, and finally reduced that sect, but still more to be praised for his mild and prudent government, his lenity to the Franks, and the excellent police towards them which he has established, and which renders them as safe in his pachalick as in any part of Europe.

'In every quarter of Egypt, travellers may now proceed and prosecute their inquiries with equal safety as in the most civilized countries, to whom every protection is afforded and respect paid. To promote the happiness of the people, and the prosperity of these vast dominions, has been the grand object of Mahomed Ali; and thus Egypt, formerly a country where disorder and confusion reign-

ed, now insures personal safety. The traveller is not under any apprehension of danger, the Christian not insulted or trampled upon; and it is now more flourishing than any other in the Levant, where contentment is to be found, abuses removed, and a liberal and most enlightened administration has been established.

'It may be further added, that Mahomed Ali has two sons, one named Ibraham Pacha who completed the subjugation of the Wacchabees, and who is understood to have imbibed the principles of his father. The other, Ismael Pacha is now engaged in penetrating with an expedition into the interior of Africa, who, to this date, has laid the country to Senaar at his feet, and detached troops up the Nile to examine some of the great rivers, which promises to afford facility to religious missions, and unfold objects of the highest interest.' pp. 50, 51.

The journey to Rosetta affords no matter of observation. At that town, Mr Wilson appears to have been chiefly struck with the number of the dogs. He states the canine population as about seven thousand, that of the true believers being only twenty. He observes, too, upon the propensities of the race; and, as if their unclean manner of feeding required proof from Scripture, he cites both the Old and New Testament to show it. This excessive proneness to citation is indeed the principal defect in this book. So determined is our author to quote Scripture, that he does so without the least necessity—and often, where his purpose cannot be discerned. Nor does he confine himself upon those occasions to the less known and familiar passages. In page 170, he extracts the Lord's prayer at length; and, in page 243, the whole parable of the good Samaritan. It is fair to add, that a great number of texts, little attended to, and less understood, are, in other parts of this volume, brought under our notice, and either explained and illustrated by the facts related, or by observations calculated to throw light upon those facts. Thus, in speaking of the Eastern funerals, and the custom of employing hired mourners, our author brings together various passages from both Testaments, which manifestly relate to this singular usage; for example, *Jerem.* ix. 17. 'Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, consider ye, and call for the 'mourning women, that they may come; and send for the cun'ning women, that they may come; and let them make haste, 'and take up a wailing for us.' And *Amos*, v. 16. 'They 'shall call such as are of skilful lamentation to wailing;' with four other texts relating to the same subject.

By a bargain which he made with the owner of the state barge which had brought the Pacha from Cairo, Mr Wilson was enabled to proceed in that dignified vessel up the Nile on its

return, and he thus performed the voyage with great comfort in three days. There is little that merits particular attention in his account of Cairo, except the following description of the slave market.

'I was induced from curiosity to visit the slave-market, which has been long established in this quarter. Although I may attempt a description of the objects which I witnessed, yet no idea can be conveyed of those painful sensations which I experienced on this particular occasion. The place set apart for this most scandalous traffic, is a large court of the principal street, in the form of a quadrangle, with a range of apartments around, elevated about twenty feet from the ground, to which there is access by a staircase at one end, and a sort of platform or gallery in front of the apartments, not unlike what we meet with in the yards of inns in London. In one place I observed a Turkish woman bargaining for the purchase of a young female, who was stripped previously, for the purpose of examination, turned round, her joints felt, and tongue inspected, and who was, after a deal of negotiation, refused to be purchased. In others I saw wretched creatures, of all ages, up to fifty years, in a state of nudity, and absolutely huddled together in hovels like cattle. At the door of a miserable den sat the cold-hearted guardian, or keeper of this receptacle of woe, a tyrannical looking fellow, seated on the ground cross-legged, smoking, who was watching for the arrival of purchasers, and, having presumed I had come to the market with this view, demanded, in a growling tone, if I wanted a boy or a girl. At this time a poor helpless child was turned out; when I could not suppress a tear at the incident, and the unfeeling conduct of this barbarian; and I hurried away from a scene in which it would be difficult to determine whether human nature itself appears in its most guilty or most abject form.

'This depôt continues always well stocked with slaves of both sexes, who arrive in prodigious numbers in boats from Nubia, in Upper Egypt. Upon any person being observed to enter it, which is always concluded to be for the purpose of buying these despised creatures, they are turned out from their dens quickly, as such person passes along, when they are ranked, and exhibited by their inhuman keeper; and such appears to be their own anxiety to be purchased, so as to be liberated from their captivity, that there seemed to be a marked rivalship and emulation among them, by looks and motions, which of them should attract most attention. Some of them were completely black, with an excellent set of teeth, were finely formed, and had a mere rag thrown round part of the body.' pp. 90–92.

To this account he most justly adds an important observation, from which we may infer, that, compared with our West Indian slavery, that of the East is as nothing; for such, he

says, is the humanity with which many of the Turks treat their slaves, that the misery of the Nubian may be said to end in the slave market. 'The whip, he adds, rarely, if ever, lacerates 'the back of the female, as it occurs in our English colonies; 'and the institutes of the Turkish government being altogether 'of a military character, the males never feel their slavery fur-'ther than as a species of military subordination.' (p. 93.)

Before proceeding on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, our author changed his habit, and assumed the Oriental garb. In describing this transformation, he does not omit to quote several texts; and we must say, with very little felicity. Thus, he mentions having bound a handkerchief round his head for a turban; whereupon he quotes Job, 'Bind it as a *crown* to me.' He lets his beard grow, and for this purpose stays some days at Cairo. Therefore he cites Samuel, 'Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown!'

A voyage of three days brought him to Jaffa (the Joppa of the holy writers), where he was lodged with tolerable comfort in the convent of St Peter, consisting of a superior and six brethren. Two of them had, he says, accompanied the late Queen as far as Ramah, upon her celebrated pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and it was in this convent that Buonaparte fixed his residence while at Jaffa. From thence Mr Wilson proceeded by land to Jerusalem, in his Oriental habit. At Ramah, the ancient Arimathea, he was again lodged in the convent, where he had well nigh fallen a sacrifice to carelessness in using burning charcoal for heating the apartments. The country here, and between Ramah and the Holy City, affords constant occasion for citing the scriptural accounts of Sampson, and David, and Goliah. Our author's emotions are represented as having been stronger than any description can do justice to; and when he arrives within sight of the great object of his travail, we may easily imagine his enthusiasm to be wound up to a very high pitch. Indeed, no one could behold those scenes unmoved. 'At this 'never-to-be-forgotten moment,' says he, 'I was thrown into 'a transport of holy awe and joy, which elevated my heart; 'when I leaped from my mule, threw off my shoes, and, falling 'down in all humility, saluted the ground, exclaiming, "*Glory* "*to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will towards* "*men!*"' Again—'Was I to attempt to describe only in part 'those sensations I experienced when standing on that very 'ground which had been trodden by the sacred feet of our 'Redeemer, all that language could express would at once fall 'short. The warmest glow of inexpressible delight arose in

'my bosom, and of that solemn nature of which a reader can 'form no just conception. My heart beat, or rather burned 'with emotions, that it had at no former period enjoyed; a 'gratification, indeed, more pure than can be derived from the 'corporeal senses. I was, in truth, extricated as it were from 'the mortal vestment of the body, and absorbed in the raptures 'of a more holy life.'

'With these feelings we are far from being disposed to find any fault, unless where they interfere with calm reason, and enable designing men to impose upon the belief. Our author retains some capacity of doubt upon the most incredible of the stories told him by his guides, but he evidently leans towards believing in a way somewhat hurtful to his authority as a narrator. Thus, when shown the impression of a left foot or sandal on a stone near the Chapel of the Ascension upon the Mount of Olives, and gravely told that it was the print of our Saviour's last footstep when he ascended to Heaven, he takes a sketch of the mark, and cites two passages from the Prophets referring to his feet being upon the mountains; and though he notes 'the traffic that fraud and interest thus drive with the most sacred feelings,' yet it is pretty clear, that his own have been imposed upon; for he adds—'At the same time, though 'I own I entertain doubts as to the authenticity of the fact, yet 'candour obliges me to admit it may not after all be impro-'bable that those who witnessed the ascension of our Lord, 'might, in their zeal to retain the memorial of an event so re-'markable, traced an outline on the last spot of this earth which 'had been touched by his sacred feet. Admitting, therefore, 'the outline was formed to mark the place, it would appear 'that he stood with his left hand towards Jerusalem, a most 'appalling sign, and that his face was directed towards the 'north.' Nor does he express any doubt of the seven olive trees that grew there being the very same that existed on the spot 1800 years ago (175). He evidently, however, has a struggle with himself on all these matters; for after quoting Maundrell's remark, that almost all the scenes of the Bible are laid by the modern inhabitants in grottoes, Mr Wilson adds, that this circumstance weakened his faith in the stories of his guides.

At Jerusalem, our author was entertained at the convent, where, he says, there is some appearance of the fathers being overburdened with the visitations of pilgrims; for they have put up a notice, that none shall be allowed to remain longer than a month. He at first walked about in his European dress; but showers of stones speedily convinced him that this

was a dangerous experiment; not that a Christian can escape detection by assuming the Oriental habit, but because the Turks are satisfied with the courtesy, or the submission which this disguise implies. Among many traits of the Ottoman barbarity which the book presents, we may extract the following, which happened in Jerusalem.

'This man informed me that he had been called to attend one of the three wives of the governor, when I asked if he had been gratified with a view of her countenance. He replied, that all the interviews had taken place in the presence of another, when he found it quite impossible to see her face, though in that view he had adopted every expedient, such as informing the governor he could not judge of the nature of the complaint, unless she was completely unveiled, and he examined her eyes and face. This was, however, most strongly opposed, and the governor only permitted him to feel her pulse, and exercise his own ingenuity to discover the nature of the indisposition.

'He also added, that on occasion of being required by a Turk to visit his wife, who had been taken with the pains of child-birth, he was solicited to afford her relief, by administering medicine! He found the woman in bed; and when about to proceed with that occult examination which was indispensable, the Turk raised a poniard, and caused him to desist, under a threat of plunging it into him! On this, when he told the Turk relief could not be afforded her, and death might ensue, unless he was allowed to act as the nature of the case demanded, the barbarian replied, "Then let her die!" and the dissolution of this unfortunate woman actually did take place the following day. I am led to suppose, that in such a state Oriental women in general suffer less than those in Europe, and probably require little or no assistance from medical persons, as appears, from Holy Writ, was anciently the case. No person, however, it may be observed, is held in greater estimation in the East than a medical man, or any one who has the slightest knowledge of a remedy, or mode of cure for any malady.' pp. 199, 200.

Being determined to assist at the early morning prayers in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, our author passed the night in the Latin convent, whither he repaired at five o'clock, after Vespers, and when the doors were about to be shut for the evening. He was courteously received, and supped and conversed with the friars.

'I was conducted to an upper cell, where I reposed for the night in my clothes, on a frame of wood, intended as a bed. Next morning, at three o'clock, I was roused to attend the matins, and accompanied the friars in procession to the chapel, which is built over the sepulchre, in the centre of this edifice. The friars followed each other, in slow procession, holding up massy lighted wax candles, and

singing in an affecting strain; which, being accompanied by the deep and solemn sounds of the organ, contributed to elevate and fill the soul with sentiments of inexpressible awe. After participating in the worship, where I admit, that, in the feelings of that moment, all idea of religious differences was lost, I accompanied the Latins, in the same order, to their cell, where coffee was served, and remained till daylight, in order to examine the church.

'So many descriptions have been given of this sacred edifice by travellers, that it is almost unnecessary to mention here one syllable respecting it.

'The church, founded on Mount Calvary, is about one hundred paces in length, and sixty in width; and, in order to prepare the mount or hill for its reception, it was found necessary to cut away portions, and raise it in others. In this operation, care was taken that those parts of the mount where the crucifixion took place should not be touched; so that, it will be observed, this spot is considerably higher than the floor of the church, to which there is access by twenty-one steps. This sacred spot may be from twenty to thirty yards square, and gaudily ornamented; where there is an altar, with lamps always illuminating it. The tomb itself, which at one time was a cave or grotto under ground, formed by an excavation of rock, may be considered at present as above it, the rock surrounding it having been removed.

'The general form of the church, and to which the sepulchre gives the name, considering that remote part of the world where it is founded, and all circumstances, is spacious and magnificent; the order of Corinthian architecture prevails. It is in the form of a circle, having a heavy dome or cupola, similar to one over the Register Office in Edinburgh, the frame of which is formed of the cedar of Lebanon; and although light is received from the top, yet it is not sufficiently clear, but altogether sombre. I did not learn if there were vaults underneath. A number of places are pointed out in different parts, held peculiarly sacred, in each of which certain ceremonies are performed respecting the sufferings of our Lord. Around it are cells or apartments for the reception of various sects of Christians of all nations, and access to the whole is obtained by a single door, where a tax is rigidly levied by the Turks from every person who enters the sacred walls, which amounts annually to a very considerable sum. Over the entrance is a bas relief representing the entry of Christ into the city, and the acts of rejoicing manifested on the part of the multitude who followed him on that interesting occasion. At entering the church, the first object which attracts attention, within a few feet of the door, is a slab of white marble in the pavement, marking the spot where Joseph of Arimathea anointed the body of our Lord, preparatory to depositing it in the sepulchre; and in one particular part, also, stands the tomb of Godfrey of Bouillon,

who captured the city, with an inscription in the Latin language, which may be thus translated:

"Here lies the renowned Godfrey of Bouillon, who established the worship of Christ all over this land.

"May his soul rest in peace! Amen." pp. 276–279.

'The number of Christians, of all denominations, and from every quarter of the globe, who daily enter this sacred spot, is most extraordinary. Sometimes I observed the pressure for admittance so great, that it was utterly impossible for others at the same time to get out of the church. During the time of surveying it, I was particularly struck with the appearance of two Turks, who were strolling about, and appeared to scoff at the devotions, although Christians would have forfeited their heads, had they presumed even to look into a Mahomedan temple. In the outer area, in front of the sanctuary, a number of persons of both sexes were arranged, offering beads, crosses, and shells, representing the nativity and other sacred events, for sale; these were spread upon the ground, and eagerly purchased by pilgrims. At Easter the sale was particularly brisk; and large boxes of such articles annually sent off to Catholics, especially in Spain and Portugal. Some of these I purchased as curiosities; and my servant, who was a rigid Catholic, took a bountiful lot he had provided for himself and friends, and laid on the altars of Mount Calvary, and the Holy Sepulchre, where they received a formal benediction from the monks in their ecclesiastical robes.' pp. 280, 281.

We may observe, that Mr Wilson takes the opportunity of the two Turks mentioned in this passage, to fire a text at them. He cites, in a note from Ezekiel, 'Thou hast defiled my sanctuary.' Having recorded so many instances of the hospitality shown in these convents to our countrymen, who, from curiosity or religious zeal, visit the Holy City, it gives us much pleasure to add, that his present Majesty, some years ago, transmitted a liberal donation of 2000*l.* to the Franciscans, through Sir Robert Liston, the ambassador at Constantinople. (p. 329.)

We pass over the account of Mr Wilson's visits to Bethlem and Nazareth, which affords little matter of observation. His account of Acre is chiefly remarkable for the picture which it presents of that famous ally of ours, Achmid, better known by the name of Djezzar Pacha, or the Butcher—a name well earned by the barbarities, unexampled even among Turks, of which this monster was habitually guilty. To the friends of 'social order and our Holy Religion,' he was peculiarly dear, in those times when the fear or the hatred of Buonaparte had shut men's hearts to every right feeling; and they who expended all their force in railing at every act of excess in Frenchmen, were lost in admiration of the *vigour* that distinguished those execrable wretches with whom we cooperated. Englishmen may well

blush when they read the following passage, and recollect the language in which some of our most eloquent statesmen and writers were wont to dwell on the merits of this prodigy of cruelty.

'I was accosted by a young man, sitting at the principal gate, asking alms, who was blind of both eyes, which the muleteer informed had been plucked out by Djezzar, to whom he had given some offence. At every other step, indeed, in going along streets, I met some person or other, old or young, who had been either deprived of an eye, ear, or nose. When the physician (a Piedmontese) of the present Pacha, who is named Suleyma, a ruler as much distinguished for humanity, as the former was execrated on account of barbarity, favoured me with a visit, he related a number of horrid circumstances, that would freeze the very blood of man: not only as to Djezzar destroying the countenances of so many inhabitants, but those butcheries committed from caprice or amusement; and whose secluded wives had been sacrificed, the number of whom could never be properly ascertained. The following fact may be sufficient to show the extent to which the vindictive refinement of cruelty on the part of that man had been carried. One of these unhappy creatures having been unfortunately discovered in a state of pregnancy, by an Albanian officer, Djezzar not only put her to death, by plunging a dagger into her breast, but actually tore the child from the womb with his own hands. This blood-hound, also, not being able, at one time, to discover the authors of some wrong he conceived had been committed in the seraglio, put to death about forty of his officers, who, being seized, and laid bound on the ground, were most inhumanly cut in pieces by janissaries with swords.

'Having mentioned to the physician I had a letter to the minister of the present Pacha, who acted in the same capacity to Djezzar, it led him to allude to the state of his countenance from having been included in those acts of barbarity committed. This distinguished public character having, in a single instance, incurred the displeasure of Djezzar, was called before him, and informed, that had he not been a man of talent, and found useful, his head might have been struck off; but, as Djezzar had occasion for his services, he would put nothing more than a mark upon him, viz. by depriving him of his nose. The executioner was accordingly ordered in with his instrument, and commanded to do his duty. Feeling, however, for the situation of the minister, and wishing to execute the orders sparingly, he only cut off the point of his nose; on which, Djezzar, enraged at the executioner's disobedience of a peremptory order, snatched from him a large knife employed in this savage operation, and with this cut off, *brevi manu*, the whole of the executioner's nose! On expressing to the muleteer, who accidentally happened to enter my apartment at the time this narrative was given, those sentiments of horror

which arose in my mind at the execution of such bloody deeds, and observing, that if such an act had taken place in England, it might have led to rebellion, he appeared altogether astonished: And such was his gross ignorance of our happy country of freedom, he said it was always considered the power of kings of England was equally absolute with that of their Pachas, who could treat their minister and subjects in a similar manner, whenever they found themselves disposed. This diabolical character, who reigned in Acre many years, was so much accustomed to the shedding of human blood, that he was frequently in the practice of making public boast of those unprecedented crimes, in the frightful shapes in which these had been committed!

'His attendants discovered him one morning lifeless in bed from apoplexy; and, on removing the clothes, there was found concealed under a pillow, lists of the names of a great number of persons, whose heads were to have been cut off next day,—happily frustrated by the stroke of death, with which he was visited from a merciful Providence; and thus some stop was put to that current of human blood which had flowed at St Jean d'Acre. This monster, in the shape of a human being, was about eighty years of age when he finished his unheard-of enormities; he has been described as distinguished for strength, well formed, of ferocious visage, with long white beard, and whose avarice was unbounded as his power was most formidable.' pp. 375–379.

From Acre our author went to Tyre, where he was entertained by the Greek archbishop, who, having resided long in Rome, was a well informed man, and spoke Italian fluently. His Grace had no sooner said the blessing, than he asked Mr Wilson's Greek servant to sit down with them; but this the master would by no means permit. He remonstrated with the prelate upon an attempt to destroy the distinction of ranks, informing him, 'that in Britain, servants were never allowed to 'sit down in company with archbishops and persons of distinc-'tion, or even their masters, as such an act would be held 'highly derogatory to their dignity.' The poor Greek servant, he tells us, was extremely mortified at being thus deprived of what he would have considered the highest honour of his whole life; and, to say the truth, we rather wonder at our author's taking so strict a view of the matter, and can hardly imagine either that he would have been lowered, or his attendant spoilt, by complying with the archbishop's condescending invitation. At Damascus, he had an interview of a somewhat different nature with the Pacha. In the following account of it, the courtly reader may possibly recognise the features of other ministers rendering their devotions to other princes. At least, we will venture to say, that fully as great meanness and obse-

quiousness is practised habitually by Europeans to the Royal dispensers of patronage and wealth, as the Damascene servants exhibit towards their three-tailed and turbaned Lord.

'This minister is a Jew by birth, of great bodily strength, corpulent and the very image of king Henry the Eighth of England. I found him sitting in the attitude of a tailor cross-legged on his shop-board, in a mean apartment, surrounded by several persons. He desired me to be seated on his right hand, when I put myself in a similar position. During this time, he examined and read over more than once the firman, when a number of slaves entered, bringing coffee and pipes; and after presenting these, Mr Morandi represented the nature of the complaint against the governor, and person at the port. On this the minister rose and directed us to follow him to the pacha, who was at another end of the palace, which we did accordingly. I entered an apartment where the pacha was seated cross-legged on a superb carpet, tossing to and fro on his fingers strings of beads, and smoking a pipe; when I was desired to sit opposite to him with Morandi on my right hand, and I also again put myself in the same situation. After clapping his hands, a mode frequently adopted in the East to call forward servants, several slaves brought in pipes and coffee, which were offered us. The minister then threw himself on his knees before the pacha, sometimes lifting his hands, and applying them occasionally to his breast, at others clasping and holding them up perpendicularly, accompanied by a rocking of body to and fro, and bowing his head to the ground. At the first view of this exhibition, I conceived the minister was engaged in some act of Mahomedan devotion, preparatory to addressing his master, but afterwards learned this was an attitude of humility on the part of one person making official representations to another, superior in point of rank. It was with difficulty I could suppress smiling at this particular moment, and attempt to follow out, in some degree, that gravity and taciturnity of countenance, for which Turks are so much distinguished. I have attempted to give a sketch of the interview, and regret that my friends had not been spectators of the whole of such an extraordinary scene. The air of superiority and haughtiness assumed by the pacha was as striking as that deep humility on the part of the minister; and although I was a stranger to the Turkish tongue, yet I could sufficiently comprehend the language of countenance and signs, and judge from the tone of voice, the impression which these statements had made on the mind of the pacha. His eyes enlarged, he pulled up and drew the pipe from his mouth, looked steadily in the face of the minister when prostrate at his feet, and every action, in short, went to show the displeasure the representation had excited. This being ended, we left the pacha, and returned to the office of the minister, when he acquainted Mr Morandi I should receive, next day, the opinion of his master.

'Accordingly, on the following morning, I received a polite let-

ter from the minister, expressing regret that he could not make a visit to me, from pressure of business, and informing that, with respect to the governor of Samaria, the pacha had sent off express to him, a Tartar, with letters respecting his conduct; and as to the person at the port, he had just been punished by receiving two hundred strokes on the soles of his naked feet, was sent to jail, and a fine imposed upon him.' pp. 458–461.

Of places visited with views merely ocular, Baalbeck or Palmyra is the one that principally engaged Mr Wilson's attention. He gives a pretty minute description of its remains: though the reader here again, as in a former passage, where he compares one of the Jerusalem temples to parts of our Edinburgh Register-House, may be apt to smile at his homely manner of bringing objects within the comprehension of his Scotch friends. He can find no more appropriate comparison for an ancient temple at Palmyra, than the clumsy and paltry 'Temple of Hygeia, 'erected by the late Lord Gardenstone over the Well of St. 'Bernard, near Edinburgh.' Yet this Eastern edifice 'is of 'Corinthian architecture, adorned with rich cornices, and orna-'mented with figures of eagles.' The enormous mass of the stones in some of the great buildings is described in a manner calculated to give the reader a striking notion of the magnificence of these remains. Three stones of the wall surrounding them, occupy a space of 190 feet in length, and are raised from 20 to 30 feet above the foundation.

From Bayreuth our author proceeded to Cyprus, after regretting that he was prevented, by want of time, from visiting the field near the former place, 'where it is understood that 'St George came in contact with the Dragon.' He afterwards went to Rhodes and thence to Smyrna, where an incident had occurred very recently, which we shall relate in his own words, and with his quotations, both to cast some light on the character of these ferocious barbarians with whom the zealots of legitimacy would now make common cause against the Christian descendants of the ancient Greeks—and to give a specimen of our author's rage for perpetual citation. His simplicity, too, in taking the passage in Gibbon for serious, or perhaps his slyness in converting it to his own use, deserves notice.

'A Mahomedan of Smyrna prevailed, by every artifice, upon a young Greek in his service, to abandon the Christian faith, and embrace the tenets of the lawgiver of the Arabians. After the period of his engagement expired, the Greek departed, when his conscience appearing to reproach him for the rash act, he went to the Turkish judge, threw down his turban, told him he had been deceived, and that as he was born, he would still live and die under the Christian name. Every effort was made to prevail on him to conti-

nue under Mahomedan principles, by offering high rewards, in various shapes, since no act is more affecting to the feelings of a Mussulman, than any of his brethren abandoning those rules laid down by the Koran. The Greek, however, having rejected every bribe, was put under close confinement, and afterwards brought forth to be decapitated, on a platform erected opposite to one of the principal mosques, when a butcher was employed to perform the operation with a sharp sword.

'Entertaining a hope that the Greek might still retract his resolution, especially when the instrument of death was exhibited, these offers were repeated on the scaffold, nay, pressed upon him for acceptance, which were rejected. On this, the executioner was directed to peel off with his sword part of the skin from his neck. Even this torture did not shake, but strengthened the fortitude of this Christian, who loudly exclaimed, "I was born with Jesus, and will die with Jesus!" The moment on uttering these words, his head was struck off at one blow, in presence of crowds of Greeks, who were drawn to the spot, and having considered their countryman had died a martyr to the Christian faith, they dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, to retain as a memorial of so remarkable an event. His head was then placed under the anus, and with the body remained three days exposed to public view, when the Greeks were permitted afterwards to inter it. This, alas! happened to be the third instance in Smyrna of a Christian believer having been sacrificed within the last twenty years; and may it be devoutly wished that it shall be the last.' pp. 497-499.

As a commentary on this story, he quotes the following passage from Gibbon.

'Our curiosity is naturally prompted to inquire, by what means the *Christian* faith hath obtained so remarkable *victory* over the established religions of the East? To this inquiry an obvious and satisfactory answer may be returned, that it was owing to the convincing *evidence* of the DOCTRINE itself, and to the ruling PROVIDENCE of its great author.' p. 499.

On the remaining part of his journey to Constantinople, he dwells very slightly, and says little or nothing of his return by Gibraltar to Paris and London.

On the whole, we leave Mr Wilson's book with sentiments of respect for his diligence as a commentator on the Scriptures, and implicit confidence in his veracity as a narrator, however we may be disposed to suspect his enthusiasm of sometimes leading him astray. His book will afford matter of interesting perusal and reflection to students of the Bible; and we doubt not that it will thus accomplish the only end he had in view. Of his careless and incorrect style, we have already spoken; it is free from pretension and affectation, but it is really pretty free from grammar also. In almost every page, inaccuracies

occur, which the slightest care might have prevented, and the author may easily remove in another edition. Thus, to take examples *ad aperturam libri*; 'the dimensions will hardly re-'ceive *credibility*,' p. 472—'their memory *is* for ever perish-'ed,' p. 475. 'During the rain, it appeared *favourable to smooth* 'these over,' 480—'*those* kind of pens used for *purposes* of 'writing,' 365—'the names of the founders cease to be *re-*'*minded*,' 475, &c. &c. &c.

ART. VII. 1. *Essai Géologique sur l'Ecosse.* Par A. BOUE, Docteur en Médecine, &c. &c. Paris. (No date). pp. 519. 8vo. Avec Deux Cartes et Sept Planches Lithographiées.

2. *Voyage en Ecosse et aux Iles Hebrides.* Par L. A. NECKER DE SAUSSURE. 3 vols. Geneva. 1821.

THE fate of Geology has been singularly cruel. This new science seems to be the butt at which every Tyro thinks himself entitled to fly his shaft. Emerging, with the shell on his head, from some class, of some professor, somewhere,—well stored with gneiss, and graywacke, and psammite, and conformable, and transition,—he takes a walk, hammer in hand, to Arthur's Seat, or Chamouni, or Auvergne, or the Giant's Causeway,—and the result is a book!—a geology of Scotland, or Ireland, or a dissertation on lava and granite, on strata that are not stratified, on mountain caps and arms, or on newest overlying unconformable floetz trap formations! Thus, the progress of a difficult and most interesting branch of natural history is not only impeded, by jargon and presumption, but the very name of geology is in danger of becoming a jest.

Among many high and deserving names in this science, there are two which, with us, have often been brought into collision; and, though we neither intend to compare them, nor to set them up to the exclusion of many others deserving of the highest praise, we may venture to point them out to the imitation of those who fancy, that they have nothing to do but to get a few words by rote, mistake all the appearances in nature which they are incapable either of seeing or reasoning on, and then write a book—an 'Essai Géologique'—upon Scotland, or any other country. 'Some can play on the fiddle,' says Swift, 'and some can make a small country a great one; and he who 'can do neither the one nor the other, deserves to be kicked out of creation.' To the student who is candid enough to admit that he ought to learn before he attempts to teach, we would recommend the example of Werner; to him whose ambition leads him to a higher flight, we would say, Attempt not to imi-

tate Hutton, till, like him, you have cultivated your powers of generalization, by careful, by early, and by long discipline, and till you have acquired a knowledge of all those collateral branches of science, without which no man ever philosophized to purpose in any one.

There is no royal road to geology; nor do we think we overrate its difficulties when we say, that we know of none which, as far as the mere act of observation goes, requires more patience, more industry, more freedom from prejudice, more comparison of obscure appearances, and more acuteness in developing the truth. Neither do we know of any in which the reasoning is of a more difficult nature, partaking, in some measure, of that demonstration which rests on physical evidence, but often also dependent on that far more difficult logic which belongs to moral evidence, to comparison of probabilities, to abstruse inferences, and to deductions drawn from analogies in the other departments of physical science. 'Qui ad pauca respiciunt de facili judicant;' and nowhere does this rule apply more nearly than in the science in question. Let us examine for a moment the subjects with which geology is conversant,—the requisites towards investigating and describing such a country as Scotland, for example, with all its rocks and minerals, 'avec deux cartes et sept planches lithographiées,'—to say nothing of building a system out of the materials afterwards.

An intimate and accurate knowledge of Mineralogy is the first and fundamental requisite; and this is not the knowledge alone of beautiful dealers specimens, well arranged in a cabinet. Like young ladies with their harpsichords, these dilettantes in mineralogy can only read out of their own book. Deficient in the first principles of investigation, and unacquainted with any thing but the mere physiognomy of their own specimens, Nature is to them a dead letter: and they are unacquainted even with their best friends, should they chance to appear in a new dress. A Scotch specimen and a Hungarian specimen are, to such observers, totally different substances; just as the people themselves would be, if we judged of the one by his having a pair of breeches, and of the other by his wanting them.

Next to mineralogy, we will name a far more extensive branch of Natural History—that, namely, which includes the knowledge, not only of conchology, but of every animal fragment which is found in the earth, whether imbedded in rocks, or existing in the alluvial deposites of the surface. In mere questions that relate to rocks, to the identification of remote strata, or to the comparison of geological positions in different parts of an obscure series, a knowledge of conchology is confessedly of great importance; although we will admit that the identity of

these fossil bodies does not offer an absolute criterion in such cases. But, independently of this, the mere existence and positions of these bodies, and a knowledge of their natures and order of succession, form a most interesting and important branch of geological science; a branch which, in the case of the remains of large animals found in the alluvia, is peculiarly valuable, and at the same time enticing, from its connexion with those changes of the surface, which are, from their recent nature, almost matters of historical record. We do not demand that every geologist should be a Cuvier or a La Marck; but we have a right to expect, that every one who fancies himself capable of instructing others in geology, and more particularly in those topographical descriptions of countries that deal in details, and are repositories of facts, should be at least capable of discriminating the species of shells which come under his notice, and should possess a competent knowledge of comparative anatomy.

To these branches of natural history, must be added a competent knowledge of the general principles of Botany. That highly important question which relates to the deposites from fresh water, and in which the history of the coal strata is so intimately concerned, may often be determined by the presence of vegetable remains, when the evidence derived from shells is not convincing, from the difficulty of discriminating between the marine and the fresh water shell fish. It is farther important to determine, not only the mere terrestrial situation of these preserved plants, but to inquire, from their analogies, under what climates it is likely that they have vegetated.

If these branches of natural history form the Rudiments of practical geology, a knowledge of Rocks is its Grammar. On this we cannot lay too much stress. It is the very basis of all investigation, and of all accurate description. As far as we can discover, all the stable and permanent parts of the earth, inasmuch as any thing on earth is permanent or stable, are formed of rocks; and geology is, in a great measure, the history of their respective qualities, positions, connexions, relations, and analogies. Without a most accurate and extensive knowledge of the materials, it is obviously impossible to erect the edifice—to ascertain all these circumstances, and to reason justly on them. Nor is this knowledge to be acquired, either in lecture-rooms or cabinets. We say it, because we know it to be the fact, that there is not a collection of rocks, adequate for the purposes of such instruction, existing in the world. Even if there were, it is not a species of knowledge that can be acquired in this manner. The varieties of rocks, as far as their general aspect is concerned, are so numerous, that no cabinet could contain them: they must therefore be studied in nature, and

they must be studied on general principles; with an accurate knowledge of minerals in all their obscurest forms, and with an eye capable of discovering those minute differences of texture that relate to the modes in which they were produced. They must be studied in nature for other reasons; because of the occasional or frequent connexion between their mineral and geological characters; because of the exceptions to this rule, and the collision which hence takes place between the mineral characters of rocks of far different geological connexions; and because of the changes of aspect to which they are liable, from accidental circumstances of position or connexions, which we must not here attempt to detail. We dare not dwell longer on this subject,—and perhaps we need not, since it ought to be sufficiently obvious. But we have no hesitation in saying, that a large proportion of the erroneous statements in which geology abounds, will be found to arise from ignorance of this necessary knowledge, and from want of accurate and extensive practical acquaintance with rocks, not in cabinets, but in nature. It would be easy enough to furnish abundant illustrations, but we are afraid of tiring our readers.

These are some of the different subjects which are indispensable to a geologist who intends to understand his science and to instruct others: But he will still be very unfit for his task, if he has not provided himself with many other preliminary branches of knowledge. Many important points in geological observation and reasoning, are dependant on Chemical principles. These, in fact, intermix themselves with every thing that relates to the composition of rocks, to their destruction, to their texture, to their concretionary forms, and to the influence which they exert over each other. Had theoretical geologists, or system makers, been always acquainted with this science, we should have been spared the inundation of nonsense with which we have been overwhelmed, in the shape of various cosmogonies. Even omitting this wide question as of comparatively limited importance, a knowledge of chemical principles, and that application of them to obscure cases, which can only be the result of great readiness and familiarity with the practice and theory of that extraordinary science, would have rendered it impossible for writers to have grieved us with the outrageous descriptions and explanations in which geological writings abound. We could fill pages, if it were here proper, with illustrations; but they would comprise more than half the disputed points in geology, points which never could have been disputed by any but those who were ignorant of the very grounds of the argument. The globe of the earth is not purely a chemical compound, it is true; but it partakes of that charac-

ter in so high a degree, that we should think it almost equally reasonable to investigate astronomy without mathematics, as geology without chemistry.

But he who means to instruct, whether by general or topographical descriptions, requires yet more. It is the fashion for geologists to be anxious about the heights of mountains and cliffs, and about temperatures, electricity, magnetism, springs, rivers, and other matters that fall occasionally in the way of their investigations. That general knowledge of natural philosophy which is required to investigate and discuss such subjects, is not of very difficult acquisition, we will admit; but we know too, that it is far from being as general as it ought to be, and so do geological readers. For our parts, we should wish that every geological writer had the knowledge and talents of a Saussure on these subjects; as we are very sure that we should have fewer books and better ones.

It would be superfluous to lay any stress on the value of Mathematical knowledge, whether as an engine of reasoning, or as giving confidence and conferring facility in all matters of geological description or deduction, which are inevitably connected with that science, in a degree more or less intimate. But there is one practical point which is indispensable to him who undertakes the department of topographic geology, and proposes to give geological surveys and maps. There are few cases, in any country, as geographic maps have hitherto been constructed, in which a geologist will not be required to add or correct something at least from his own observations. Nor can this be done without a knowledge of plain trigonometry and the practice of surveying. In many countries, indeed, the imperfection of maps is as yet such as to render that indispensable. In mountainous districts, which are particularly interesting from the number and the variety of rocks which they display, that want is almost always felt; as, from the want of houses, roads, or other objects capable of forming a reticulum on which the rocks can be laid down, it is often necessary for the geological surveyor to add much from his own geographic investigations. In every case, be his map what it may, he must verify upon it that ground which he is examining in nature; without which, he never can make an accurate record of his observations. Practice will confer on many persons that faculty which some appear to have almost by intuition; that geographic tact which, in the art of war, is well known as constituting the military eye. A geological eye is equally necessary: and if nature has conferred greater capability in this respect on some, all may acquire it by practice, by surveying, by drawing, by experience and familiarity in fact with ground in

every position in which it may lie, and under whatever circumstances it may be displayed. We place little confidence in the geological maps of those who have not given some proofs, not only of this geographical tact, but of actual knowledge of the practice of surveying. We need perhaps scarcely add, to this, the claims which we have on the powers of a geological surveyor to construct his own maps, to lay down ground, to draw his own work, to colour his survey, and to construct his own sections. These things cannot be adequately done by another hand, because they consist in niceties which words cannot communicate. There is a better reason still why they cannot be adequately done by any one but the geologist himself. No geologist travels with a surveyor and a draughtsman: and if he is not his own artist in these points, he must trust to his manuscript notes or to his memory, or both, for these details, which at some distinct interval of time, often very distant, are to be represented by another person. Now, we defy any man to construct such works from verbal description, however minute and careful. There are few observations of this nature that must not be registered on the very spot where they are made; and were any illustration of this necessary, we would only ask what kind of a geographical map we should expect from a surveyor who, instead of the accurate details of his field-book, were to trust to verbal descriptions of a general nature.

To shorten this enumeration of the acquirements which we think indispensable to a geological author, we shall terminate with the article of Drawing. If geology is not so purely concerned with the descriptions of visible objects as some other branches of natural history, it is still very conversant in these. There are innumerable cases in which no powers or minuteness of description can convey to a reader clear ideas of the subject under review; where three or four strokes of a pencil are more descriptive than many pages of letter-press. We have no hesitation in saying, that it is impossible to describe a large proportion of geological facts without drawing; and that he who pretends to write largely and minutely on these subjects without that talent, is as unfit for what he has undertaken as an architect would be under the same circumstances. Nor can we allow the geologist to avail himself of the hands of a deputy, unless that deputy be himself a geologist. The very essence of these appearances is often of so delicate a nature as to evaporate in ordinary hands; nor can any artist, in any department of painting, represent truly that which he does not know radically. If he who attempts to draw Gothic architecture must make himself acquainted with the architectural details of every moulding, of every crocket or finial, of every line and angle in

the complicated suffits of the Saxon arch, still more is it incumbent on the geological draughtsman to know the nature of every rock which he attempts to represent, and that of all the changes or modifications which it may undergo.

There is another great advantage in geological drawing, although of a far different nature. It offers a test of the observer's accuracy. It is easy to deal in generals; but he who has given particulars, has given his readers a check on his assertions, or has at least shown them how far they may rely on his accuracy of observation and description; just as, in his map, he affords the means of verifying his topography. Nor is a loose and scrambling method of drawing sufficient for these purposes, or for our views of its utility. In the first place, it rarely represents the facts. In some instances, it is true, a few lines will answer all the necessary purposes of giving the required information; but these do not assure us that the observer is capable of representing them better, and, what is of more consequence, of observing them more accurately. This, in fact, we hold to be one of the great advantages of drawing. It is a moral engine that leads to habits of accurate observation. Every one may imagine that he possesses definite ideas of the forms and characters of a tree, or of the anatomy of the human face; but it is to the landscape painter and the statuary alone that these forms are truly known.

We might have asked for somewhat more; but we shall be content with having thus given a sketch of what appears to us most requisite, omitting all those general considerations respecting the discipline and powers of the mind, which all the sciences alike require, and none surely more than one which, like this, is new, obscure, and difficult. We do not mean to overrate the importance of geology, nor to invest its study with extraordinary difficulties; for, in fact, we consider it within the reach of good plain capacities and acquirements, added to industry and the love of truth. But at present, we think it would be far better if there were fewer writers and more readers; if there were a little more of the desire to learn, and a great deal less of the rage for instructing, and doubting, and controverting, and squabbling, in transactions, and essays, and magazines, and books.

Such, then, are the qualifications which we consider as indispensable to a geologist—and we trust that we are asking for nothing very unreasonable when we say, that those who undertake to teach should first learn. Had this rule been followed, we should have been spared not only the present book, but a whole army of books and essays on this subject—a mass of trash, which has ridden the science like a nightmare, and which

has so intermixed itself with that which is valuable, that it is scarcely possible for any one, and utterly out of the power of a student, to separate the true from the false.

We might here ask, why every 'homo trium literarum' thinks himself capable of writing on geology, when no one attempts to write on chemistry or mechanics, or even on the anatomy of a flea or a butterfly, without knowing something at least of his subject? Of the worst of such essays, we could only say, they are deficient, not wrong; but, in geology, it would seem as if there were a general privilege for all kinds of badness—bad observation, bad reasoning, fiction and folly of all kinds. It is not perhaps very difficult to assign some other causes, besides the vanity of figuring in a science which is somewhat new and very fashionable. Mere novelty is something in this case. In many of the sciences, the work is nearly, if not entirely, completed; so much at least is done, that what remains is the business of choicer spirits. It is not for the 'hoc genus omne' to intermeddle with the labours of Newton and La Place, or to investigate the theory of light. To such rash aspirants the door of these sciences is shut, and they must seek another. It is something, too, to be in the fashion. This is the *Ology* of the day; and it is easy to make a figure in the drawing-room with grauwacke and transition, with bibinary calcareous spar and companite, and angles of seventeen minutes five seconds! 'Words, my Lord, words.' This is indeed the main part of the secret; and never have books abounded, never have they been so long, so large, so thick, and so black, as when they dealt in words. It is enough for the rawest geological student to be furnished with a crabbed vocabulary, and with certain mystical modes of expression, to enable him to write a book,—aye, and survey Scotland too; and that, as Mr Pinkerton says, 'with his hand on the table,—and his foot'—anywhere but where it ought to be. We indeed have so long accustomed ourselves to look with a suspicious eye on words, well knowing how often they are the substitutes for ideas, that we generally judge by their number and nature, and somewhat shrewdly, of the quality of the edifice. In geological descriptions and discussions, we have found this test especially useful; and when we see one of these writers entrenched behind such fortifications of cabalistical forms, we are sure that he does not comprehend what he cannot put into plain language. In very truth, there is nothing in them requiring to be comprehended.

We would next remark, that geology, which thus offers the strongest temptation to beginners or inexperienced persons, from the facility of writing about it and about it, presents no small inducements also to superficial observation; nay, what is

much worse, to prejudice and ignorance, and, we fear not to say it, to what is ten thousand times worse than all, plain downright 'mala fides.' And truly, if a book is to be written without materials, without knowledge, without the labour of observation, something *must* be done in the way of supposition or invention. If a theory is to be supported 'per mare per terras,' that which is not, must be—that which ought to be, is: And the rest is manufactured, since there is no end without means; and what is not found must nevertheless be produced.

All this is encouraged, as far as facts are concerned, by two causes chiefly. The first of these is the difficulty of detection. No man promulgates a false or foolish experiment in chemistry, because there are a thousand persons who can detect him in a moment, and who are always ready enough to do so. There is a salutary terror hanging over the head in this case. But, in geology, a traveller has nothing to do but to go to Siberia or Lapland, and there he may find whatever he chooses; for who can follow him? If he works nearer home, and wishes to avoid detection, it is equally easy for him to conceal the exact place of his pretended facts; a practice which we, and many of our readers, know well to exist. Even this is not all; because he may clothe his descriptions in unintelligible language; or, under the peculiar prejudices of his sect (for there are sects unfortunately in this science), misrepresent the plainest appearances.

The next encouragement consists in that technology and mysticism, on which we have already made some observations. From the use of this jargon, geological observation, instead of being a record of facts, becomes merely a statement of opinions, if that language which contains no definite ideas can be supposed to represent opinions. Hence, detection of fallacy is out of the question, because mortal weapons are vain against the unsubstantial air; and hence geologists may write about transitions which are not transitions; in plain English, about contemporaneous veins which are posterior to the rocks which they traverse; about genuine old granite, which means nothing at all; about crystallizations which disobey every law of crystallization; about half a dozen 'newer and newer' floetz-traps and outgoings; and about seventeen lead-glance formations.

So much for the methods of describing geological facts, and for the mode of constructing books of detail. We did intend to have made some observation on what is commonly called, and by courtesy, geological reasoning. But as there ought to be no courtesy in philosophy, and as our readers perhaps think already that there is very little of that grace in our remarks, we

will drop the subject. It would be an insult indeed to the very term reason, to dignify with that name the sort of ratiocination which pervades those geological writings which are the subject of our present animadversions. But let us not be misunderstood. We respect geology, as a science which is likely to be useful to man—which is difficult of attainment—which may perhaps never be thoroughly attained—and which, whether it were useful or not, offers an excellent field for the exercise of industry, of cultivated talents, and of the reasoning faculty. All that we desire is, that those who write would first read, not only in the books of man, but in the great book of Nature; that those who pretend to teach would first learn; and that those who have no respect for themselves, would at least learn to respect public opinion and philosophy. It is not wonderful that the public should despise that which appears to it nothing but a mass of contradictions and disputes, of acrimony, and controversy, and gibberish; and that the disgrace and distrust, which ought only to have involved the pretenders to geology, should have fallen, in some degree, on the science itself. *It is*, however, wonderful that any one should imagine himself capable of extracting any thing like a system of truth from such materials and such reasonings: it is still more so, that any one should, by balancing such testimonies, imagine that the whole science was a fiction and a fallacy. A very little attention to the laws of evidence might teach us, that nothing was ever proved or disproved in this manner; and that a declaration of universal disbelief will find a truer foundation in that comfortable state of Pyrrhonism, which even doubts whether it doubts or not.

But M. Boué's book has another claim on the public attention, and more particularly on that of our own countrymen. Although by the title-page it only pretends to the modest quality of an Essay, the Map which accompanies it, and the confidence in which the text is dressed, have far higher pretensions. It is a geological map of Scotland, with a geological description of the country. Now, we have a respect for every thing that belongs to our country, even for its gneiss and its graywacke; and we do not chuse that such a map as this should go forth on the Continent of Europe as a geological map of our ancient kingdom—we would have said, be circulated; but of that there is no great prospect. It is not that we think Britain the peculiar manor of British geologists; but we do think that no intruder ought to shoot on it without a license; and we do not think that the 'dignus dignus est intrare' can be claimed by every one who chuses to attend a course of Geognostics in this University, or examine the conglomerate of Craig Phar-

tick, as M. Boué thinks fit to spell our names. Still more are we hostile to poaching; to that cool plagiarism which has appropriated the observations of others as its own, without acknowedgment; and, not even content with that, has, like the boa constrictor, daubed the prey with its abominable slime, and crushed it into such a form, that it cannot often be recognised again, even by its own parents.

First, therefore, of this Map; which is not only covered with gay tints of red, yellow, and blue, as if the country had actually been examined, but which is supported in thus hoisting its colours of defiance, by its ally the text. Now, we have not the least hesitation in saying, that the whole of it, from beginning to end, is a compound of plagiarism and conjecture. That which is true is borrowed, and that which is not borrowed is—not true. There are lands here surveyed which have never been trodden by mortal foot—assuredly never by M. Boué's; notwithstanding which, the rocks are laid down in all their details, as if they had all been examined. But this, perhaps, is as it should be: since the toil of making such a survey to any purpose, or with any, even moderate, accuracy, is so great, that it is more convenient not to do it at all. We will defy any man, in ten years of hard labour, to do what is here assumed to have been done in two or three summer walks, during the College vacation: and if, in thus laying down the wilds of Sutherland, Ross, Inverness, or Aberdeenshires, the author hoped to escape detection, he has been unfortunate. It will be apparent that he has not walked four hundred miles, in a country where twice as many thousands would scarcely produce the survey he has given; and that he never saw the more mountainous and remote tracts that are charactered in his map—even in the blue distance.

From Dr Hibbert's Essays in the Edinburgh Journal, he has taken the Map of Shetland, as far as it could be done on the miserable scale of his own map; and that accurate observer is perhaps indebted to him for not having made the acknowledgment; so miserably incorrect is the copy. The Orkney Islands are taken from Professor Jameson's description; a matter of no difficulty, as this tract consists of little more than one rock. To the same geologist he seems indebted for the sandstone of Caithness, as far as the Ord; but here his information ends, and his conjectures begin. In several places of small extent, which we need not particularize, he is indebted to casual papers in the Transactions of the Wernerian and the Geological Societies, the productions of various persons, such as Dr Fleming, Dr Macknight, Professor Jameson, Dr Macculloch, and others. Here he has drawn from the descriptions of these

writers, as their papers were not accompanied by maps; and the consequence is, that he is always as wrong as might be expected from an attempt to construct a map from verbal description.

But his grand storehouse has obviously been Dr Macculloch's Map of the Western Islands, and of the Western Coast. Even here he has not been at the trouble to read the work, as the copy stops precisely where the original did, for want of room in the plate; else he might have laid down the red sandstone about Cape Wrath, instead of making it, as he has done, a district of micaceous schist, and thus pretending that he had visited, what it is plain he never saw. But, not content even with copying what might have done some little credit to his map, and which, with Dr Hibbert's portion, is in fact the only accurate part of it, he has perverted the explanation given of the rocks in the original, as if for the purpose of passing that survey for his own. Truly enough we may admit, *Dum scribit, incipit esse suum.*

Now for M. Boué's own share of this partnership concern, and to begin with the largest cantle. With the exception of some spots of red that are intended to represent granite and syenite, which come cranking in in different places, and of the tract of the Inverness sandstone, which is wrong, the whole of Scotland, north of a line drawn between the Mull of Cantyre and Stonehaven, is represented *as formed of mica slate*—and not only represented, but said in the text to be such. As well might he have called it marble or jasper; and we may therefore be certain of one of two things, either that he does not know mica slate when he sees it, or that he never entered that country. He may take his choice of the dilemma,—although it is probable that he deserves to be perforated by both the horns. The district of mica slate is, in fact, very limited. A very large portion of the country in question is formed of gneiss, and the remainder is granite, quartz rock, clay slate, and red sandstone; to say nothing of serpentine, limestone, and trap and coal. Nothing in the whole of this immense tract is more presuming than his detail of the granite of Aberdeenshire, an accessible country, where he could have had no excuse, as he might have walked over every part of it on good roads, slept sound every night, eaten his dinner in peace, and seen the rocks with a spying-glass, if he was too lazy to crack them with his hammer.

But we will bring him a little nearer home, where he might really have extended his walks, or, if he had pleased, contemplated the country from the top of the Waterloo or the Saxe-

Cobourg coaches. Although he has three sorts of trap,—green, black, and yellow,—founded on distinctions that far surpass our comprehension, he has reserved none of these liveries for Perth and the Sidlaw Hills, which, on the contrary, are represented as red sandstone. Now, it is impossible to go to Perth without seeing the trap Hill of Kinnoul, and not very common to do so, without passing over the trap Hill of Moncrieff—and hence we might conclude that he never was at Perth. Here, unfortunately, he had not any other person's map to copy; but if he had really read Dr Macculloch's Paper on the Hill of Kinnoul, which he not only quotes, but from which he has copied a plate, he must have avoided this gross and palpable error.

He has borrowed, partly from Dr Macculloch's map, and partly from his description, the whole line of that singular collection of rocks which separates the Highland mountain district from the red sandstone; nay, not only borrowed the map, but the description too. As usual, he makes the description his own, on Martial's plan, by changing the language, and contesting that which he never examined. He has been less fortunate, however, in the business of the map, as Dr Macculloch's terminates before reaching Loch-Lomond, beyond which, to the eastward, M. Boué is, of course, everywhere wrong. The slate of which he is speaking neither occupies the southern islands of Loch-Lomond, nor Blairgowrie, nor Fettercairn, nor Stonehaven; all of which points he has unluckily selected as boundaries. A little more Spartan dexterity would have taught him to avoid these condemnatory landmarks.

But we will bring him to the very door of his own lodging, to Edinburgh and the country near it; where surely, if any where, we might expect something like matter of fact. Not the slightest notice is taken of the trap of any part of Fife, except on the northern shore, where he has borrowed from Dr Fleming's papers. Of course, we ought to conclude, even in justice to him, that he never crossed the Queensferry, never landed at Kinghorn, never saw the Lowmond Hills; in short, never opened his eyes, since he could not well open them in any part of Fife without seeing these rocks. The very district round Edinburgh is fully as fictitious. All the trap near that city, even that of the South Queensferry, is omitted. That of the Pentland Hills is ten times as small, and that of North Berwick ten times as large, as they ought to be, and both misplaced. But we are really wearied of the subject; and shall conclude these remarks on this Geological Map, as it is called, by as-

suring our readers, that the part to the southward of the Forth and Clyde is of a piece with all the rest.

But we must be permitted to say a word or two on the subject of Geological Maps in general, for the benefit of other authors in this line, and their readers; if, unfortunately for themselves, there are persons that can be induced, or may be condemned, to read such works. A geographical map is intended for the purpose of showing to postillions, innkeepers and travellers, the position and distance of the post towns, or the line of the road; for pointing out to seamen or pilots the harbours and coasts; to gentlemen sportsmen, muirs, and lakes, and rivers; and to philosophers and idlers of many kinds, numerous delectable matters, which we need not enumerate. For all these purposes, a map is, or is intended to be, accurate; else it is nothing, or worse than nothing, as our legs have often found, when, after walking 20 miles where we were tempted with the prospect of 15, we have still found that we had ten more, besides a 'gay bittie,' to toil over.

Now, it appears to us, that a geological map must have the same foundation of accuracy, else what is it meant for? Let us only imagine M. Boué's principle of map-making applied to the geography of Scotland instead of its geology:—Edinburgh blotted out, Johnny Groat's House transferred to Berwick, the Forth running through St Kilda, the Island of Sky placed in the Grassmarket, Caucasus upon Inchkeith, and the Great Desart of Africa occupying the old established regions of Ross and Sutherland. *Mutatis mutandis*, the things are the same in a geological as in a geographical map. The former is, in the first place, meant to be a record of rocks in the districts where they exist; and, in the next, a record of the very boundaries by which they are defined. It is a topographical work, if it is any thing; and if it is not that, it is nothing. The mere objects of geological science may be treated of without maps. Sections are to these the most necessary accompaniments. Nor can any useful purpose whatever be served by those vile daubs which we see every day, to which the term of Geological Maps is applied. They teach nothing to a geologist; they are useless for economical purposes; nay, what is worse, they mislead all parties. An idle traveller runs through a part of France or Russia in a summer, and, coming back, with a brush full of lake and a little Prussian blue, we have a geological map, forsooth, of these countries. In truth, we expect to see a geological map of the whole world before long—a selenological map too, before many lunations have passed over our heads. In serious sadness, this

is all as abominable as can well be. We have a right to expect, that a thing which calls itself a map shall be one; and, if it is not to be such, we would as lieve that it should be coloured per county, out of the mapmaker's bottles; as the colours are much more beautiful, and quite as useful. Let the geologist who means to instruct, who is desirous of real reputation, treat his survey as if he was a geographer also; let him ascertain the exact geographic boundary of every rock on the surface, and determine the true nature and relations of that, be it simple or complicated. Let him to that map add sections—real, if they can be obtained, and deduced from a fair comparison of positions, if they cannot be actually examined. Let these sections be as numerous as the subject demands; and, if he has done his duty, his reader will be able, not only to find every thing to which he may be directed, and find it right, but will be enabled to construct a model of the country as deep as a geological eye can pierce. Till that plan be adopted, we, at least, shall be equally well pleased to see no more geological maps.

We have dwelt so long on M. Boué's map, since it is of course the soul of the book, that we have not left much room to examine the carcass, or commentary, or by whatever name it is to be known. We cannot, indeed, much regret that; for, in truth, it is not easy to discover what the author intends, or how he could imagine that he was giving a geological description of Scotland. Our readers, indeed, might easily conjecture, that as is the map, such must be the text,—a mixture of plagiarism, and misapprehension, and hypothesis, and error, and conjecture. He talks, indeed, with great assurance, of the coincidence of his observations with those of others whom he names; but, as we have proved by his own showing, on the face of his own map, that he never saw the countries where these observations were made, it is not wonderful that there should be a coincidence, since it is of the very essence of a copy to be coincident. He should have kept clear of the map, and all might have passed well enough; but he has set it for a trap, and hath fallen into it himself.

Scotland, according to the declaratory text of this geognost, contains ten formations; namely, that of granite, of gneiss, of mica slate, of porphyritic rocks, of rocks 'chloriteuses et quartzeuses et du schist argileux,' of graywacke, of 'grés rouge ou houiller,' of 'calcaire et grés posterieurs,' of volcanic rocks and of alluvium. Now, in his map, we find 13 instead of 10; namely, a 'trapp d'une époque incertaine,' a 'trapp et feldspar,' and a 'gres houiller,' added to the former. To say nothing

at present of his two supernumerary traps, it is plain that, in his text, he has confounded the old red sandstone with the coal formation. How then can he be angry that we do not understand his map, when it is plain that he does not understand it himself?

Of his granite we need only say, that the description is worthy of the map; since, besides its general imperfections and errors, he confounds together the granites of Aberdeen and other districts with the trap rocks of Sky, and with the rock of Ailsa; which last, even his own patron supposes to belong to the 'newest floetz trap formation.'

Under the article Gneiss, he sets out by saying, that it is not abundant in Scotland. Now, we will venture to assert, and without fear of the consequences of a rigid examination, that more than one-third of our country consists of this rock; and that under characters so decided, that it ought to be impossible for the merest tyro to misapprehend them. But it is easy enough to account for this blunder; as all his knowledge of this rock is derived from three or four casual papers by different authors in the periodical works, and from Dr Macculloch's work. The fact is, that the greater part of the northern districts, which he has laid down as mica slate, consist of gneiss. Yet he discusses the nature of the appearances which he has quoted, with as much tranquillity as if he had actually studied them on the spot—and as justly as might be expected, from the fact of his never having seen them.

As he has discovered mica slate where it never existed, so he has found in it certain moral qualities which are new to us; but as this is the most original and important remark in his book, we must give it in his own words. 'C'est la roche dominante 'qui donne un caractère si uniforme à toute cette partie de ce 'royaume au nord du pied méridional des Grampians, et assujetit 'ses habitans aux habitudes et au genre de vie qui ont toujours 'distingué le rusé et belliqueux montagnard écossais, des habi-'tans des plaines.' We need scarcely say, that he has of course confounded it with every rock in nature; but he has been at more particular pains to prove this, by labouring with no small energy to convert quartz rock into 'cette belle formation.' If we had thought him or any one else teachable at the moment of publication, we would have endeavoured to set him right on this head; but we have no doubt, that a little time and reflection will do what we need not attempt. This article is long in proportion to its confusion, and confused in proportion to its length; a mere 'tissue' of misapprehension, and perversion of the plainest details of those from whom it is borrowed.

On the subject of his Porphyritic Formation, it is quite fruitless to make any remarks, since it resembles the rest: we need only say, that his map represents porphyry where it has no existence.

The next division, that of the 'Roches Chloriteuses et Quartzeuses et du Schiste Argileux,' appears the most ingenious. He says, indeed, 'On me dira peut-être que ma division est superflue,'—which is exactly what a hard critic would predicate of the whole book. But this division is somewhat worse than superfluous. We cannot pretend to give an abstract of a text, in which he has confounded and perverted all sorts of facts of the most heterogeneous nature, collected from Dr Macculloch's work, without having seen any one of the places in question; and without appearing even to have been at the trouble to read a book, of which the statements are detailed in the most minute manner. We must be content with showing from his map, that under this head he has confounded the whole complicated series of the Highland border which is the uppermost of the primary strata, with the red sandstone of the North-western coast, which Dr M. supposes to be primary, the gneiss of Sky, the limestones of Loch Eribol, Lismore and Isla, the clay slate of Jura, Isla, and the Slate Isles, and the chlorite schist of different places; to say nothing of Dr Hibbert's clay slate and blue quartz rock, which occupy two extensive tracts in Shetland.

Rashness and errors like these, however, are by no means peculiar to M. Boué; and it is the system, not the present author, who is the chief object of our animadversions. We admit, that, under the present difficulties which attend the discrimination and association of rocks, there may often be reason to doubt the accuracy of even the most reputable observers. But if the observer himself cannot satisfactorily determine the nature of such obscure cases, still less can they be understood by him who has never seen them. Such writers assuredly have no right to pronounce, even on a negative, in the description of others, far less to give new names to rocks which they never saw, to confer on them new associations, and to establish theories of their own upon such imaginations. This, however, is a common trick with the geognosts; and as another specimen of M. Boué's talent in this way, we observe that he has made chlorophœite, a mineral which he never saw, to be a variety of augite. To take no notice of their other differences of form and of composition, augite is a crystalline and igneous mineral, and chlorophœite is the produce of watery infiltration into amygdaloidal cavities.

As we formerly gave our opinion of Mr Jameson's Mineralogy of Dumfriesshire, we need not dwell on the article 'Grauwacké' in M. Boué's book, except to remark, that it is probably faithful enough. But it is not unamusing to observe, that while M. Boué every where professes, and apparently with great sincerity, the most profound deference to his teacher and patron, he has brought together and maintained every thing that ever was produced by geologists against his system.

The 'Grés rouge,' or red sandstone, is introduced by a somewhat flaming paragraph, in which it is represented as 'la plus bizarre des formations,' opening a 'champ vaste' which is to change, 'en certitude,' all sorts of geological conjectures, although it defies the most 'clairvoyant,' hiding 'pour toujours la clef des secrets de la nature.' This mysterious formation, the key of which is buried somewhere, but assuredly not in M. Boué's pocket, reminds us of the lock on the gate of Paradise which a certain Pope accuses Peter of having changed; forgetting, like M. Boué, that it was possible he had got the wrong key. But it is a valuable formation; since it is the sufficient reason why the east of Scotland is 'une des contrées les plus civilisées du monde;' just as the hardihood and 'belliqueux' dispositions of the Highlanders, arise from their dwelling on mica slate. Mr Pinkerton attributes all our knowledge of law, and metaphysics, and medicine, to our 'Pikish' origin: poor man, he did not know the virtues of the old red sandstone, which, considering that he has written two volumes of Petralogy, is somewhat unpardonable.

As we neither understand the 'gres rouge' nor the puddings which are associated with it, we gladly pass from this division, in hopes of getting at the 'calcaire et gres posterieurs;' but instead of these, we found a division of 'roches trappéennes et feldspathiques, des poudingues et des grés rouges,' and another 'des gres houilliers' interposed. This seems to be a *pentimento* of the author, resulting, doubtless, from the way in which his book has been manufactured, even during its progress through the press, since these two articles are not in the original enumeration of his 'terrains.' Firstly of the first, however, if possible.—And here we must beg leave to give the author's own declaration of his capability.

'Tout le monde sait que L'Ecosse est regardé depuis long-tems comme un terrain classique pour ce genre de roches, et comme un point qui montrait la vérité de leurs assertions théoriques, ou qui renfermait du moins le secret de la formation de ces masses problematiques; j'ai donc dû mettre tous mes soins à exposer les faits avec

toute la charté, et toute l'impartialitié que comporte cet intéressant sujet, afin qu'ils puissent asseoir leurs idées sur des bases solides.' &c. &c. &c.

These unfortunate gentlemen, including not only all the geologists of 'foreign parts,' but even the very persons from whom M. Boué has borrowed his own work, must indeed feel themselves deeply indebted to him for teaching them how to arrange their own ideas 'upon solid bases;' and though we, in our small way, have usually found it a matter of no small difficulty to arrange other people's ideas, particularly where they seemed to have scarcely any to arrange, we should have willingly displayed to our readers this attempt of M. Boué's, had we not found it beyond our limited faculties. All that we can discover respecting these 'roches trappéennes et feldspathiques' is, that they are associated with the 'gres rouge' in two modes, and that they resemble all the other trap rocks; which it required no ghost to tell us.

Next comes the second intercalated division of the 'gres houilliers des gres rouge;' by which, if he means any thing, it is to confound the coal series with the old red sandstone. Under such a confusion of ideas, it is not wonderful that he has utterly mistaken the red marl, which important bed extends from Cumberland into the south of Scotland. We shall not of course pursue his arrangements of other people's opinions through this division; but as he has for once given his own in a sufficiently short sentence, we shall content ourselves with quoting it.

'Les grés houilliers du grés rouge, ou le grand terrain houiller proprement dit, est un *accident*—ou un *deposition particulière du grés rouge*, qui a eu lieu pendant la formation de ce dernier; mais non pas precisément à la même époque, ni dans la même quantité, ni de la même façon dans toutes les contrées de la terre; de maniere que ces roches charbonnenses peuvent ce rencontrer dessous, dessus, on au milieu de ces grés rouges. Telle est l'opinion généralement reçu par les plus habiles geologues; et telle est l'idée à laquelle on est conduit en examinant attentivement les terrains houillers de L'Ecosse.'

Now, we have no hesitation in saying, most flatly, that this is not the opinion of any geologist on the face of the earth—so much for arranging other persons ideas on 'solid bases.' As to any information respecting the coal strata of Scotland which the dissertation may contain, we think it better to refer our readers at once to the original source of Williams. For the same reason, we shall refer to Dr Macculloch's work for the whole of his next division, that of 'Calcaire et Gres Posterieur,' which is a bad and perverted abridgment from that

book. His division of Volcanic Rocks is, in the same manner, an abridgment of that work, with some additions from other sources, which we do not think it necessary to examine. We need only say, that he makes most of the traps of the Western islands volcanic,—and, we must add, without having examined them.

As if he had not sufficiently confused the subject of the trap rocks already, by allotting some to granite, others to red sandstone, and a third set to volcanoes, he then enters on a division of 'Dépôts feldspathiques ou trachytiques,' where we have the unfortunate Dr Macculloch's observations all over again, cooked up with a new sauce—trap 'recoctum.' This is the last trap in the book, heaven be praised! but there is yet one in the map, called 'trapp d'une epoque incertaine,' of which, fortunately, he gives no explanation. Thus much for the key by which he is to unlock all ideas,—and thus much for M. Boué's description of the rocks of Scotland.—For we shall not follow him through his alluvial division and his bogs, because we are really tired with what we have waded through already; and though there is a 'Troisième partie,' containing his 'considerations générales theoriques'—and consisting of 116 pages —fear not, gentle reader—we have done. On his Plates we shall only add, that they are very ill executed, and that one-half of them are copied, without acknowledgment that we can perceive, from Dr Macculloch's work, and the remainder, such as they are, from several other sources.

But in terminating this criticism, we shall take the liberty of adding a few words respecting the new French nomenclature of rocks, of which he has occasionally availed himself, as if there were not difficulties enough already. Thus, we have ampelite, and dolerite, and mimose, and trachyte, and psammite, and other ites, with which we shall not offend our readers' ears. As if the Anglo-German names were not bad enough, we must add these to the cacophonous catalogue; or rather, we must unlearn every thing for the purpose of following our French neighbours. If we compare the mere sounds of the words, we think gneiss and graywacke perfect harmony compared to the inundation of Frenchified Greek which now stands in the list beside them. But, were the German names an hundred times worse, they are received and understood all over Europe. To change them is to render useless all the books that have been written—except by Frenchmen. We say nothing about the rotten foundation on which their system of geological nomenclature is built, because we examined it in a former Number,

We have given so much room to M. Boué's, as the best work of the two, with all its faults, that we have little to say respecting Monsieur Necker de Saussure's performance. This author comes forth with what the savages call 'a strong name;' and assuredly no literary descent can be more respectable than that which mingles the blood of Necker and Saussure. We should suspect, however, that the former predominated—for there is rather more eloquence than philosophy in this production—and the sentimental remarks on our Music and Superstitions, are far better than the account of our rocks. Among other things, he talks of his 'longues et minutieuses recherches' in Geology: and his right to these qualities we shall not presume to dispute. The length of his researches extends from Edinburgh to South Uist; and in their minuteness they descend occasionally to the blowpipe. But, where long, they are superficial; and, when minute, they are generally as useless as hackneyed. The fact is, that his pretensions to describe the Geology of Scotland, are founded on a walk to St Abb's Head, another from Kinghorn to the Queen's Ferry, an expedition to Bute and Arran, and a rapid tour, in which he traverses, not the islands themselves, but a line leading as shortly as possible through Staffa, to South Uist, touching at Iona, Col, Tirey, Egg, Rum, Mull, and Canna, and returning through Sky, Loch-Carron, and Inverness, to Altyre near Forres, whence he ends in Edinburgh. Thus qualified, he describes all these and other islands, and much of the Mainland too, with the greatest possible self-complacency. This Geology is scattered all through the three rambling volumes of which the work consists; being finally summed up, or renewed, in a distinct article at the end, which professes to be a compilation on the Natural History of Scotland. A few specimens of the execution must suffice.

The account of Arran, for example, seems as if it had been drawn up a century back. Of eighty weary pages on this subject, there are twenty-six given to the granite veins of Tornion, as if the subject had not been discussed already *ad nauseam*; and, in the conclusion, nothing is concluded. He might as well have spared his censures on Mr Headrick, who, although not pretending to be a geologist, has produced a book remarkable for the accuracy and minuteness of its details. It would have been for M. Necker de Saussure's interest to have abridged a work, any page of which contains more valuable matter than his whole survey. Of the geological map which accompanies this chapter, we can only say, that it would be fully as applicable to the vale of Chamouni. He says of Bute, that it

is 'not absolutely flat,' but 'fort basse:' an odd description this for an island, half of which consists of a ridge of mountains as high as the Pentland Hills.

There is so little said of the greater number of the Western Islands which he professes to have examined, that it is fruitless to follow him; but he describes Muck, which he does not profess to have seen, as a 'grés calcaire traversé par des filens 'basaltiques.' We are at a loss to account for this blunder; except by supposing that, in the manufacture of his book, his notes have somehow become misplaced. This island has been described only in Dr Macculloch's work; and the description is far too brief to be mistaken, as, instead of a 'gres calcaire,' the whole island, with one very trifling exception, is a mass of trap rocks. So that M. Necker de Saussure's accuracy in transcribing is equal to his accuracy in observing.

But his geological account of Sky is infinitely the most modest. He lands at Loch Bracadale, and walks to Talisker in the dark. Hence he crosses to Sconser, where he leaves it, benighted also half the way; thus seeing about ten or twelve miles of the most uniform part of a country which the most active geologist could not examine in six weeks of daylight, and in which he could see nothing but one variety of trap, because there is nothing else to be seen. Instead even of geologizing for these ten miles, he is amusing himself with ghosts, with demonology, not geology, and breaks out into the following specimen of Chateaubriandism. He is figuring to himself 'ces poëtes inspirés '(Ossian, Carril and Ryno) parcourants ces vallées obscures 'et profondes, laissant égarer leur imaginations mélancholi-'ques à l'aspect des scenes imposantes de cette nature sauvage, 'et croyant voir dans les brouillards, dans les nues légères qui 'voltigent autour de ces hautes montagnes les ombres de leurs 'pères et de leurs heros errer encore après leur mort, près des 'lieux qu'ils avoient long-temps habité.' With these qualifications for writing an account of the Geology of Sky, he throws aside, with contempt, Professor Jameson's sketch, accurate as far as it goes, and Dr Macculloch's minute survey of this most complicated spot, and says, Avaunt! 'Voici la maniere dont 'je la considere;' and then he conjectures most dogmatically, and is delightfully confident and wrong.

He is very cruel to his friend Professor Jameson, whom he lauds, nevertheless, in the usual set phrases, for his doctrine of 'contemporaneous formations;' while he maintains, at the same time, that conglomerates are original crystallizations. It would be very kind to Professor Jameson if somebody would explain

what he really does mean: but M. N. S. is one of those philosophers who abominate all theory—but their own; and he makes neither that nor Mr Jameson's intelligible. He is, if possible, however, still more ungrateful to poor M. Boué; especially, considering that he has borrowed from him the whole of his general article on the Geology of Scotland. After a little modest praise of himself, he says, of this work, 'Ce livre ne donne 'que des idées peu justes de l'ensemble;' and then proceeds very coolly to copy him. Our readers may guess, after the account we have given of that work, what the present is likely to be; a double-distillation of errors, alike of observation and of reasoning. Nevertheless, the whole *terra firma* is dismissed in 60 pages. We must not, however, suppose that this learned Professor omitted to read the works which he has quoted through poor M. Boué; since he says, very humbly, 'Enfin 'qu'on puisse apprecier le genre de critique qu'il m'à faller 'exercer sur ces diverses ouvrages,' &c. The account of Muck will show how far this critic has examined the works on which he has exercised his talents; and indeed it is not a little amusing to see two rivals in Scottish Geology disputing about what neither of them ever saw. While Dr Macculloch, after a minute survey, simply says, there is a great tract of red sandstone on the west coast of Scotland, M. Necker very cavalierly calls these rocks 'pretendus;' and says, they are his 'roches de quartz.' No! says M. Boué, they are 'mes roches chloritiques!' It would be well if these two gentlemen would visit the rocks in question, before quarrelling about them. But enough, and more than enough, of Mons. Necker de Saussure's talents for geology. They concern us but little: let his pupils look to that.

The remainder of his Natural History will not put the Geology out of countenance. *Erica vagans*, not a misprint, since it occurs over and over again, is stated as a common plant in Scotland, where it does not exist. This must be pure ignorance. But your true science is shown by turning up a catalogue, and transcribing the Linnæan names from the Latin column. Thus, he finds that birch trees grow in Arran, and that they are dwarfish; and then, looking into Donn's catalogue, he discovers that dwarf birch is the English of Betula nana; so down goes Betula nana as a native of Arran,—while it is one of the rarest Scotch plants, growing only in the remote mountains of Atholl, and in one or two equally insulated spots. His copy from M. Boué of the geography of Scottish plants, must needs be equally valuable, as this latter botanist was obliged to have

recourse to a person whom we happened to know, for the names of the specimens, not only of plants, but of rocks, which he had collected in Arran. The catalogue of animals, however, is readily found in Pennant's Arctic Zoology; and, of the descriptive part, we may quote the following interesting specimen, because it is his own. 'Pendant l'hiver, les corneilles 'mantelées (hudie craws) se promenent le long de la greve sur 'le bord des eaux, pour chercher leur nourriture parmis les co-'quillages et les mollusques que la mer rejette. Les mouettes 'et les goelands volent et nagent à peu de distance de la terre.' He is less fortunate when he describes the eider-duck as breeding in Aberlady Bay. Not even content with indicating a fact, into the relation of which he has somehow been misled, he enters into long details, copied from Sir George Mackenzie's Iceland, as we imagine, respecting their tameness, &c. &c. &c. as if he had witnessed it all. We can only account for this by his having, in consulting the catalogue, mistaken one duck for another, and then transcribing the history of the wrong bird. This book-making, in very truth, is, after all, a delicate trade, and requires all a man's wits.

The rest of the book consists of every thing. We ought, however, to be very grateful to M. Necker de Saussure, which we fear we have not shown ourselves, for his 'desir de voir 'enfin les Ecossais reprendre dans l'opinion la place qui leur 'est due,' motives by which he has been 'uniquement dirijé.' An hundred pages, for this purpose, are dedicated to the novel subject of Ossian, from the reports of the Highland Society, Dr Graham, &c. &c. On our Music, there are two distinct essays, one of fourteen pages, and, long after, a second of thirty, in all of which he proves what had been proved a century ago, that the Chinese use the same scale, repeats the hackneyed and misapplied remark about Carlo Gesualdo, and concludes by saying, after much complimentary matter, that 'par sa melodie 'triste et sauvage, elle est en harmonie avec les après rochers, 'le mugissement des vents, et la monotonie des roulement des 'flots sur les solitaires rivages qu'elle semble depeindre.' What will his Highland friends say to this compliment? An hundred and twenty pages on Edinburgh, may possibly be as new to the Genevese as the Guide itself; and so, for aught we know, may be an hundred on the manners of the Highlanders, and forty more on their economy. But it would be quite as well if, instead of describing that which is long dead and gone, a modern traveller would tell what really is, and if, instead of confounding his politics by copying contradictions from the an-

tagonists of Lord Selkirk and the Agricultural Magazine, the author would try to understand a simple subject, and state the facts as they really are. His adopted countrywoman, Mrs Marcet, might have been of use to him here. On the Gaelic language, he has not had a Père Amyot to help him out, as he has in the Chinese scale—or, to what he has borrowed from Dr Smith and Mr Stewart, he might have added what is infinitely interesting, namely, the connexion between the Celtic and Sanscrit, a fact known to all the philologists of Europe. But it is fruitless to wade through compilations made thus at hazard.

Of his knowledge of the state of Church Education in Scotland and England, here is a specimen. 'On exige d'un ministre du culte dans la religion reformée Calviniste, des études plus fortes et plus complètes que dans toute autre commu-nion;' while in England, 'les curés de campagnes sont administrées par des prêtres subalternes des vicaires qui non pas été appellés à des études approfondies.' To conclude, this observer, who boasts that his 'connoissance des divers dialectes en usage dans les Isle Britanniques m'ont place dans un position favorable pour observer avec profit,' asserts, that the national antipathy of the English to the Scotch 'is found, not only in the conversation of all classes, from the Borders to the south of England, but even among the most distinguished writers.' From this we would be apt to conclude, that his knowledge of England was derived from having seen Cook play Sir Archy and Sir Pertinax—and his acquaintance with their authors confined to Churchill, and some numbers of the North Briton.

ART. VIII. *Observations relative to Infant Schools, designed to point out their Usefulness to the Children of the Poor, to their Parents, and to Society at large. Calculated to assist those who may benevolently incline to establish such Schools.* By THOMAS POLE, M.D., Author of the History of the Origin and Progress of Adult Schools. 8vo. pp. 83. Bristol, Macdowall. 1823.

No one who has reflected upon the subject of Education, can entertain any doubt that the term is most erroneously restricted, when it is applied exclusively to the instruction received at schools. Reading, writing and accounts, the allowance given to the poor, and whatever the rich add to

these acquirements, building upon them as on a foundation, form a mass of mental tuition incalculably important no doubt, but far from constituting the whole, even of intellectual education, and leaving wholly untouched, except indirectly and consequently, the important matter of moral discipline. To illustrate this position, we need only remark, that many of the most elementary and important lessons in knowledge are received independent of what we learn at school, many long before we go thither; and that there is hardly any thing taught at any school which has for its direct and immediate object the improvement of the moral education and the feelings of the heart, though undoubtedly this improvement is a natural result of whatever betters or stores the understanding.

The period of life which is the least fitted for intellectual improvement, is certainly in many respects the best adapted for moral culture. While the mind is yet untainted with vice, while its habits are unformed, while it is most susceptible of deep and lasting impressions, in a word, while in its infant state, the most valuable opportunities are hourly afforded, of binding it to what is amiable and virtuous, and of training it to all right habits. This truth has in all ages been admitted, upon the authority of constant and familiar experience; but the material step that has of late years been made, is in extending the period during which this precious susceptibility of right impressions lasts, and in applying also a larger portion of attention to the cultivation of the infant mind, beginning much earlier, and tending it more constantly.

Let any one consider the condition of a child from two to three years old, and he will find it in a state of perpetual curiosity; intensely eager in learning the nature of the world, where every thing is new to it, and exquisitely susceptible of every variety of sensation and feeling. Much may, about this period, be learnt by it, beyond what is usually deemed level to its capacity; but at any rate, between three and five, when school education usually begins, two years of habitual curiosity are generally thrown away, as far as regards the understanding, and two years of susceptibility worse than wasted, as regards the passions and feelings. To speak only of the temper—before three years old this is fully developed, nay, before eighteen months it is abundantly marked. But as yet, no habits are acquired; the vices of nature (supposing any to exist naturally) may easily be corrected, and right habits formed, which ordinary care in after years will render permanent and invincible. Suppose the child at three to be cross or passionate, how per-

versely cross, how violently passionate will it be found at five, if no pains are taken to wean it from such serious imperfections! We all know what a spoilt child is; and it may safely be affirmed, that all material spoiling is effected in those two important years. But there are many degrees of bad temper which are fitted to make the adult in after life miserable himself, and the cause of wretchedness to others, although the child may not have been spoilt, that is wholly neglected or indulged, or what is even worse, treated with the unsteadiness, fickleness and caprice, the mixture of over kindness and undue severity, which will in most cases be found at the root of all spoiling, and may be safely pronounced far more detrimental than absolute neglect or indiscriminate indulgence. It is greatly to be feared, that many things remain through life the same in a child's defects as they were at five years old, and resist every attempt at eradication, although reason may keep their effects within certain limits of restraint, extremely painful to the individual, and injurious to honesty and openness of character. Excess may be restrained in one direction; but the mischief will break out elsewhere. The angry or peevish child may not always become a captious or violent man; but a subdued tone, a smooth outside, are not worn by any one with impunity to his general character. How incalculably important, then, is it to correct, betimes, such imperfections as leave no other alternative than the choice between violence and dissimulation! We purposely avoid entering upon the nice question, whether the vices we are speaking of, are inherent or acquired. There is reason to believe that the greater portion are not inbred, but instilled; and that a child removed from all example of evil, and taught no bad habits by injudicious treatment, above all by severity, the parent of fear, the grand corruptor of the infant heart, would grow up naturally generous and honest and placid. But the practical importance of this question is inconsiderable; the decision either way can only require a slight change in the language we are using; and all the results will be the same, whether we speak of prevention or cure—of refusing access to evil dispositions, or eradicating them where they are originally found.

Hitherto our remarks have been applicable to the infants of all ranks, the children of the rich and high born, as well as of the humble and poor. But it is manifest, that the discipline to which a child is subject, during the earliest years of what may be called its rational life, that is, from three or two and a half to five, is, beyond all comparison, more important in the latter case

The children of the rich are kept aloof from a thousand contaminations, which of necessity surround the infant offspring of the poor. Consider the difference between a nursery in Portman Square, and the single room in St Giles's, or in Calmel's Buildings, at one corner of that Square, which contains several families of wretched parents and children, living in an atmosphere where the fumes of gin and of filth contend for the power of scenting it,—a room, too, that resounds with blasphemy and obscenity, and is the shelter for the habitual commission of every indecency, and almost every crime. The utmost regard that can be paid to the choice of nurses and servant-maids, is far too little to secure the purity of a child's morals even in the Square; still less is it sufficient to train its temper. But can any good be conceived more precious than to transplant the more unfortunate infants to a wholesome air, and surround them with decorous and pure objects, and fill their ears with the sounds of harmless amusement or early instruction? Two or three years spent in so polluted a commerce, and so tainted an air, are not passed with impunity to the principles, certainly not to the feelings and the taste, any more than with safety to the bodily health and constitution. The question then is, How can the infant poor especially, be removed from this imminent peril, which surrounds them almost necessarily, and must affect them more or less through the whole of their after life?

To relieve the parents wholly from the burthen of maintaining their offspring, would be absurd, even if it were possible; and every scheme which has for its object the gratuitous maintenance of poor children, may safely be pronounced dangerous to society, in proportion as it directly relieves the parent from his burthen. It removes the only check upon improvident marriages, and one of the principal guards of chastity. An hospital for the support of children is liable to this objection in the highest degree, and a foundling hospital more than any other. Such an establishment may safely be termed a great public nuisance, leading to unchaste life, and to child-murder, beyond any other invention of the perverted wit of man; for, unless it can receive the fruit of every illicit connexion, which is impossible, it must needs encourage many to enter into such an intercourse, without giving them the means of providing against its consequences. But an hospital, or rather school, where the children of the poor may be taught gratuitously, or for a small payment, is liable to little or nothing of these objections; because it only provides for what the parent would not have bestowed

on the child, had his circumstances made it inconvenient. In like manner, a Day school for poor infants, where they may be trained to good habits, removed for the greater part of their working hours from bad air and bad example, and taught the little matter they are at such an age susceptible of, is free from almost every object which the sternest political economist can urge against misdirected charity; the only drawback that remains, namely, the benefit derived by the parents, being amply compensated by the improvement of the child, and being in itself, perhaps, an unmixed good. This benefit is, indeed, very considerable to the parent. The mother, whose time would be occupied by the care of two or three children, so as to be necessarily kept from all gainful work, is wholly set free by having them taken off her hands during the entire day, the period of work, or, at least, only left with her during the dinner hour, if she dines at home, and, if not, provided with a meal to carry to school. This is a profit to the married pair, no doubt, and, in so far, may be supposed to contribute towards maintaining their family; but it is only profitable by affording time for labour; and therefore it is a legitimate aid to their means, and no more tends to encourage improvident marriages than any increased demand for labour, or any improvement on its productive powers. In truth, if it tends to promote marriages, it tends to make them less improvident; and, whatever stimulus it may give to population, is of a nature wholesome, and not burthensome to the community.

So convinced are the poor of the advantages attending some such arrangement, that in many parts of the country in England, and even in the larger towns, Dame-Schools, as they are called, have been established, where an old woman receives young children, and, without teaching them much,—for neither is she able to communicate, nor are they capable of receiving much instruction,—she, nevertheless, keeps them out of harm's way. The parents willingly pay from twopence to fourpence a week for this convenience; and it is to be feared that the education of the child forms a much smaller part of the consideration, than the accommodation to the mother, whose time is thus set free for profitable employment and domestic labours. If the children learn little of reading at those schools, they receive still less moral instruction. The dame has no idea that a child can be trained to any thing but the knowledge of its A, B, C; and, as to improving the temper, such a course of discipline would probably be laughed at by both parents and schoolmistress.

If any one had merely considered the fact which we have just adverted to, observed how extensive is the practice of send-

ing children to Dame schools, and noted the use of it both to parent and child, under all the disadvantages of a most imperfect system, he might have been led naturally to the great step in the improvement of education, which we are now occupied in describing. The only change required was to form a large Dame school; to admit children of a still younger age, in fact, as young as they can be taken from the nurse; and to place, at the head of the school, a person of good sense, accustomed to the management of infants, but, above all, of a perfectly mild temper, and of an affectionate disposition. Little, if any thing more, is wanting to complete the scheme. The room should be airy and clean; as spacious as can be easily afforded, and adjoining to a good, dry play-ground, of as large dimensions as may be obtained. The following account, given by Dr Pole, of the origin of this experiment, shows that it did not arise from observing the course of instruction at Dame schools, but from our amiable countryman Robert Owen's operations in his manufactory at New Lanark.

'Some difficulty has arisen in endeavouring to ascertain with certainty, with whom the plan of beginning the education of children at the early age of two years, or two and a half, originated. Emmanuel de Fellenberg, it appears, had long entertained this idea; and Robert Owen, of New Lanark, in Scotland, had it in mind a considerable time before he reduced it to practice. Henry Brougham says, he hardly recollects the time at which he himself did not feel persuaded, that what is commonly called education, begins too late, and is too much confined to mere learning. He is convinced, that Robert Owen was the first person who made the experiment; and to this day, Fellenberg's plan, though in principle the same, does not extend to infants of so early an age.

'It is about seven years since Robert Owen's Infant School was completely established; since Fellenberg's was formed, may be about sixteen years. The former is connected with Robert Owen's cotton manufactory, where about 2500 persons of all ages, capable of assisting, are employed, all of whom live on the spot, excepting about 300, who live in the town of Old Lanark, about two miles distant. The children at his school belong almost entirely to the spinners at the mill, though some few may come from the town; and they all live with their parents. Fellenberg's establishment for poor children is, in like manner, connected with his agricultural concerns, but still more closely; for they live entirely on the farm, and have no intercourse with their parents; who are, for the most part, persons in the worst classes of society, and have deserted their children.

'The origin of the Westminster Infant School was this: Henry Brougham had long been of the opinion, that the same principles which Robert Owen applied to his mill, and Fellenberg to his farm,

might be extended advantageously to the poor population of a crowded city. He had not an opportunity of visiting Robert Owen's school at New Lanark until the ninth month (September), 1822; respecting which, he says, his expectations were much exceeded, and in no respect disappointed. He was fully acquainted with its principles and details, from R. Owen's own statements, and from the testimony of many friends, upon whose judgment he could fully rely; amongst these were Benjamin Smith, the late Samuel Romilly, and William Allen, who had all been at New Lanark. H. Brougham had seen Fellenberg's establishment in 1816, and given an account of it in 1818, in his evidence before the Education Committee, appointed by Parliament. In the following winter, his friend, James Mill, of the India House, and himself, had much discussion with R. Owen respecting the plan, and they were immediately joined by John Smith, M. P., the Marquis of Lansdown, Zechariah Macaulay, and Thomas Babington, in the attempt to establish an Infant School in Westminster. In a few weeks they were joined by Lord Dacre, Thomas Baring, Bart., William Leake, M. P. Jos. Wilson of Spitalfields, Henry Hase of the Bank, John Walker of Southgate, and one or two other friends. R. Owen kindly furnished them with a master, J. Buchanan, who had been superintendant of his Infant School at New Lanark; and the necessary preparations being completed, the children were received early in the year 1819, at first gratis, and after about two years trial, for weekly payments, which they have since been obliged greatly to reduce.

'During the last year and upwards, Benjamin Smith (son of the member for Norwich) has been constant in his care and exertions to watch over and encourage the institution; and they have been occupied in placing it on a permanent foundation. Joseph Wilson has formed one upon a similar plan, but to a greater extent, in Spitalfields; and they certainly had reason to hope, that a greater number of schools would have been established upon the same plan; but the distresses of the times have, most probably, interfered with the benevolent views of persons in superior classes; and the poor have not readily come into the plan of paying a moderate sum for the care and tuition of their children; or rather, they seem more willing to pay, where the tuition is, in every respect, less advantageous.

'Fourpence a week is by no means an uncommon payment at the Dame schools, both in London and in country towns, where a considerable number of children are collected in small unwholesome rooms, and taught very little, if any thing. Less than threepence is scarcely ever paid at these schools, and sometimes as much as sixpence, fourpence being the usual sum.

'Infant Schools, there is reason to believe, can never be established generally, and upon the right plan, until persons make them an affair of gain to themselves; which should be encouraged, when suitable masters and mistresses shall be properly trained and qualified to conduct them. To conduct a school in as perfect a manner as pos-

sible, requires no talents or acquirements beyond what ordinary persons possess, and the manner of carrying on the school may be learned in a fortnight or less. An airy place, with a piece of ground, may be easily obtained in a country town; in a crowded city this may not be so easy a matter, and there the want of complete accommodations must, to a certain degree, in many cases, be submitted to.

'The persons who are hereafter to have the management of such schools, should be satisfied with very moderate gains; one hundred children, paying what they now do at Dame schools, or even less, say threepence a week, would receive between sixty and seventy pounds a year. A poor woman with two infants, or even with one, can scarcely gain any thing by her labour, if she has her child or children all day long to look after. If she sends her children in the morning to an Infant school, provides them with a dinner (in a bag), which they may take with them and eat at the school during the hours of dismissal, they are off her hands till she comes back in the evening from her day's work; thus, by paying a few pence, she may gain from five to six shillings a week, and at the same time improve her children incalculably.' pp. 6–10.

We have extracted this passage the more readily, because it contains almost every thing that is required to be known, respecting the plan in order to set it on foot; and accordingly, we have the happiness of knowing, that some benevolent persons, of a judicious philanthropy, have established Infant schools from reading this tract of Dr Pole. We now proceed to give a few more particulars, partly from excellent works of this truly benevolent man, partly from what we have ourselves observed in the London and Westminster Institutions.

It may be premised, that Mr Joseph Wilson of Spitalfields having been one of the promoters of the Westminster Infant School, soon afterwards established one at his own cost in his immediate neighbourhood. It is a free school, and accommodates two hundred children. The parish school having declined when quarter pence were required, is again become free, and about two hundred now attend it. Exclusive of the premiums, the annual charge is about a hundred pounds; but the same expense would accommodate three hundred of both sexes. The Bristol school was formed on the same model, and under a teacher from the parent institution. Three halfpence a week are paid by each child, and one hundred attend. The unwillingness of the poor to contribute even a penny a week in Westminster, when they used to give fourpence and even sixpence to the most wretched Dame schools, is truly astonishing, and presents no very favourable picture of their good sense or feeling. The superiority of the institution over the Dame schools is so plain

as to strike every eye. The children are kept in a fine airy room and play-ground; their morals, tempers, health and cleanliness, are carefully attended to; they make some progress in learning to read and account; and they are taught many things of an ordinary but most useful kind to fit them for after-life. Hither the parents refuse to send them if a farthing is to be paid; but they pay considerable sums to an ignorant, peevish old woman, who has a wretched garret into which she crowds twenty dirty little creatures, and by fear keeps them tolerably quiet, in a pestilential atmosphere, where they learn nothing, and enjoy nothing; their minds wholly neglected, their limbs cramped, their health injured, and their time passed in restraint, which, combined with inaction, is a real burthen to all children. Whence this inconsistency? It partly arises from the arts of those old women, who, of course, set themselves against the new school, both misrepresenting it and cajoling the parents; but it results chiefly from that vulgar feeling which makes the poor too often greedy at once and ungrateful; expecting, as a kind of right, what their richer neighbours give in charity, and almost thinking, that whoever volunteers his services in their behalf, has a personal interest in their good, and should pay for his fancy. They see that rich men are at the bottom of the establishment, and they are resolved, that those who must pay the greater part of the charge at all events, should be made to pay the whole. It follows, that if a person, unconnected with any charity, were to make a trade of keeping Infant Schools, and to demand threepence or fourpence a week to enable him to maintain them, the poor would soon prefer him to the Dames. We fear that, at least in London, where such prejudices as we have been describing prevail chiefly, no mixed plan of payment and charity is likely to answer. But two hundred children, at threepence a week, would yield one hundred and thirty pounds a year; which, considering the very ordinary kind of qualifications required in the couple who are to carry on the plan, would be quite sufficient to defray the whole expense of the school, and leave salary more than adequate to the claims of the teachers. At first, however, the aid of the rich is indispensably necessary for the propagation of the system, by establishing Model Schools; and it may be supposed, that these can only recommend it, and facilitate its adoption, gradually, and in the course of a considerable time. The work of Dr Pole, and another recently published by Mr Wilderspin, master of the Spitalfields School, will greatly assist the endeavours of the judicious persons who are disposed to bestow their charity upon this unexceptionable object.

After a proper room and ground are provided, the first thing to be settled is the choice of a master and mistress. These should be man and wife. The chief qualities required are, beside strict integrity, a mild but firm character, and an unexceptionable temper. Indeed, these are the only qualities essentially necessary; and a few days tuition at any Infant school already established, will enable any persons of this description to perform their part with unerring success.

In reclaiming the children from bad habits, and correcting vices in the temper, nothing is so requisite as a patient disposition, avoiding all harshness, and, at the same time, both convincing the little patients that they are in the wrong, and showing them that they will not be yielded to.

'We will now advert to what has been the result of experience in the Bristol School. The Master, who was trained in the Brewer's Green School, Westminster, informs us, that, when a passionate child is brought to the school, it generally tries, with all its might, to get the upper hand, by crying, or stamping with its little feet, or some such act of infantile violence. Here an injudicious soothing, or a severe beating, which many would resort to, the master considers improper. The latter, indeed, is but violence opposed to violence, which is by no means acting upon a correct and rational principle; neither is it likely to produce a radical amendment. It can only induce a reluctant and sullen submission to power and authority; the disposition to rebel is left lurking in the child's mind, and will break out, perhaps with increased violence, in order, if possible, to induce a submission on the part of his opponent. The master informs us, that he generally succeeds in quieting the child by bringing forward a very small child, and telling the passionate one how good the other is, that it never cries on being brought to school, and is always happy when there. If this passionate little fellow has any sense of shame, he feels unwilling to be outdone by one so much less than himself. This generally succeeds, and he sits down amongst the others, in rather a gloomy mood at first; but seeing the other children at play, he soon manifests an inclination to join them. This is encouraged by the master; his turbulence is softened down, and he becomes happy and contented with his schoolmates. The master further informs us, he has had children of the most refractory dispositions committed to his care, whom the parents could not manage; and that, without either chastisement or threatening, these very children, by judicious treatment, have often become the best tempered and the most tractable of any in the school.' pp. 44, 45.

Let it be recollected, that these remarks are drawn from actual experiment on an extensive scale. From the same sure source proceed the following, upon the best means of correcting a quarrelsome disposition.

'Let us suppose a child is passionate, quarrels with, and strikes

another, which is not allowed in the school; in such cases, it is frequently said, he deserves a good whipping; but what will whipping do? We can neither, as before observed, whip bad dispositions out of a child, nor good ones into him; but, let the master sit down and take the little offender kindly upon his knee, reason with him, and convince him that he loves him, that he has done as he would not like another to do unto him, and that such conduct is unfriendly to his own happiness; let the offended child stand by, and silently hear all that passes, and when the warmth of his temper has subsided (for this will soon be the case), and it was the same in the Apostle's time, when he said, "Be ye children in malice." In the next place, get the contending parties to kiss each other, then to walk several times up and down the school-room, hand in hand, or with their arms round each other's necks. This will be a far more likely means of correcting the evil, and restoring harmony, than beating the offender; which indeed would encourage a spirit of resentment in the offended party; perhaps induce him to exult over his schoolmate, and possibly give rise to another quarrel between the very same individuals.' p. 43.

What is usually termed *punishment*, is almost wholly banished from these schools; for, under this denomination, can hardly be said to come the methods of chiding, and, at the utmost, exposing to ridicule or shame used in the Infant Schools. Indeed, even these are no part of the system. The Spitalfields establishment allows a pat on the hand with a small twig to be inflicted; and this is the utmost corporeal punishment permitted there. Dr Pole peremptorily objects to this as liable to abuse, and likely to be converted into the ordinary chastisement of the rod. He refers to both the Parent School at Westminster, and the Bristol School, where no such infliction, nor any other, was ever resorted to, and where no bad effects whatever have been found to result from the omission. The children in both these seminaries show the most entire obedience, cheerful and good-humoured submission, and affectionate attachment to the masters. Our author objects, in like manner, to some other methods of punishment by the use of ridicule; as making the other children point at the culprit; confining him in a cage, while the rest cry out, '*Pretty dicky, sweet dicky!*' and pinning a slip of green baize to his tail, and parading him among the others, who cry out, '*Green tail, played the truant, green tail!*' We entirely agree with Dr Pole in an unsparing condemnation of these barbarous and absurd inventions, which never could have been learnt at the Westminster School, and clearly derive their origin from the worst parts of Joseph Lancaster's scheme, parts which his successors soon abandoned. Such methods are at war with all the

fundamental principles of the system; they tend to corrupt both the culprit and his fellows—the former, by introducing the grand corrupter, fear; the latter, by inculcating cruelty and mockery into their habits. Who, indeed, that had ever reflected upon the first outlines, even, of the plan, could ever dream of punishing the children for playing truant, when the whole system consists in making the school a place of amusement? and the best proof of your having failed in pursuing it, is the necessity of compelling the children, by fear, to give their attendance. The most severe infliction which ought to be suffered, is to make the child stand, for repeated and obstinate offending while in school, with a placard denoting his offence; perhaps the mere suspending him from the amusements and little labours of the place, and making him sit or stand inactive, while all his companions are busy, would of itself be found sufficient, with the kind and steady admonitions of the master.

The sports of the children form a great, indeed the greatest, part of their occupation. The large schoolroom has a small one formed at the end by a partition, and there the master teaches them a little reading, accounts, and singing, in classes of ten or fifteen at once. The rest, meanwhile, are disporting themselves in the great room, or the play-ground adjoining, both of which are fully commanded from the place where the master is. Frequently he is with them, joining in the plays; now marching at their head, and playing on a flute, or beating time with a drum; now making them perform, in time and order, various evolutions; now showing them feats with the ball, the hoop, or the top. Of the less active relaxations, the following is Dr Pole's description.

'In the selection of toys for the scholars, the preference is given to such as are of simple construction, durable, of moderate expense, and the least likely to occasion injurious accidents to the children. Strong made, but rather small carts, waggons, and wheel-barrows, are principally used; whips are not allowed, lest they should make an improper use of them. The most simple, durable, and amusing toys, are little deal blocks, in the form of bricks, four inches long, two wide, and one in thickness, made exactly to correspond with each other; they are used for building walls, houses, castles, towers, &c. in an almost endless variety of forms, which is an agreeable exercise of their ingenuity; they are not heavy enough to inflict any injury, should they happen to fall upon their little builders; or, if the size should be considered objectionable on this account, they may be made of a smaller size, but the proportions must be the same.

'The building of high towers with these wooden bricks, and throwing them down again, affords the little creatures great pleasure

and delight. A swing is another kind of amusement they are very fond of; this may be so constructed as effectually to prevent a child's falling out.

'Children, whether at home or at school, under the most vigilant superintendence, will be liable to meet with trivial, and sometimes with more serious accidents; all that can be done by way of prevention, will be, to keep as watchful an eye over them as possible. A much greater exposure to accidents would arise from their being kept from school, especially when permitted to run at large in the streets.' p. 39.

'Many persons think, that the moment a child is brought into the school, he should be taken to his seat, and there kept until the time of going home; but this, he observes, is a most injurious practice; instead of which, they are permitted, in these schools, to join in play with their schoolmates, as they may be inclined, until they are all, or nearly all, collected. These amusements are calculated to give the children habits of industry, and to prevent their having any time (if they had the inclination) for repining; it also greatly tends to the promotion of health and bodily vigour. Herein we follow the dictates of reason and nature; for young growing children, and animals of every species, are prone to activity, in proportion to that kind of life which, in the order of an all-wise Providence, they were intended to live. We may observe this in all animals of prey (quadrupeds) formed to live by feats of agility, effected by the elasticity and spring of their muscles; such animals, in a young and growing state, are remarkably active and playful; an instance of which, familiar to us all, is seen in the cat, and cats are animals of prey; they pursue their prey by celerity in the movement of their feet, or springing like a tiger at once upon it; and young cats (kittens) are remarkably active and playful. On the other hand, swine, in a state of nature, are formed to walk gravely over the ground, to feed upon growing vegetables, the fruits which fall from trees, and to root with their noses under the earth for such productions as are to be found there; their young show very little inclination to sportive agility.' p. 46.

The following statements and remarks on the Exercises, are judicious and interesting.

'For the purpose of healthy exercise, and other considerations, the Master marches them several times round the room; this, in cold weather, is a means of warming them, much to be preferred to the warmth acquired by standing before the fire. In these marches, the children beat time, by clapping their hands together at every step; this, with the sound of their feet on the floor, makes a clattering noise very delightful to the children, as may be seen by the animation of their countenances. These marches are so managed as to make them additionally amusing. A double rank coming down the middle of the room, at the bottom divide off right and left into two single ranks, one on each side; when they meet at the top of the room, they join again into one double rank, with their arms round

each other's necks. The line of their march is always varied, according to certain rules, or the word of command, or signals given by the Master; the line may be zigzag, circular, vermicular, as their instructor may please. In these marches, the Master makes use of a whistle capable of a loud shrill sound. When the children are marching in ordinary pace or time, a sharp stamp of the Master's foot is a signal to increase the march to a quicker time, and a double sound of the whistle is to increase the march doubly quick. A single sound of the whistle is to call the attention of the leader of the march to the Master, who, by certain motions of his hand, directs the leader to turn either to the right or the left, or to fall in any position as he may think proper, in order to vary the march.

'If any person should inquire what the utility of these marches can be, beyond what may respect healthy exercise and the amusement of the children, I should say, I conceive them to be of very important benefit, especially to the very young learners; inasmuch as they are the means of introducing them to habits of subordination. In these marches, they are also obliged continually to attend to signals or the word of command, and to obey them. There is, in fact, no part of the school employments so calculated to produce attention and obedience, which are of the greatest importance throughout the various exercises.

'A man of observation, reflection, and judgment, at one of our annual meetings of the friends of the Lancasterian School in Bristol, remarked that these schools were of great importance, if it were only to teach children to hold up their hands when they were bidden; that is to say, to accustom them to habits of subordination.

'The use of the whistle in the school is various; if the children are sitting down, and talking during the time others are saying their lessons, a sound of the whistle commands silence; if they are singing or repeating hymns incorrectly, a sound of the whistle stops them; they then begin again singing or repeating the verse (after being duly corrected) in an orderly and proper manner. If any of the children should be running about, during the time they should be seated, a sound of the whistle arrests their attention, and brings the wanderers to their seats.' pp. 56–58.

The grand secret of the improvement found to be derived from these establishments, is their constant tendency to remove evil example and misery from the little creatures during almost the whole of their waking hours. Consider how a child belonging to one of them passes his day. As soon as he is up, the indispensable condition, and the only one of his admission to the school, that of clean face and hands, is enforced, and the mother, in order to be relieved of the care of him during the day, is obliged to have him washed. He then leaves the abode of filth, and intemperance, and squalid poverty, and ill temper, for a clean, airy place, pleasant in summer, warm and dry in

winter; and where he sees no face that is not lighted up with the smile of kindness towards him. His whole day is passed in amusing exercises, or interesting instruction; and he returns at evening-tide fatigued and ready for his bed, so that the scenes passing at his comfortless home make a slight impression on his mind or his spirits. Let it not be said that such a course of discipline tends to estrange him from his parents, and weaken on both sides the great bonds of domestic affection. If the parents are such as they ought to be, the hours passed in the morning and evening, and on the Sunday, are quite sufficient, combined with the lessons at school inculcating filial duties, to endear the parties to each other. If they cannot profit by those hours, in cultivating the domestic affections, we may be assured it is because they will not; and because their nature or habits are of a description calculated only to injure the tender offspring; in which case, the less intercourse they have with their children, the better.

We have dwelt less on the kind of instruction given at these schools, because it forms only a secondary object in training infants. A little reading and arithmetic has been already mentioned. The greater part of the remaining lessons consist of teaching by pictures. By means of these, a considerable knowledge of the simplest branches of natural history, the nature of trades, &c. &c. is conveyed.

'A number of these pictures is pasted on a board, in the same manner as the reading and spelling lessons used in the Lancasterian schools, suspended upon a level with the childrens' faces, five or six of whom stand in a semicircular form facing the board. The Master, then, with a long wooden pointer, points to a picture, and proceeds in the following manner, by way of question and answer.

'*Q.* What is that?—*A.* A sheep.

'*Q.* What is a sheep useful for?—*A.* His body serves us for food, and his wool for cloathing.

'*Q.* What is that?—*A.* A cooper.

'*Q.* What does a cooper make?—*A.* Casks.

'*Q.* What are casks used for?—*A.* To hold beer, and many other things.' pp. 59, 60.

It need hardly be added, that these lessons are peculiarly attractive to the children, and, by awakening their curiosity, fix their attention, so as to imprint many useful truths on their memory, beside securing the immediate advantage of innocent occupation, and wholesome exercise of the mind.

The question of religious instruction here meets us, from the amiable zeal of many masters and patrons of such schools—a zeal not always 'according to knowledge,' or tempered by sound discretion. That an infant of two or three should be

capable of any religious tuition at all, seems inconceivable; nevertheless, in all these schools there are lessons of a theological nature taught; and, of course, even when learnt by children somewhat older, picked up and retained merely by rote. The pure and unaffected piety of Dr Pole is naturally enough startled at some of these observances. He cannot, of course, object to instilling, as early as possible, into the young mind, the idea of a superior Being, watching continually over men, and of an after state of reward or punishment. Still less can he dispute the propriety of teaching the historical part of Christianity, as, in fact, more level to the tender capacity than the sublime abstractions of natural religion. So he distinctly admits that they may be taught select passages of Scripture, and made to get them by heart. But he observes, on the practice prevailing at the Bristol school, of making the infants say the Lord's Prayer on their knees, holding their hands in a suppliant attitude, 'If this is intended as a mere school exercise, I 'think it should not be made so closely to imitate an act of so-'lemn devotion. I conceive it highly proper that every child 'should be made capable of repeating that most comprehensive 'of all prayers, as soon as it may be capable of seriously con-'templating its contents; and that it should never be repeated 'but in a grave and becoming manner. My reason for intro-'ducing this observation is, not to cast even the shadow of a 'censure upon any individual, or associated individuals, but in 'order that, in schools which may hereafter be established, the 'practice may not be adopted without due consideration; how 'far it may tend improperly and injuriously to familiarize the 'solemn language of supplication to the greatest of all Beings, 'to the ears of young unthinking children. The prostration 'of our souls and bodies before the great and incomprehensible 'Majesty of Heaven, and reverently imploring his mercy and 'his blessings, is the most solemn act in which we can be en-'gaged on this side of the grave; an imitation of which should 'not, I think, be prematurely drawn forth or introduced, when 'the spirit of devotion is not felt to prevail, in some degree at 'least, in the minds of persons professing to be so engaged.' p. 55.

We greatly fear that many persons are for teaching, thus early, far obscurer mysteries. There are who deem the Church Catechism, with all the doctrines of Calvinism, quite essential to every kind and stage of education. Surely to them we may apply the Poet's devout but severe rebuke, given even to the reason of the most enlightened of mankind; and may suggest that, as these can only receive such lofty ideas by faith, those in whom faith cannot as yet be expected to operate, should on

no account be deceived with the notion that their tender minds can in any way be made to comprehend such dogmas.

> Matto è chi spera che nostra ragione
> Possa trascorrer la'nfinita via
> Che tiene una Sustanzia in tre Persone.
>
> Vain hope, by human reason's helpless power,
> To pierce the everlasting clouds that lour
> Opaque, immeasurable round the throne,
> Where sit Three Godheads concentrate in One. *

It is not the least advantage derived from the improvement of the children at these seminaries, that it is reflected upon the parents. The sight of infants so young as to cause no possible jealousy, framed to decorous habits, and behaving with tempers uniformly unruffled, naturally imposes a certain restraint upon the parents, and disinclines them to indulge in those excesses, whether of debauchery or violence, which too many of them have but little scruple in displaying before children who never saw purer examples. Any restraint, however temporary, is salutary; for it leads to habits of self-command immediately, and to those of reflexion and self-condemnation in the end. All who have gone much among the poor, agree in describing the good effects, in this way, of any education and moral improvement communicated to children. But there can be no doubt that, in proportion as very young children engage more of the parents' affections, among the poor especially, their improvement will operate the more powerfully upon his own conduct and feelings.

In the spirit of these remarks, our author judiciously recommends meetings being held at stated periods, of the parents, with the Masters and the patrons of the schools, for the purpose of inspecting the progress of the children, hearing complaints, and removing the grounds, if any, or convincing the complainers that there are none; and inculcating care of the children as the first of duties. 'Such meetings (he justly adds) of the friends and the 'befriended will be likely to do much in removing the too pre-'vailing idea, entertained by many in the lower walks of life, 'that those in superior stations, in what they are doing for the 'poor, are not actuated by a pure and disinterested benevo-'lence; that they have some private selfish purposes to answer. 'The poor scarcely know how to believe others can be actuated 'by dispositions so superior to what they have been accustomed 'to cherish in themselves.' p. 72.

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* Dante. Purg. More closely thus—
Vain hope, to trace by reason's light alone,
The immeasured path to Godhead, Three in One.

ART. IX. *Highways and By-ways, or Tales of the Roadside, picked up in the French Provinces.* By a Walking Gentleman. 1 vol. 8vo. G. and W. B. Whittaker.

CONSIDERING the prodigious literary activity of England, the number of years during which the Continent was sealed to our Tourists, and the vast field which the peace consequently opened to their peregrinations and pens, we doubt whether the harvest they have hitherto reaped, though abundant enough in quantity, has generally been as valuable as might have been expected; and we are sure that we have been struck with nothing so much as the marvellous resemblance which the different samples bear to each other. And yet, there has been no lack of variety in the professed objects of the contributors. We have had classical, political, commercial, antiquarian, bibliomaniacal, and even culinary tours, performed in every diversity of vehicle, from the *Coche d'eau*, the *Malle-poste*, or that crawling misnomer, a French *Diligence*, to the well-poised English chariot, or the patrician *Dormeuse*, whose inspiration is yawningly perceptible in the pages of some of our drowsy and dignified peregrinators. It is well known too, that we have certain domestic travellers or riders, in the Birmingham and Manchester sense of the term, who circum-equitate the island between two dromedary-like bumps, consisting respectively of a small portmanteau and a packet of samples; but it is not a matter of equal notoriety that we have literary couriers upon the same principle who duly take their departure from *the Row*, to overrun the Continent, with a wallet of former travels at their back, and a budget of blank note-books at their saddle-bow, by whose joint means they are enabled to manufacture those very workman-like Tours and Travels with which we are periodically presented every publishing season. Exclusively of these meritorious and acute surveyors of the high-roads, we have the travelling Fellows of colleges, few of whom return without having thrown some additional obscurity on the subject by their illustrations of antiquity; or, confirming the undisputed averments of the map of the post-book, by their routes and itineraries. The general monotony of the works, composed by such heterogeneous writers, can only be explained by the fact, that they have almost invariably, as far as Europe is concerned, 'jogged on the broad way and the beaten track,' following the print of one another's wheels from post-house to post-house, and from town to town; so that from constantly contemplating the same objects, and being liable to the influ-

ence of similar impressions, it became impossible, whatever differences might exist in individual characteristics, to avoid certain traits of universal resemblance in the result. One advantage has indisputably been conferred upon us by this fraternity of fellow-travellers, (so we may strictly term them, for we doubt whether a solitary individual ever started unaccompanied by the works of his predecessors), they have so familiarized us with the road to Naples, that any aspiring voyager labouring under an attack of indolence, gout, or impecuniosity, may perform the grand tour in his own arm-chair by his own fireside, with as much accuracy and satisfaction as my uncle Toby carried on the siege of Dendermond in his own bowling-green. He will not only know the proper inns at which he is to stop, and the charges he is to expect, the advantages of the Mont Cenis and St Gothard roads, the measurement of the churches, the span of the bridges, and the altitude of the palaces, (which, strange to say, retain generally the same proportions they possessed before the Revolution); but he may become a ready-made amateur and man of taste, competent to expatiate upon Claudine sweetness, and Raphaelesque expression, and Salvatorian savageness, with other 'taffeta phrases' and 'silken terms precise,'—not to mention the power of hazarding an established original remark on the Apollo Belvidere and Venus de Medici, —with the customary allusion to Canova and Thorwaldsen, and the passing tribute, of course, to our countryman Chantrey.

We blame not our tourists for telling us nothing new, for we could hardly expect novelty so long as they confined themselves to the old road. The face of nature remained the same—the public buildings were unaltered—the works of art had resumed their ancient positions; and as to social modifications, the descriptions of which were chiefly confined to capitals, it is astonishing what a tendency such great masses have to produce uniformity and stability in their appearance and habits. Under similar degrees of civilization, human nature offers pretty much the same features in all large cities, and pursues the development of its energies without being much affected by external influences. Thus, London and Paris, notwithstanding the laudable zeal of their respective rulers to destroy the prosperity of each other, have, during the twenty years of war, gone on regularly increasing in size and wealth, begetting new tenants, and building new houses with a rival activity. Yet such is the sameness in the frame-work of their society, that the traveller, after describing the new edifices, must either stop short, or have recourse to the details of his predecessors. Knowing then by heart, or at least by rote, all the interesting structures, statues, and paintings

of Europe, and satiated with monotonous descriptions of towns, we feel a freshness and relief in following the chance wanderings, and unpremeditated strolls of an intellectual sportsman, who, with his dog and gun, and no other settled plan than to avoid as much as possible the beaten track, seems to have wandered among the fields and villages of the south of France, in search of partridges and adventures. Such is the traveller before us. He has obviously been a long resident, or rather rambler, in the provinces he describes; and we are not the less disposed to welcome the information he gives us, because, instead of arranging it in formal Essays, under appropriate chapters, he has chosen to throw his book into the more pleasing form of Tales, illustrated by descriptions of local scenery, particularly in the romantic neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, and animated with pictures of the rural habits and customs that prevail in those sequestered regions. Becoming thus familiarized with the face and habitudes of an unfrequented tract of country, we at the same time enjoy the perusal of a book of fiction, for such we must consider it, or at least a high embellishment of real occurrences, notwithstanding the author's assurance in the Preface. 'I want to write Tales, not dissertations; instead of 'speculations, to give facts; in place of Essays, anecdotes. I 'would rather shake a prejudice, than build a pyramid; and as 'a straw can decide the inclination of a balance, so perhaps may 'this volume fix the bias of some undetermined mind.'

The introduction to the first Tale will afford some notion of the author's style and plan, or rather want of plan, in his rambles, and of the casual impressions from external nature, whence his stories derive their modification, or suggestion.

'Travelling, as I always do, without guide or compass, it is no merit of mine if I sometimes light upon pleasing scenes, or mix with interesting people. I have traversed France from frontier to frontier; cut across the highways, and struck into the open country: passed by where curiosity is generally arrested; loitered in spots unknown to fame or fashion; always yielding to the impulse of feeling, or the whim of fancy. Chance has so often led me into scenes of soft adventure, that I ask no other pilot; but had I made the most nicely balanced choice, I could not have better suited my taste, than in that district called the Perigord, and the country bordering upon it.

'Sauntering along the course of the river Dordogne, I had left far behind me the mountains of Auvergne; but I occasionally stopped to observe the autumnal sunbeams playing round their distant peaks. I dwelt on the recollection of the wondrous scenes they exhibit, and marvelled that so few of our travellers had explored their secret charms—until I recollected that they were unaccessible to the ap-

proach of four-wheeled carriages. They gradually melted from my sight, and new and different beauties turned my thoughts aside.

'I had seen the Dordogne in the heart of those rugged hills—born in volcanic sources, nursed on beds of lava, and swathed with basaltic bands—a riotous little stream, hurrying on its passage with the waywardness of a noisy child. A little further, I had fancied it to glide along in the quiet and smiling loveliness of female youth, through groupes of gentle acclivities of wild yet verdant aspect. Now I paced its widely separated banks, and marked it swelling into full-grown beauty, rolling its course with conscious dignity along congenial plains; while tufts of stately trees converted by my imagination into enamoured lovers, wooed their liquid mistress with bent and graceful branches, which wafted salutation, or sipped her passing sweets. A little more, thought I, and this proud beauty sinks into that sea, where all rivers are finally lost! And I was just getting into a train of deep analogies, when I was roused by the flapping wings of a covey of partridges behind me. I turned, and saw my dog fixed steadily at a point, at some distance. I cocked my gun, but the game had escaped me. Ranger came slowly forward, with a surly and reproving look, such as many a musing sportsman has observed, when the faithful follower, who has so well done his duty, would tell you that you have neglected yours. * * * * * * * So still was the air, yet so clear, that the tolling of the several bells, as they chimed for prayer, or marked I know not how many hours, fell on my ear, with sounds all equal. The hum of every individual insect seemed separate in the general buzz around me; and the very splash of the poor boatman's oar, as it fell upon the water, reverberated through the little grove where I reclined. It is hard to say how long I should have lain thus listless and delighted, had I not been more forcibly excited by the tone of a clarionette, touched by no mean performer, in one of the most distant outbound boats. The strain came wild and faintly up the river, and thrilled through my breast. It was scarcely like real music, and resembled rather those floating harmonies which sometimes lead the dreamer through the mazes of enchantment. I seemed to wake from some such oft-enjoyed illusion, and, springing on my feet, I clasped my hands and raised them towards the skies. I felt as if the world was filled with joy and peace, and could not have been persuaded to the contrary by a host of cynical philosophers. Unconscious of my movements, I struck into the grove; but, as I trod its little winding path, the train of my contemplations was disturbed. I thought I heard low sobs close by me. Impossible! said I; this must be imagination: my mind wanders, and, while revelling in one extreme, its fancies warn me of the other. I stopped and listened, but hoped to hear no sound. It was, however, but too true. The tones of lamentation were repeated more distinctly; and as I rustled through the trees, towards the place from whence they came, I saw two female figures, clad in black, glide hastily from the spot where I strove to penetrate.

'It seemed a vision of my over-heated brain; and, without knowing what I did, I burst through the slight enclosure of myrtle trees and laurel. I found myself in a place that might be well called sacred. It was an arbour planted with flowering shrubs, each one of which might have attracted my attention, had not that been wholly absorbed by its principal and melancholy ornament. In the middle was raised a little grass-covered mound, surmounted by a small and simple marble urn. Two wreaths of freshly culled and blooming flowers were hung around it. It bore no symbol of sorrow but this short inscription, in black letters,

"To the Memory of our poor Sister."

'Every thing looked as if just done. The sods were newly placed; the marble was unstained by even a drop of rain; the flowers had all their fragrance; and the whole scene breathed a fresh and holy solemnity. Wound up as I had been, to the highest strain of moral imagining, forgetting all that was of sorrow, both of others and my own, the shock was extreme. I felt dumb and tearless. I would have given worlds to have spoken or wept; and I cursed the impetuosity which had led to an intrusion which I thought little short of sacrilege. The only atonement left me was to fly.' p. 12.

The collection consists of four Tales, neither of which displays much complication of plot, though the interest they lose in involution is amply repaid by the air of local portraiture, and general reality diffused over the whole. The hero of the 'Father's Curse' (the first of the series), a stern republican, and deeply tinctured with the fashionable infidelity of the revolutionary era, is described as a virtuous man, and a kind father, affecting the stoic indeed in theory, but never able to realize the character without a fearful internal struggle. These contradictory impulses are brought into agonizing conflict, by the lapse from virtue of his two cherished daughters; and the whole narrative is so heart-rending, that we shall pass over its details, and content ourselves with quoting the terrific malediction from which it derives its title.

'He entered the arbour. The paleness of united rage and sorrow overspread his face. He tottered feebly from the violence of his emotion, and large drops, rage-distilled, stood on his sternly-furrowed brow. The servants and labourers made way as he approached. His wife shrunk back, and Agnes sunk her head upon the bosom she had so long been supporting. Eugenie alone seemed spell-bound by her father's withering gaze. Her eyes wildly glared upon him as he came slowly towards her, with uplifted hands, clasped above his head. As he advanced he spoke not, but fixed his looks upon her. His eyes for a moment closed, his brows were knit more rigidly, his lips compressed together with a sterner energy, his hands trembled on high; and then, as if this short but fearful preparation had given his mind full strength, he spoke. "Listen, daughter of infamy! lis-

ten to the curse of him who disowns you for his child. I curse you in the moment of your anguish, and I pray that it may last with your life. I drive you from my heart and from my home, and implore the heavens that eternal misery may light upon your desolate path!' p. 59.

As a fitting accompaniment to this storm of passion, we cite from 'The Exile of the Landes,' the not less powerfully written, but infinitely less revolting picture of an elemental tempest. The traveller benighted in the desert Landes of Gascony, has luckily fallen in with two of the shepherds of those barren tracts, mounted on their stilts, and clothed in sheepskins.

'As we went on in a westwardly direction, the wind blew fiercely, but not freshly in our faces. The labouring clouds seemed preparing to discharge their overloaded breasts, and distant thunder rolled along the horizon, still reddened by the departed sun. The masses of clouds which came upon the earth quickly shut out the day, and rose at opposite extremities into huge mountains of vapour. They were illuminated by fitful flashes of lightning, and looked like giant batteries erected in the heavens. As they moved onwards from the west they shot down vivid streams, which, at times, pierced to the very earth like quivering blades of fire. Again, the electric fluid took a horizontal direction through the skies; and its dazzling streak fluttered like a radiant streamer, till it lost itself among the clouds. Darkness came on with a suddenness such as I never before had observed, and the gusts of wind were terrific. They swept across the waste like floods of air, lashing the sands like waves, and bearing down all before them. Every single standing tree within our sight was shivered into atoms; but the crash when these whirlwinds met the opposition of the pine woods, baffles description. It appeared as if whole chasms were rent away in the forest; and between each blast we heard the howling of the wolves, terrified at the storm, or probably wounded by the shattered branches, and angry with the elements, which must have dashed them at intervals to the earth.

'This magnificent and awful war of nature continued about twenty minutes. The wind then dropped suddenly still, as if forced from the heavens by the torrents of rain which poured upon us. We raised ourselves up, and the shepherds pursued their course. They mounted again upon their stilts, and I followed their tract. Reiterated claps of thunder burst directly over our heads, and the broad lightnings gleamed in liquid sheets through the sea of rain which every cloud cast down.

'I was nearly overpowered with fatigue, for the wet sand was to me almost impassable; while my wooden legged companions found but little obstruction from it. My delight may then be imagined when I saw them stop suddenly before a house, which the darkness of the night prevented me from observing, till we were actually against its wall. They shouted together, and the door was cautiously half opened, by a woman with a resin taper in her hand.' p. 121.

The author here meets with the hero of the Tale, a proscribed regicide. We cannot afford to follow him through the adventures of his exile; and must content ourselves with extracting the following scene, the spirit and fidelity of which will be recognised by those who have ever mixed with the people, or ventured to try the accommodation of a provincial town in the south of France.

'In a moment a coarse but clean cloth and napkin graced my little table. A bottle of sour wine, a decanter of muddy water, a loaf of brown bread full three feet in length, a salt-cellar filled with salt, and another with pepper. A plate, a drinking glass, a heavy ill-formed silver fork and spoon, and a knife, which the clumsiest apprentice of Birmingham would be ashamed to own, were quickly scattered before me in the fullest spirit of that want of order, which so peculiarly marks the preparation for a French repast.

'My bustling landlady was aided in every thing by a rosy, smooth-faced lass, in a close and stiff starched cap, blue bodice, and red woollen petticoat; and in a little while they placed on the table a small tureen, whose brown exterior was not a shade more dark than the mess of soup which smoked within, and which sent up a savoury fume, where the odour of garlic had a proud pre-eminence. An omelet of six eggs, mixed well with herbs of all varieties, was already in the fryingpan, and the plump, brown arm of Cazille was stretched out to place it on the fire. The hostess's hand was in the act of cutting from a string of black puddings, one whose dimensions seemed suited to a Patagonian mouth. I was preparing with my spoon to dive into the cloud-enveloped mysteries of the tureen, when all our operations were suspended, and all our attentions roused, by the trampling of a horse, and a loud accompanying shout from a voice of stentorian tone.

"Heavens!" exclaimed the landlady, "it is Monsieur the Inpector of the Forests!"

Monsieur the Inspector!
The Inspector!
Spectre!

was reechoed by every mouth, from Cazille's down to my own, in all the gradations from surprise to inquiry. Ranger himself filled up the climax, by a note, which might be something between admiration and interrogation. Every one started up and made towards the door, carrying with them all the candles and resin matches which the kitchen had alight. The string of black puddings dangled uncut upon the wall. The embryo omlet was upset into the fire, and the spoonful of soup remained untasted in my hand.

'This moment of awful suspense was followed by the entrance of the important personage to whom such unconditional homage had been rendered, by mistress and maid, man and beast, black pudding and omelet. Monsieur the Inspector came bustling in, with that air of moistened dignity which sits so naturally on a great man drenched with rain.

'He was a broad set figure, with dusky skin, and frizzled whiskers of vast expansion. His huge jack-boots, redoubled doubles of silk handkerchiefs, and a multitude of many-collared coats, had all been unable to secure him from the wet. He streamed like a river god, from the rowels of his spurs up to every corner of his large cocked hat. In each hand he carried a pistol; and, as he strode forwards to the fire, a long sabre rattled against the tiles of the floor.

'He made his way over every obstacle, upsetting two chairs, a warming-pan, and a basket of fish. Every one made way *for* him, so that he was not long in reaching the wide and comfortable hearth. It must not be supposed that all this was done in silent majesty—no such thing. Every step was accompanied by an exclamation, and every exclamation echoed by an oath.

"What a night of hell! * * * * What a rascally storm! * * * * What diabolical weather! * * * * !"

'The asterisks stand for oaths: I am literal in every thing else; but they, thank God, defy translation!'—'He was at first gruff and surly, receiving, without any acknowledgment but an occasional curse, the officious attentions of the landlady and Cazille, and the humble addresses of the men around him. He flung himself into the arm-chair which was placed for him; and his back being towards me, he quite overlooked me sitting in my nook. As the warmth of the blaze dried up his exterior, it seemed to melt his heart; for he threw a "thank ye" at the hostess as she adjusted the second worsted stocking round his knee; and he chucked Cazille under the chin, and kissed her forehead, while she stooped to place the slippers on his feet.

'The rest of the party came in for their share of kindness in the way that follows. "And who have we here, eh? A gang of blackguard smugglers * * * * Oh, I beg pardon, gentlemen—fishermen! Egad, one might have known your trade by your smell * * * * ! Stand back, friends—I hate perfumery. Well! What have you got in your baskets to-night? Turbot and brandy sauce * * * * ! I'll warrant it the bottoms are as well lined with bottles of Cognac, as the tops with stinking mackerel * * * * ! But take care; I'll give a hint to the Octroi, be sure of it; and, if you are once caught at the barrier, you shall lie in the fort till you are as withered and rotten as a piece of salted cod * * * * !"

'A burst of laughter from the speaker pronounced this to be wit; and an answering peal from his circle told that they knew the time to acknowledge his joke. Several smart and pleasant sayings were retorted on the Inspector; but the most substantial repartee, that is, the best of the *good things*, appeared in the shape of a noble turbot, which one of the fishermen produced from his stock. This spokesman "hoped, in the name of himself and comrades, that Monsieur the Inspector would do them the honour of accepting the fish, and give himself the trouble of smelling it, to be sure that it was fresh." "* * * * * ! One can't refuse," was the reply; and he

pulled out his purse, as with a would-be effort to pay for the compliment.

"Oh! oh! oh!" cried the fishermen in concert, "what is Monsieur the Inspector going to do? Pay for it! Always like himself, generous and noble! No, no, no! It's the least we can do for Monsieur; and we shall be too well rewarded, if he will do us the honour of giving himself the trouble to write a little word to the gentlemen of the Octroi at Bourdeaux, to let us pass the barrier without search, that we may get to the market early, and pull up for the time we have lost in the storm.

"Oh, willingly," cried Monsieur the Inspector, "God forbid I should refuse so slight a kindness to such honest fellows as I know you all to be. Give me a pen, Cazille! But hark'ye, my friends! You are sure there is no brandy?"

"My word of honour," burst from every mouth.

"Hold," cried the Inspector, tender of their consciences, "Hold, don't finish the sentence my good fellows! I know you are honest healthy-lunged lads, and you'll want all your breath to puff off your fish to the fat merchants of the Chartrons to-morrow. There (giving the paper.) But hark'ye, stuff the sea-weed well to the bottom; I thought I heard the shaking of glass in that basket.

"Nothing, nothing, Monsieur, on my word of honour!" protested one of the party, "but two or three bottles of salt water, a cure for Madame Dupuis at the Red Cross. Monsieur knows, perhaps, that Madame Dupuis's legs are ———

"Yes, yes, very well; I know it all. Be off! Be off! the moon is up, and I want my supper. Cazille, prepare that turbot for your mistress's master hand. You'll find a fresh bottle of capers in my saddle-bags.

"Adieu!" "Good night!" "Safe journey!" &c. &c. were bandied backwards and forwards; and, as the fishermen reloaded their little carts with the baskets which they had placed in the house to shelter them from the rain, I thought the care with which they lifted them up denoted a cargo more brittle than flat fish, and more valuable than a couple of bottles of salt water.' p. 127.

Actuated, as the Exile is stated to have been, by the most upright and conscientious motives, however mistaken in his reasonings on the great political subject of the King's death, we do not see why he should be represented as haunted by unceasing remorse; nor can we exactly sympathize with the author's repugnance to an interview with a man, who had done his best to expiate one error of the head, by a long life of the best virtues that emanate from the heart. A strong tinge of Bourbonism is indeed perceptible through the whole work, founded on the apparent conviction (how speedily falsified by the parties themselves!) that the external peace and internal tranquillity of France would be permanently established by that incurable and unteach-

able dynasty. In general, however, the work exhibits decided evidences of an enlarged and liberal intellect; and notwithstanding the additional emanations of the spirit to which we have alluded in the third Tale—'The Birth of Henry the Fourth,' we doubt not that the author, whoever he may be, is by this time effectually cured of his delusion! We need scarcely say, that the scene of this story is laid in the Pyrenees, where the author is as usual rambling far from the beaten track. We give one passage from the introduction, which places before the reader a scene little known to travellers in general.

'The Biddossoa was in my rear, Spain in my recollection, and Bayonne in sight, when I turned from the high route between that town and Pau, and struck into one of the gorges leading to the depths of mountain solitudes. Nature was fresh and fragrant; the sun was bright; the branches of the young pines and the mountain-ash moved gaily in the breeze; and the rivulets gushing from the hills, danced down their sides, over beds of verdure which burst out in a profusion of richest vegetation.

'I was so exhilarated and buoyant, that, contrary to my usual wont, I walked remarkably fast, so much as to keep Ranger in a regular dog-trot. My thoughts were proportionably active, and ran on in that wild and curbless way, so frequently consequent on good health, good spirits, and mountain air. "Come on, Ranger," cried I, "never fear! our wandering *must* have a term, and who knows how soon? Yes, yes, there is something yet in store for us. For me a snug cottage, a nice stock of books, good shooting, and a bottle of wine for a friend. For you the chimney corner, and a cushion.—Come along Ranger, Come along!"

'A responsive wag of the tail acknowledged the cheering address; and a joyous roll on a tufted bed of wild thyme, followed by some indescribable capers and curvettings, announced his sympathy with my ambitious hopes.

'I never could reckon leagues, nor remember time correctly; and, on the morning I now describe, was less than ever adapted to aught mathematical. I was in that mood of utter abandonment, and loss of self, which was never new to poets since Horace, nor before him;—when we "think down hours to moments," and slide over space, unheedful of its measurement. I am thus unable to say how far or how long I had journeyed, when, descending rapidly the mountain path, which was skirted with flowers, and fringed by two little streamlets running down the precipitous banks, I was stopped suddenly by a peal of laughter, of enjoyment's finest and clearest tone. I was in tune for this cheerful note, and paused for its repetition.

'It came on my ear again and again—manly, honest, and hearty; and at length died away in jovial echoings, till nothing was heard but the chuckle of some staunch votary of fun, who never got farther, most certainly, than the mouth of Trophonius's Cave.

'The sounds were close to me, yet I saw no one; and I thought of the stories of the brownies, kelpies, and other supernatural beings, of whose joyous revels I had many times heard from the peasants of the Scotch Highlands. I moved onwards, however, concluding that a harmless and cheerful traveller had nothing to fear from mortal or other company, with whom he was so much in unison.

'As I trudged along, I heard an occasional voice, which always seemed to utter a shout of gladness and triumph. This was accompanied by sounds at irregular intervals, as if some hard substance was struck by another; for they rung echoing through the valley below me, to the left.

'The sounds became suddenly fainter, as I got to a hollow part of the road; and I had almost lost them totally, when a quick turning in the path brought me round a projecting rock, and displayed to me on the acclivity, at the opposite side of a beautiful glen, the secret of these mountain mysteries.

'Hanging on the slope of the hill was a village of most romantic appearance. The ten or a dozen neat cottages which composed it, were built, with little space between each, in form of a semicircle; by this means affording to all the inhabitants an ample view of that noble and manly game which forms the pride and pastime of the Basques. A group of the village youths was placed on the green, in the full exercise of their sport. They were eight in number, fine athletic, handsome fellows, from fifteen years old to twenty-five perhaps, dressed in the smart costume of the country. One or two wore light cotton jackets, the rest were in their shirts; some were bare-headed, others with round flat caps, having a tassel of red worsted at the top, and all with short breeches, tied at the knees with red or blue knots, blue stockings, sandals laced to the ankle, and a scarf of scarlet cotton tied sash-ways tightly round the waist. On each hand was a glove of thick leather, which struck with incredible force and velocity the hard ball, that seemed to carry death in its whizzing course. Not being initiated in the game, I leave its various details to the imagination of my readers; but I may safely say, that in no match of English cricket, Scotch golf, or Irish hurling, did I ever witness such agility, skill, and elegance of attitude, as in this party of *jeu de paume*.' p. 293.

La Vilaine Tête, the last, and indisputably the best, of these narratives, founded on an incident that occurred in the civil wars of La Vendée, is wound up to an intense pitch of interest and excitement, and alleviates the horrors, with which we have been rendered familiar through the Memoirs of Madame Larochejacqueline, by a display of some of the counterpoising virtues, elicited in that terrific conflict of the passions. Of these scenes, frequently exhibited in that devoted district, some notion may be formed from the following extract.

'The Republicans rushed on through the fiery wreathes which rolled out on all sides; and the shrieks of the women and children, with the deeper execrations of the furious villagers, rose up like the discordant yells which poets have imagined to burst from Pandemonium, and mixed themselves with the triumphant shouts of their fierce assailants. Every hope seemed lost to the Vendeans. They were born backwards even beyond the church; and the foremost of the enemy, with sacrilegious hands, applied their torches to the consecrated walls. The crumbling wood-works, dried by the heats of a hundred summers, caught quickly the assailing flames. The horror-struck congregation sent forth one tremendous cry, and precipitated themselves on the incendiaries without. The rush was terrific. The Republicans offered no resistance, for the demoniac passions of the day gave way to the natural humanity of the French heart. They could not raise their weapons against the flying crowd, but saw them scatter across the fields, without firing a single shot to increase the panic which impelled them.

'At this instant the ceremony of the mass was finished. The curé had, with unruffled solemnity, performed its sacred mysteries, amidst all the appalling sounds which rose around him. He now descended the steps of the altar, and, bearing aloft the chalice containing the ingredients, which the faith of such a being has almost the power to dignify into the reality of his sublimed imagining, he followed the impulse of the escaping concourse, and, as the latest fugitive passed the wide-spreading blaze, he issued from the porch, in all the might and majesty of holiness. He spoke not, but, stopping for an instant, looked full upon the thousands of armed men who circled the little eminence. The effect was magical. The whole, as if struck by an electric pang, turned from him and fled.' p. 402.

Having thus amply allowed the author and his book to speak for themselves, we have only to observe, that the style is throughout sustained with equal vigour as in the above specimens; and we may safely pronounce this work to be executed in a manner worthy of the patriotic motive which the author proposed to himself in its composition—the eradication of national prejudices. No one who reflects, that, to this source may be ascribed a great portion of the wars which have devastated the two countries for a third part of the last seven hundred years, can appreciate too highly such an object. Various pieces of poetry are interspersed through the volume, of not inferior merit to the following sketch of a Pyrenean mountaineer.

Brave, enterprising, firm and proud,
He boldly steps the dangerous path;
Faces the gathering thunder-cloud,
Indifferent to its rising wrath.

Scorning the shelter of the rock,
Shrink's not, but braves the hail-storm's shock;
Or in some wind-worn crevice spread,
A granite cushion for his head,
Proof 'gainst the blast, unharmed by cold,
Alike from fear and sorrow free—
His rough bed freedom's vantage-hold,
His shade the wings of Liberty!
The riot of the heavens gone by,
Once more the sun relumes the sky,
And strikes the hill with burning glow,
While lightnings scorch the vales below—
But the bold mountaineer defies
These fierce contentions of the skies;
Bounds from the earth with active spring,
And, like the untamed forest king,
Who quits his couch uproused by rain,
Shaking the big drops from his mane,
This mountain monarch leaves his lair,
Dashes the cold shower from his hair,
Unfearing tracks his prompt advance,
Nor deigns to cast one backward glance.
He owns no binding ties to man,
But such as he is—fiercely free;
He scorns the jargon that would scan
The different shades of rank's degree.—
To him all equal—by one proof
He measures mind and body both.
Strength is his standard—far aloof
He flings all goods of meaner growth;
And judges by this general scale
The lowly hind of Lasto's vale,
The somewhat civilized, who bask
In the rude freedom of Venasque,
Polished or rustic; vile or good;
Plebeian, noble, learned, rude;
The beggar wretch, or him who reigns
Lord of Iberia's wide-stretched plains,
Feeble and false in every thing—
By force a patriot as by fraud a king.
Such is the tide of thought that fills
The wayward wanderer of the hills.
Boundless as Nature's self he roves,
And Nature for her grandeur loves;
No weakling power his passions stirs;
His friendships are with her and hers.
Unknown to him, each syren charm,
Which lures the listening wretch to harm,

Those arts refined, which meant to bless,
Sink into sorrows and excess.
His the bold intercourse that grows
To greatness from the things it knows:
His fellowship is grand and high—
He talks with tempests. The vast sky,
The massive glacier, huge and hoar—
The rushing blast—the torrent's roar:—
These his familiars, stern and strong;
He lisps in youth their lofty tongue—
Grows in their spirit—takes their tone—
And makes their attributes his own.
Such sure was man's primeval state,
Like Nature, noble, wild, and great.
Meant for a monarch—not the slave
Of self-born conquest—proudly brave—
With lion look and eagle eye,
Firm foot on earth, and thoughts on high!
So came the being rudely grand,
Warm glowing from his Maker's hand—
So stalked in Eden's bowers, till sin,
Damping his energies, crept in;
And art entwined its chill caress,
To tame his godlike savageness.

ART. X. 1. *De la Défense des Places Fortes, Ouvrage composé par Ordre de sa Majesté Imperiale et Royale, pour l'Instruction des Elèves du Corps du Génie.* Par M. CARNÔT, Ancien Officier de ce Corps, Ancien Ministre de la Guerre, Membre de la Legion d'Honneur, de l'Institut de France, des Academies de Dijon, Munich, Corcyre, &c. pp. 551. Paris, 1811.

2. *Observations on the Motives, Errors, and Tendency of M. Carnôt's Principles of Defence; showing the Defects of his New System of Fortification, and of the Alterations he has proposed with a View to improve the Defences of existing Places.* By Colonel Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS, K.S.C. C.B. F.R.S. pp. 181. London, 1819.

3. *Memoire sur l'Effet des feux verticaux proposés par M. Carnôt dans la Défense des Places Fortes; suivi des deux Notes, l'une sur la Trajectoire des Balles, l'autre sur le Tire à Ricochet.* Par M. ANGOYAT, Capitaine au Corps Royale du Génie.

IN ancient times, the great object in the defence of fortified places, was to protect them from the enemy by high walls and strong gates; and at the same time so to arrange matters,

as to enable the garrison to sally out in force, and destroy the works and apparatus of the besiegers. These were chiefly carpenter work, sometimes of stupendous magnitude, and not easily repaired. Hence it happened, that, in those times, there was hardly an instance of a successful defence, without repeated sorties.

But the invention of gunpowder made a material alteration in the relation of these enemies to one another. It not only added mighty strength to the projectile force of both sides, but, by means of mines, enabled the besiegers to heave the walls of the city in ruins round about it. The stately walls of Carthage and of Rome would be of no use now but to fill up the ditches; and, in general, no sortie can do more than annoy the besiegers, and retard their progress for a few days. It is only when a little time is of great consequence, and when the besiegers have exposed themselves imprudently, that the measure can be justified. Still it appears, that sorties continued in fashion for some time after that invention, till at last they were nearly exploded.

For more than a century past, the grand problem of engineers, in the construction of strong places, has been to expose as little of the works as possible, and to run out the batteries in such directions, that the shot may, without injury to the fort, rake the enemy, let him attack where he will. Hence the low elevation of modern fortifications, and the deeply serrated appearance which the ground plan exhibits. On the other hand, the first object of the besiegers is to destroy these raking batteries, and get at the main walls. This is done by parallel trenches, protected from the fire of the fort by terraces, which are crested with batteries, offensive and defensive. As the besieger has from first to last the choice of his ground for his trenches and his batteries, it must be his own fault if he exposes himself to any very destructive fire; and on the other hand, he may always raise such batteries as shall take the enemy's guns on the outworks in flank, and dismount them. As soon as that is done, the walls of the place are breached by great guns, or they are mined. The result is, that no place accessible by land is impregnable. Supposing the means of attack complete, it is held to be impossible that any inland fort should stand a siege of more than forty days.

Nobody knew this better than Buonaparte; and it seems to have given him considerable uneasiness when he was preparing for his Russian expedition. He could not tell how long his absence might last, and he could not be without apprehensions, that the different powers of Europe, who owed him visits,

might find it convenient to return them when he was from home. In these circumstances, he seems to have employed Carnôt to write a book, the drift of which is, no doubt, to strengthen the hearts of his friends, especially of the troops in garrison, but still more to convince his enemies, that he had found out a new mode of defence, which made his frontier proof against the world in arms.

In 1811, Carnôt published the first edition of his work, in which he does not disguise his object. 'Si l'on réfléchissait 'sur les préparatifs qu'exige le siége en forme d'une place 'lorsqu'elle est bien défendue, on serait bien rassuré par un 'triple rang de fortresses, telles que celles dont la France est 'entourée.' (p. 47.) This he admits to be against the established opinion of the highest authorities; and all the world knew that the French, in their offensive wars, had treated fortresses with contempt. Still, he tells the nation that they are all wrong. 'Mais heureusment,' says he, 'ces calculs sont 'faux, les places fortes sont d'une importance bien supérieure 'à celle que leur supposent leurs plus zélés partisans, et l'expe-'rience a montré mille fois que sans elles, il n'y a rien d'assuré 'au dedans, aucune entreprise majeure à faire au dehors.' (p. 122.) He supports this opinion plausibly enough; and then goes on to show, that, in the hands of Frenchmen, the fortified places may be made impregnable, and brings out his new mode of defence, which is by frequent and vigorous sorties.

In this part of his work, he represents his predecessors as extremely ill advised in trusting to artillery, or indeed to fire-arms of any kind; and imputes to that error all their miscarriages, and the opinion so universal, that no fortress can hold out against an attack conducted with sufficient strength and ordinary skill. Great guns, he observes, 'ne font que de bruit;' and proceeds,

'Il est constaté par les journaux des siéges modernes, que la défense par les armes à feu ne peut guères se prolonger au-delá de 40 jours, pour les meilleures places; et telle est la base de la doctrine actuelle establié par M. de Cormontaigne. Il s'agit maintenant de savoir ce que les journaux de siége des places défendues à l'arme blanche nous apprendront.' p. 143.

We have next a detail of sieges, commencing with that of Syracuse by the Athenians, in the year 413 A. C., including those of Alexander's and Cæsar's wars; giving, at great length, the gallant defence of Alexia by Vercingetorix, and ending with the blockade of Genoa by the Austrians and English in 1800. This detail occupies not much less than half the book. It is held to contain 'Preuves historiques des principes exposés

precedemment.' It is certainly interesting, and makes a masterly and eloquent pleading in favour of the bayonet, 'l'arme reconnue de tout temps, pour la plus sûre et la plus decisive entre les mains des Français.' The grand result is thus announced in capital letters.

'De l'ecrit qu'on vient de lire, resulte je crois, bien evidemment, cette verité tranquillisante, c'est que les barrières de l'Empire Français sont absolument inexpugnables pour quelque puissance ou reunion de puissances que ce soit; si elles sont bien defendues.'—p. 477.

Having found out a mode of defence so complete, one does not see why M. Carnot should have taken any more trouble in the business. Nevertheless, he adds to his book a *Memoire*, 'Où l'on propose une *nouvelle manière* de défendre les places.' The truth is, he had his misgivings, not only as to the soundness of his previous reasonings, but as to the effect of his oration at home and abroad. That a bayonet in the hands of a Frenchman is irresistible, is a proposition which every Frenchman will continue to believe until he is bayonetted himself. But when they saw the whole energy and talent of the army, the young and the strong from every department, moving off to the east of Europe, and leaving France to be garrisoned by old men and boys, commanded by the refuse of the staff, they required something more to complete their tranquillity. Carnot, therefore, gives them a new plan much better suited to such troops.

'Il y a bien des années que j'ai imaginé une nouvelle manière de défendre les places; mais je ne l'ai point fait connaître jusqu'à present, parce qu'elle aurait pu être employée contre la France elle-même par les ennemis: je me réservais de prendre à cet égard l'initiative dans une occasion importante, si je me trouvais un jour chargé de la défense d'une place assiégée, comme cela pouvait arriver par les functions de mon état. Mais aujourd'hui que les ennemis n'ont presque plus de forteresses, tout ce qu'on pourra trouver d'utile pour perfectionner l'art defensif, doit tourner presque exclusivement à l'avantage des frontières Françaises: c'est pourquoi je n'hesite plus à rendre publiques mes anciennes reflexions.' p. 479.

The secret which M. Carnôt had kept so well is this. He proposes to build up the embrasures, and nearly to abolish horizontal firing; and to make all the shot of the fort to fall on the heads of the besiegers. This, he shows, has many advantages.

'Un fusilier que tire de derrière un parapet, est obligé de se decouvrir beaucoup. Un canon que l'on tire, soit a barbette, soit même par une embrasure, reste fort exposé à tous les coups de l'assiegeant, ainsi que ceux qui le servent; et de plus, les feux hori-

zontaux qui partent des fusils et des canons de la place, vont presque tous se perdre dans les parapets des tranchées et des sapes l'ennemi. Mais si, au lieu de tirer horizontalement, le fusilier tirait obliquement en l'air, comme par exemple, sous l'angle de 45°, et si au lieu du canon on faisait usage de mortiers sous le même angle, il ne serait pas necessaire de faire des coupures dans les parapets pour les embrasures; les fusiliers et les mortiers se trouveraient entièrement à couvert des feux directs, et l'on conçoit même qu'en s'enfonçant au-dessous du parapet, il serait facile d'établir des blindages qui garantiraient les hommes attachés à ces batteries, des bombes et des ricochets. Il reste donc à savoir quel est le degré d'efficacité de ces *feux verticaux*, substitutés comme je le propose, à la plus grande partie de feux horizontaux.' p. 480.

The world had hitherto believed, that a shot moving horizontally along the surface of the earth, was much more efficacious than shot moving vertically, in as much as a man from head to foot, presents a surface at least six times as great as his head and shoulders; and still more, because the horizontal shot sweeps on until it is spent, either on the air or on the human carcass; whereas no vertical shot can wound more than one man. It had also been held, that shot of every kind, fired with an aim, was more destructive than shot fired at random. But these Carnôt ventures to say, are erroneous apprehensions, in the case of troops posted as the besiegers must be in their third parallel. In the two first, Carnôt does not assert that the random vertical fire will answer at all. It is only 'à l'établissement de la troisième paralléle' that his vertical fire begins, and he puts this case. The field then occupied by the besiegers, he says, cannot be more than 15,000 square toises. He allows this field to be constantly manned with 3000 men, in order to attack a garrison 4000 strong. This gives one man for every five toises. Every man, he holds, covers a square foot of ground, and, as five square toises make 180 feet, it follows, sure enough, that the 180th part of the field of action will be covered by men.

'Il suit donc de la qu'en général sur 180 coups tirés de la place en ligne inclinée ou parabolique, un doit frapper l'ennemi dans une longue série de décharges.' p. 483.

This, he says, is the minimum, and far below the fair chance.

'J'observe d'abord qu'en s'établissant derrière le parapet, redressant intérieurement ce parapet perpendiculairement à la capitale, s'enfonçant de douze ou quinze pieds dans le terreplein du rampart, s'épaulant de droite et de gauche, et blindant la batterie à l'épreuve de la bombe, de manière à ne laisser que le jour necessaire pour que le feu s'echappe librement sous l'angle de 45°. J'observe, dis-je d'abord, que cette batterie de deux mortiers, l'un à droite, l'autre à gauche de la capitale, se trouvera parfaitment à l'abri des bombes et

In this way, small shot of the heaviest matter falls as soft as rain nearly. No man will ever be prevailed on to try vertical fire upon partridges. The question therefore is, whether it is possible to give, to a four-ounce ball, such a descending force as will inflict a mortal wound on a head of ordinary strength? Sir Howard gives two solutions of this question; the one *a priori*, on scientific principles; the other by actual experiment on planks and on canvas. The calculations and the experiments appear both to have been made with great professional skill.

As the resistance increases with the velocity, the consequence is, that in the case of every descending body, there is a term of velocity when the resistance becomes equal to the gravitating force; and after that, there is no perceptible acceleration. This is called the terminal velocity of a descending body; that velocity is of course least in the lightest substances, but it belongs to all; and but for this beautiful arrangement, every summer shower would tear to pieces all vegetation, and annoy even the animal creation.

Sir Howard shows the terminal velocity of the four-ounce balls to be as follows.

'The diameter of a French 4 oz. ball, is 1 inch, 2 lines, 5 points; which, reduced to English measure, is 1.28038 inches. Its contents is 1.09909 inches. The weight is 4.72247 oz., if made of cast-iron, and 4.8624, if of wrought-iron. The terminal velocity of the cast-iron ball is about 201 feet.

'The terminal velocity of the wrought iron ball is about 204 feet (per second.)

'The potential altitude of the cast-iron ball is about 631 feet.

'Ditto ditto, wrought ditto ditto - - 650 feet.' p. 17.

'Four-ounce balls, discharged at elevations even considerably above 45°, to the distance of 120 yards, would not inflict a mortal wound, excepting upon an uncovered head. They would not have force sufficient to break any principal bone; there would be no penetration, but merely a contusion. The following experiments amply confirm this assertion. With respect to terminal velocity, it must be remarked, that, although balls may not be thrown to a height sufficient to produce a velocity nearly terminal, yet the resistance of the air prevents, from the first, a uniformly accelerated descent. Thus, the effect of the balls discharged at 75° elevation, was far inferior to that which we should assign to them according to the parabolic hypothesis.

'A cohëorn mortar was placed 100 yards from six new deal targets laid on the ground, and two new wadmill tilts spread out near them, to estimate, by the impression made on them, the force with which the balls would fall.

'The first round was with the usual tin case, containing 33 four-

ounce balls, with a charge of one ounce of powder, elevation 45°. The case went bodily about 130 yards without breaking.

'Loose balls were then put in over a wooden bottom. After a number of rounds with the above charge and elevation, with different numbers of four-ounce balls, it was ascertained that the coliëorn would throw 42 of them 100 yards, and that the spread was, on an average, about 10 or 12 yards. It was not very easy to hit the targets and cloths, although they covered a surface of 774 square feet; but, in one instance, 22 balls left their mark. The indentation on the surface of the deal was so small that it could not well be measured—it certainly was not more than $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch deep. A ball thrown with force from the hand appeared to make an equal impression. Those which struck the wadmill tilt did not penetrate, but merely indented the ground underneath. The penetration of the balls into the ground (which was of the softest nature of meadow), was, on the average, 2 inches; but the balls thrown by hand did not penetrate so far.

'The mortar was then elevated to 75°, and, with two ounces of powder and 42 balls, made nearly the same range as before; but the spread was increased to about 40 yards, so that it was difficult to hit the surface aimed at. Several balls did, however, at length fall on the targets and wadmill tilts. The impression on the former was something increased, but still so trifling as hardly to be measured; the balls did not go through the cloth, and the penetration on the meadow was only increased to about three inches.' p. 21.

Sir Howard was the first person who bestowed on this question a combination of scientific and professional knowledge sufficiently strong to bring out these results; but, in spite of the Emperor and Carnôt, there was a party, at that time a small one, in France, who expressed their doubts as to the efficacy of the '*Nouvelle Manière.*' Carnôt, then in possession of the public opinion, treats them very lightly in his later editions.

'Comme si des quartiers de fer de la grosseur d'un œuf de pigeon, et tombant de 120 pieds de hauteur, ne pouvaient tout au plus que secouer la poussière des habits: comme si l'on ne pouvait pas mettre au besoin dans des pierriers de 15 pouces de diametre, des projectiles d'un plus gros calibre; comme si l'histoire enfin ne nous apprenait pas, que les anciens avec leurs frondes qui portaient moins loin que nos pierriers et des balles plus petites tuaient et estropiaient cependant tres-bien leurs ennemis.'

He then repeats the history of the brilliant defences of ancient times, by means of vertical projectiles.

But this is not meeting the objections which have been made to Carnôt's system. That the shot recommended by him would not be formidable, seems proved by actual experiment; and to use heavier would involve him in difficulties quite inextricable. It is impossible to use larger shot, without increasing, in pro-

portion, the number of mortars; and, by so doing, their efficiency is diminished in *a ratio* which accelerates with great rapidity. A gardener, by means of a water-engine, can cover a considerable space of ground with the shower which he discharges; and half a dozen of gardeners, with as many engines, might perhaps cover a whole garden of moderate dimensions. But a legion of gardeners, armed with syringes, would find it extremely difficult to produce the same effect, or any thing like it. Now, it is plain that it would be much more difficult for a number of mortars, working in the bomb-proof dungeons which Carnôt assigns to them, to spread their shot at all equally. Every individual mortar must take charge of its own spot on the enemy's ground. It would be a waste of great time and labour to post and adjust the mortars, and a work of equal skill and nicety, and still greater difficulty, to regulate the charges of gunpowder so as to give them a chance of attaining their object.

There was no want of mortars at Gibraltar; and before the grand attack was made, the enemy's gunboats were sufficiently near, and sufficiently crowded. But Lord Heathfield did not think it safe to trust to vertical fire; nor would Carnôt have done so in his situation.

On the whole, it appears to us, that this author has the merit of calling the attention of professional men to a mode of defence, which has perhaps been too much neglected in modern times; but that he runs into an error, which is infinitely greater when he proposes to reverse the practice, and to rely on vertical fire exclusively, or even chiefly.

Sir Howard gives the conclusion at which he arrives upon this subject, in the following sentence.

'The great cause of the superiority of defence over attack, previous to the invention of gunpowder, arose from the insufficiency of the catapultæ and balistæ of the ancients to breach walls; and consequently, the necessity of advancing to the very base of the enclosure, in order to apply the battering-ram. This formidable engine could neither be placed nor worked, whilst the besieged maintained themselves on the tops of their walls, without very severe loss; and many protecting precautions were resorted to, in order to cover it from the showers of missiles to which it was exposed, and to defeat the expedients practised to disturb its operation. Thus the chief purpose of the works of attack was, to favour the approach of the ram. The earthen mounds and towers which the ancients constructed to command the walls of the town, were raised to force the besieged to withdraw from them; whilst the tortoises, mantlets, and galleries, served to cover the assailants from the missiles discharged from behind the rampart, or which might still be thrown

from its summit. When the besiegers had succeeded in filling up the ditch, and had placed the ram in battery, a place seldom refused to capitulate, unless the part threatened to be breached was cut off by an interior wall or retrenchment. This general principle of attack was observed with little variation at the earliest sieges we read of; and we find that Demetrius and Epimachus in besieging Rhodes, Marcellus and Appius in attacking Syracuse, only improved machines which had been used long before, and are mentioned by writers of the earliest antiquity.

'Thus a simple wall, with towers, was sufficient to resist for a considerable time, the efforts of a large army, and force it to undertake immense works before any attempt could be made to open a breach. The difficulty of effecting this constituted the great security of places; it either exposed the assailants to be crushed by missiles thrown from the ramparts, or it obliged them to undertake stupendous works to cover the advance, and protect the operations of their breaching engines. Such, for instance, as the tower of brick which C. Trebonius caused to be raised at the siege of Marseilles, under cover of a vinea (a roof or covering of planks and hurdles), to command one of the towers of the place;—the immense mound thrown up by Flavius Sylva at the siege of Massada, and the tower erected upon it to command the place; the prodigious pile eighty feet high, and three hundred wide, constructed by Cæsar in twenty-five days, at the siege of Bourges; and many other vast works used in besieging places.

'When fixed structures were not found to succeed, the alternative was still more astonishing, viz. moveable towers, some with a battering ram below; others furnished with casting-bridges, used by the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem—Cæsar's *turres mobiles* used at the siege of Namur—the Helepolis of Demetrius at the siege of Rhodes, were all stupendous machines, whether we consider their structure, or the prodigious force required to move them. Such works are indeed truly astonishing; and having been resorted to for the purpose of counteracting the effects of what M. Carnôt calls vertical projections, are certainly calculated to give a strong impression of the power of ancient arms in *ancient* sieges; but the calculation he makes of their powers, p. 348, for *modern* defence, is perfectly absurd.' p. 63.

'Having considered all this, there can remain, I think, no doubt, that the use of what M. Carnôt calls the different sorts of vertical fire, is recognised, and strictly enforced, by all the great masters, quite as far as it can be applied with advantage; and if it has fallen into comparative disuse in some cases, it has arisen from unavoidable deficiency in equipment, or is a deviation from rule, which M. Carnot might have pointed out without pretension to novelty; but this would not have answered his purpose.'

If we may judge from M. Angoyat, Sir H. has satisfied the thinking part of the French themselves.

We are quite disposed to agree with them in all his conclusions but one.

We regret that he should have treated Carnôt with so little courtesy. Sufficient respect is shown to Carnôt's *System*, more indeed than we should have thought necessary, if we were not aware of the credit it had acquired on the Continent; and especially among our Allies on the Prussian Netherland frontier, where stupendous fortifications are now erecting, all adapted to the '*Nouvelle Manière de defendre les places!*' But Sir H. treats the individual as if he were a charlatan, which is not right. Carnôt is among the few honest men who have appeared in public life during our time. As soon as Buonaparte set himself above the law, Carnôt left him; and no temptation of power or emolument, would ever tempt him to accept of any responsible place in his service, till the independence of France was assailed, by a combination of powers, in their hearts as ambitious and as tyrannical as Napoleon, and in their dealings with friend and foe much more faithless; then he accepted of the Government of Antwerp.

ART. XI. 1. *Observations on the Warehousing System and Navigation Laws; with a detailed Account of many of the Burdens to which Shipping and Trade are subjected.* By JOHN HALL, Esq. London, 1821.

2. *An Act for the Encouragement of Navigation and Commerce, by regulating the Importation of Goods and Merchandise, so far as relates to the Countries or Places from whence, and the Ships in which, such Importation shall be made.* 3 *Geo. IV. Cap.* 43.

THE origin of the Navigation Laws of England may be traced to the reign of Richard II., or perhaps to a still more remote period. But as no intelligible account of the varying and contradictory enactments framed at this remote period could be compressed within any reasonable space, we shall merely observe, that, in the reign of Henry VII., two of the leading principles of the late navigation law were distinctly recognised, in the prohibition of the importation of certain commodities, unless imported in ships belonging to English owners, and manned by English seamen. In the early part of the reign of Elizabeth (5 Eliz. cap. 5.), foreign ships were excluded from our fisheries and coasting trade. The Republican Parliament gave a great extension to the Navigation

Laws, by the act of 1650, which prohibited all ships, of all foreign nations whatever, from trading with the plantations in America, without having previously obtained a license. These acts were, however, rather intended to regulate the trade between the different ports and dependencies of the Empire, than to regulate our intercourse with foreigners. But in the following year, (9th of October 1651), the Republican Parliament passed the famous *Act of Navigation.* This act had a double object. It was intended not only to promote our own navigation, but also to strike a decisive blow at the naval power of the Dutch, who then engrossed almost the whole *carrying trade* of the world, and against whom various circumstances had conspired to incense the English. The act in question declared, that no goods or commodities whatever, of the growth, production, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported either into England or Ireland, or into any of the Plantations, except in ships belonging to English subjects, and of which the master and the greater number of the crew were also English. Having thus secured the import trade of Asia, Africa, and America, to the English shipowners, the act went on to secure to them, as far as that was possible, the import trade of Europe. For this purpose, it further enacted, that no goods, of the growth, production, or manufacture of any country in Europe, should be imported into Great Britain, except in British ships, or *in such ships as were the real property of the people of the country or place in which the goods were produced, or from which they could only be, or most usually were, exported.* The latter clause was entirely levelled against the Dutch, who had but little native produce to export, and whose ships were principally employed in carrying the produce of other countries to foreign markets. Such were the leading provisions of this famous act. They were adopted by the regal government which succeeded Cromwell, and form the principal provisions of the statute, 12 Charles II. cap. 18, which remains to this day the basis of our Navigation Laws, and which has been pompously designated the *Charta Maritima* of England!

In the 14th of Charles II., a supplemental statute was passed, avowedly with the intention of obviating some evasions of the statute of the preceding year, which, it was affirmed, had been practised by the Hollanders and Germans. This, however, seems to have been a mere pretence, to excuse our desire to follow up the blow aimed, by the former statute, at the carrying trade of Holland. And so great was our jealousy of the naval and commercial greatness of the Dutch, that, in order to cripple it, we did not hesitate totally to proscribe the

trade with them: and, to prevent the possibility of fraud, or of clandestine or indirect intercourse with Holland, we went so far as to include the commerce with the Netherlands and Germany in the same proscription! The statute of the 14th of Charles II. prohibited all importation from these countries, of a long list of enumerated commodities, under any circumstances, or in any vessels, whether British or foreign, under penalty of the seizure and confiscation of the ships and goods. So far as it depended on us, Holland, the Netherlands, and Germany, were virtually placed without the pale of the commercial world! And though the extreme rigour of this statute was subsequently modified, its principal provisions remained in full force, up to the late alterations.

Few have ventured to eulogize the motives which dictated these statutes. It has been said, however, and by no less an authority than Dr Smith, that national animosity did, in this instance, that which the most deliberate wisdom would have recommended. 'When the Act of Navigation was made,' says Dr Smith, 'though England and Holland were not actually at 'war, the most violent animosity subsisted between the two na'tions. It had begun during the government of the Long 'Parliament, which first framed this act; and it broke out soon 'after in the Dutch wars, during that of the Protector and of 'Charles II. It is not impossible, therefore, that some of the 'regulations of this famous act may have proceeded from na'tional animosity. They are as wise, however, as if they had 'all been dictated by the most deliberate wisdom. National 'animosity, at that particular time, aimed at the very same ob'ject which the most deliberate wisdom would have recom'mended,—the diminution of the naval power of Holland,— 'the only naval power which could endanger the security of 'England. The act of navigation *is not favourable to foreign 'commerce, or to the growth of that opulence which can arise 'from it.* The interest of a nation in its commercial relations 'to foreign nations, is like that of a merchant with regard to 'the different people with whom he deals—to buy as cheap, and 'to sell as dear as possible.—But the Act of Navigation, by 'diminishing the number of sellers, must necessarily diminish 'that of buyers; and we are thus likely not only to buy foreign 'goods dearer, but to sell our own cheaper, than if there was a 'more perfect freedom of trade. As defence, however, is of 'much more importance than opulence, the Act of Navigation 'is perhaps the wisest of all the commercial regulations of Eng'land.' (*Wealth of Nations*, II. p. 194.)

It may, however, be very fairly doubted, whether, in point of

fact, the Navigation Law had the effects ascribed to it by Dr Smith, of weakening the naval power of the Dutch, and of increasing that of this kingdom. The Dutch were very powerful at sea for a long period after the passing of this act; and it is not difficult to show, that the decline of their maritime preponderance was owing infinitely more to the gradual increase of commerce and navigation in other countries, and to the disasters and burdens occasioned by the ruinous contests the Republic had to sustain with Cromwell, Charles II., and Louis XIV., than to the simple exclusion of their merchant vessels from the ports of England. We do not mean to say, that this exclusion was altogether without effect. The efforts of the Dutch to procure a repeal of the English Navigation Law, show that it must have operated injuriously on their commerce. It is certain, however, that its influence in this respect has been greatly overrated in this country. EXCESSIVE TAXATION, and not our Navigation Law, was the real cause of the fall of profits, and of the decline of manufactures, commerce and navigation, in Holland. 'Les guerres,' says the well-informed author of the *Commerce de la Hollande*, 'terminées par les traités de Nimegue, de Rys-'wick, d'Utrecht, et enfin la derniere par le traité d'Aix la Cha-'pelle, ont successivement obligé la Republique de faire usage 'd'un grand credit, et de faire des emprunts enormes pour en 'soutenir les fraix. Les dettes ont surchargé l'état d'une 'somme immense d'intérêts, qui ne pouvoient être payés que par '*une augmentation excessive d'impôts*, dont il a fallu faire porter 'la plus forte partie par les consommations dans un pays qui 'n'a qu'un territoire extrêmement bornée, et par consequent 'par l'industrie. Il a donc fallu faire encherir infiniment la 'main-d'œuvre. Cette cherté de la main-d'œuvre a non seule-'ment restraint presque toute sorte de fabrique et d'industrie à 'la consommation interieure, mais elle a encore porté un coup 'bien sensible au commerce de fret, partie accessoire et la plus 'precieuse du commerce d'economie: car cette cherté a rendu 'la construction plus chere, et augmenté le prix de tous les 'ouvrages qui tiennent à la navigation, même de tous les 'ouvrages de ports et des magasins. Il n'étoit pas possible que 'l'augmentation du prix de la main-d'œuvre ne donnat, malgré 'tous les efforts de l'economie Hollandoise, un avantage sen-'sible aux autres nations qui voudroient se livrer au commerce 'd'economie et à celui de fret.'—(Tome II. p. 211.)

It would be easy to corroborate this statement by extracts from innumerable Dutch writers. * But it is unnecessary to do

* See especially the Richesse de la Hollande, Tome I. pp. 39, 179, &c.

more than refer to a most valuable *Memoir on the Best M*
of Amending and Redressing the Commerce of the Republic, dr
up by some of the best informed merchants of Holland,
published in 1751, by order of the Stadtholder, William
Prince of Orange. It is there stated, 'That the OPPRES
'TAXES, which have, under various denominations, been im
'ed on trade, must be placed at the head of all the causes
'have cooperated to the prejudice and discouragement of c
'merce; and it may justly be said, that *it can only be attrib*
'*to these taxes that the trade of this country has been dive*
'*out of its channel, and transferred to our neighbours*, and
'daily be still more and more alienated and shut out from
'unless the progress thereof be stopt by some quick and e
'tual remedy. Nor is it difficult to see, from these obse
'tions, that the same can be effected by no other means th
'*diminution of all duties.*' *

These extracts are pregnant with instruction. They sh
that it is not to our Navigation Law, nor to the restrictive
gulations of other foreign powers, but to the abuse of the fi
ing system, and the excess of taxation, that the decline of
commercial greatness and maritime power of Holland were re
owing. Her fall should be a warning to other countries,
in particular, to Great Britain. Our present situation bear
some essential particulars, an extremely close resemblanc
the situation of Holland at the commencement of last centu
and the surest way to avoid her fate, will be to adopt a to
different system from that which led to her ruin.—But to
turn.

The opinion maintained by Dr Smith and others, that
Navigation Law had a powerful influence in augmenting the n
power of this country, does not seem to rest on a much b
foundation than their opinion with respect to its influence in
pressing the naval power of Holland. The taste of the na
for naval enterprise had been awakened; the navy had bec
exceedingly formidable; and Blake had achieved his victo
before the enactment of this famous law. So far, indeed,
the Navigation Act having the effect commonly ascribe
it, there are good grounds for thinking that it had a
cisely opposite effect, and that it operated rather to d
nish than to increase our mercantile navy. It is stated
36) in Roger Coke's *Treatise on Trade*, published in 1
that this act, by lessening the resort of strangers to
ports, had a most injurious effect on our commerce;
he further states (p. 48), that we had lost, within two

* Memoir on the Best Means, &c. Eng. Trans. p. 27.

of the passing of the act of 1650, the greater part of the Baltic and Greenland trades. Sir Josiah Child, whose Treatise was published in 1691, corroborates Coke's statement: For, while he decidedly approves of the Navigation Law, he admits that the English shipping employed in the Eastland and Baltic trades had decreased at least *two-thirds* since its enactment, and that the foreign shipping employed in these trades had proportionally increased.—(*Child's Treatise on Trade*, p. 89, Glasg. ed.) Exclusive of these contemporary authorities, we may mention, that Sir Matthew Decker, an extensive and extremely well informed merchant, who published an *Essay on the Causes of the Decline of Foreign Trade* in 1744, condemns the whole principle of the Navigation Act; and contends, that instead of increasing our shipping and seamen, it had diminished them both; and that, by rendering the freight of ships higher than it would otherwise have been, it had entailed a heavy burden on the public, and been one of the main causes that had prevented our carrying on the fishery so successfully as the Dutch.—(*Essay* p. 60. ed. 1756.)

We do not believe that it is possible to controvert these statements; and they are at all events sufficient to show, that the assertions of those who contend that the Navigation Laws had a prodigious effect in increasing the number of our ships and sailors, must be received with very great modification. But suppose that all that has been said by the apologists of these laws were true to the letter;—suppose it were conceded to Dr Smith, that, when first framed, the Act of Navigation was extremely politic and proper, that would afford but a very slender presumption in favour of the policy of supporting it in the present day. Human institutions are not made for immortality. They must be accommodated to the varying circumstances and exigences of society. But the situation of this country and of the other countries of Europe, has totally changed since 1650. The envied wealth and commercial greatness of Holland have passed away. We have no longer any thing to fear from her hostility: and 'he must be indeed strangely influenced by antiquated pre-'judices and bygone apprehensions, who can entertain any of 'that jealousy from which the severity of this law principally 'originated.'* London has become, what Amsterdam formerly was, the grand emporium of the commercial world. And the real question which now presents itself for our consideration is—not what are the best means by which we may rise to naval greatness, but—*what are the best means of preserving that undis-*

* Mr Wallace's Speech, 25th June, 1821.

puted pre-eminence in maritime affairs to which we have attained?

Now, it does not really seem that there can be much difficulty in deciding this question. Navigation and naval power are the children, not the parents—the effect, not the cause—of commerce. If the latter be increased, the increase of the former will follow as a matter of course. More ships and more sailors become necessary, according as the commerce between different and distant countries is extended. A country, circumstanced like Great Britain in the reign of Charles II., when her shipping was comparatively limited, might perhaps be warranted in endeavouring to increase its amount, by excluding foreign ships from her harbours. But it is not by any such regulations, but solely by the aid of a flourishing and widely extended commerce, that the immense mercantile and warlike navy we have now accumulated can be supported. If commerce declines, the navy will also decline; if it be augmented, the navy will be rendered still more powerful. The one is almost always directly as the other. There is no instance in the history of the world of a nation having a powerful navy without an extended commerce; nor of a maritime nation having an extended commerce without its also being possessed of great naval force.

But it is extremely easy to show, that, to continue to enforce the provisions of the Navigation Law, in the present state of the world, would be among the most efficient means that could be devised for the destruction of our commerce. The wealth and power to which Britain has attained, has inspired other nations with the same feelings of envy, jealousy, and hatred, that the wealth of Holland formerly generated in our own minds. Instead of ascribing our commercial and manufacturing superiority to its true causes—to the comparative freedom of our constitution, the absence of all oppressive feudal privileges, and the security of property—our foreign rivals contend that it has been entirely owing to our exclusive system, and appeal to our example to stimulate their respective governments to adopt retaliatory measures, and to protect them against British competition. These representations have already had the most injurious operation. In 1817, the American Legislature passed an act, copied to the very letter from our Navigation Law, with the avowed intention of its operating as a retaliatory measure against this country. Our Northern rivals have acted on the same principle; and Prussia and Russia have now their *Chartæ Maritimæ*, formed on the exact model of our own. The same engines by which we laboured to destroy the trade of Holland are thus brought, by a just retribution, to operate against our-

selves. Nor can there be a doubt, that, by continuing to maintain our illiberal and exclusive system, and by refusing to set a better example to others, and to teach them the advantage of recurring to sounder principles, we should run a very great risk of falling a victim to the vindictive spirit which our own short-sighted and selfish policy has generated.

We are aware that there are many respectable individuals, and even large classes, who, partly from ignorance, prejudice, and mistaken views with respect to the public interest, and partly from selfish and baser motives, are blind to all the defects of our restrictive system, and recommend a rigid adherence to it as the only safe and wise system of policy! Luckily, however, the late Vice-President, and the present President of the Board of Trade, do not belong to this sect. They do not consider Lord Sheffield, Mr George Chalmers, and the writers in the Quarterly Review, as very great authorities on questions of commercial economy; and they have thought, that it was not very expedient to continue to regulate the intercourse of the country with foreigners, by the provisions of a statute passed in 1650, for the purpose of depressing the carrying trade of the Hollanders! Had Messrs Wallace and Huskisson been Opposition members, it is not likely that they would have escaped being stigmatized as impracticable and visionary theorists. But the soundness of their political creed secured them against such imputations, and gave them greater power to give effect to the measures they proposed. The feebleness of the opposition to the bills introduced, in spring 1821, by Mr Wallace, for the improvement and amendment of the Navigation laws, is indeed a curious and a gratifying circumstance. These bills have effected a total, and, we think, a most salutary and beneficial change in this great branch of our commercial legislation. But the prejudice in favour of the old laws was so strong, that the bare proposal of so extensive a change would have been sufficient, twenty years ago, to have thrown the House and the country into a flame. Such, however, and so rapid has been the progress of more enlarged and liberal opinions, that even the shipowners approved of the new bills; and they were carried through both Houses with but little debate, and by triumphant majorities!

The new bills have either wholly repealed or greatly modified some of the most illiberal and offensive provisions in the acts of 1660 and 1663. In the *first* place, it is enacted, That the commerce with all the European countries in amity with Great Britain, shall be placed on precisely the same footing, and subjected to precisely the same regulations. The existing

memorials of our former animosity, and of our jealousy of the prosperity of our neighbours, have thus been abolished. The commerce with Holland, Belgium, and Germany, has been relieved from proscription; and it has now ceased to be a capital offence to import articles from Amsterdam or Ostend, which it was highly meritorious to import from Calais, or any other European port! Besides the grand distinction in the case of Holland and the Low Countries, there were some less important distinctions affecting the commerce with Russia and Turkey; but these are also abolished, and the same law is henceforth to regulate our intercourse with every European power. This uniformity will be of singular advantage. Besides giving greater scope to mercantile operations, and extending our traffic with some of our most opulent neighbours, it will remove a great source of embarrassment, uncertainty, and litigation. If it does not excite the gratitude, it will, at least, weaken the resentment of the Hollanders and Belgians, and will detract considerably from that character of selfishness and exclusion, which is believed on the Continent, and not without good reason, to be the animating principle of our commercial system.

In the *second* place, it is enacted, that the produce of all *European* countries shall be allowed to be imported into Britain in the ships belonging to the ports where such produce may happen to be deposited. By the old law, no produce could be imported, except in a British ship, or in a ship belonging to the country where the article was produced, or from which it was first exported. The consequence was, that when articles, the produce of France, Spain, Italy, &c., were found in a foreign port, all of which it might be extremely desirable to send to this country, they could only come in a British ship, or *separately* in French, Spanish, and Italian ships. This was obviously a very great hardship on the foreigners, without being of any real advantage to our own shipowners. When the foreign merchant had vessels of his own, it was not very probable he would permit them to remain unoccupied, and freight a British vessel; and it was stated by Mr Wallace, in his speech on introducing the new bills, that there was scarcely a port in which foreign bottoms might not be found, in which the articles could be legally imported. The real effect of the old law was not, therefore, to cause the employment of British ships, but to oblige foreigners to assort their cargoes less advantageously than they might otherwise have done, and thus to lessen their intercourse with our markets. The new law will obviate this inconvenience; while, by restricting the importation of European goods to the ships of the *build* of the

country of which the goods are the growth, or to those of the *build* of the country or port from which the goods are shipped, and which are *wholly owned* by the inhabitants of such country or port, it is rendered impossible for the people of a particular country to become the carriers of the produce of other countries to our markets.

The *third* new regulation is of such obvious and unquestionable utility, that it is surprising it was not long since adopted at the suggestion of the shipowners themselves. By the old law, all articles which are the produce of Asia, Africa, or America, could only be imported *directly in a British ship, from the place of their production.* This law had already been repealed in so far as respected the United States, whose ships were allowed to import their produce directly into this country; but it was maintained with respect to Asia, Africa, and South America. And hence, although a British ship happened to find in South American, African, or Asiatic ports, articles the produce of any of the other quarters of the globe, suitable for our markets, and with which it might have been extremely advantageous for her to complete her cargo, she was prohibited taking them on board under penalty of forfeiture and confiscation, not only of the goods, but also of the ship. This most absurd regulation is now repealed; and it has been made lawful for British ships to take on board articles whose importation is not prohibited, wherever they find them, without regard to the country where they were produced.

The *fourth* grand regulation in the new Navigation Law, and the last to which we shall now advert, is that which goes to regulate our intercourse with South America. Instead of excluding all the products of the Free States now forming out of the *ci-devant* Spanish colonies from our markets, that are not imported in British ships, it is enacted, that the ports of Britain shall be opened to South American ships, on their paying the *same* duties as the ships of this country. This is one of the very few instances, from the reign of Richard II. down to the present day, in which we find an enactment, relating either to commerce or navigation, bottomed on a fair principle of reciprocity. In this case, we have set a good example; and, if the naval intercourse between this country and the South Americans continues to be fettered and restricted, the presumption is, that the fault is *theirs*, not ours. Had we always acted thus, we should never have heard of the Navigation Laws of North America and Russia.

The exclusive privilege of importing the products of Asia and Africa, is still reserved to our own shipping; but they

may now be imported from any port in Europe, it being no longer required that they should be brought direct from the place of their production. This clause encountered a good deal of opposition from the shipowners, who contended, that, inasmuch as foreign ships could be built and navigated cheaper than those of England, it would have the effect to substitute a circuitous for a direct navigation, or to cause Asiatic and African commodities to be imported into the Continent in foreign vessels, and to confine our ships to their importation from thence. But Mr Hall, who is very extensively engaged in shipping concerns, has shown, both in the able pamphlet placed at the head of this article, and in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, that this apprehension is quite ideal; and that we can directly import the commodities of distant countries in our own ships cheaper than it is possible to import them by a circuitous route. In fact, we do not think that our shipping interest would have sustained the slightest injury, though foreign vessels had been allowed to enter into the freest competition with them in this branch. The estimates that have been so often published, of the comparative cost of British and foreign shipping, certainly represent the former as being a great deal more expensive than the latter. But these estimates are all made according to the cost *per ton*, which is a most false and erroneous criterion. The admeasured tonnage of a foreign vessel represents her burden with very great accuracy. But such is the mode of measurement adopted in England, that a ship, which registers 150 tons, generally carries from 210 to 220 tons. Mr Hall states, that he has known vessels of only 400 tons register carry *mixed* cargoes of 800 tons. 'It is a curious fact,' he observes, 'that a ship, which was put 'into dock in London for the purpose of being raised upon, so 'as to increase her capacity of stowage, admeasured more be-'fore she went into dock than *after she had been raised upon*, 'though her capacity of carrying had been increased nearly '100 tons!' (p. 31.) Mr Hall has shown distinctly, that, when allowance is made for this difference in the mode of measurement, ships of equal tonnage are built as cheaply in Britain as in either France or Holland; and although the first cost of Baltic ships be somewhat less, they are by no means so durable, and will not bear the wear and tear of our ships. On the whole, therefore, it would seem, that our shipowners have nothing to fear from the freest foreign competition; but if they had, it is impossible that the alterations now made can do them the slightest injury; and in returning from a bad to a good system, it is perhaps the best policy not to advance with too hasty steps, but to allow one change to pave the way for another.

Besides the wise and liberal regulations to which we have already referred, the late changes will be extremely advantageous in another point of view. They have freed the operations of the merchant from a considerable portion of that perplexity and uncertainty with which they were formerly embarrassed. One of the bills introduced by Mr Wallace, has repealed upwards of *two hundred* antiquated and contradictory statutes on the subject of commerce and navigation, passed previously to the reign of Charles II.; and it is said to be the intention of Government, still farther to clear and simplify the existing law. It is to be hoped, that this object will not be lost sight of. The following extract from the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, on Foreign Trade, printed in 1820, will show, that it is one of infinitely greater importance than is generally supposed; and that if it were satisfactorily accomplished, it would contribute, in no ordinary degree, to facilitate the operations of the merchant, and to give him that feeling of security and confidence in the law, so indispensable in all great commercial undertakings.

'Before proceeding,' say the Committee, 'to advert to the points which have been the principal objects of their inquiry, they are anxious to call the observation of the House to the excessive accumulation and complexity of the laws under which the commerce of the country is regulated. These laws, passed at different periods, and many of them arising out of temporary circumstances, amount, as stated in a recent compilation of them, to upwards of *two thousand*: of which no less than *eleven hundred* were in force in the year 1815; and many additions have been since made. After such a statement, it will not appear extraordinary, that it should be matter of complaint to the British merchant, that, so far from the course in which he is to guide his transactions being plain and simple; so far from his being able to undertake his operations, and to avail himself of favourable openings as they arise, with promptitude and confidence, he is frequently reduced to the necessity of resorting to the services of professional advisers, to ascertain what he may venture to do, and what he must avoid, before he is able to embark in his commercial adventures, with the assurance of being secure from the consequences of an infringement of the laws. Now, if such be the case with the most experienced amongst the merchants even in England, in how much greater a degree must the same perplexity and apprehension of danger operate in foreign countries and on foreign merchants, whose acquaintance with our statute book must be comparatively limited, and who are destitute of the professional authorities which the merchant at home may at all times consult for his direction? When it is recollected, besides, that a trivial unintentional deviation from the strict letter of the acts of Parliament, may expose a ship

and cargo to the inconvenience of seizure, which, whether abandoned or sustained, is attended always with delay and expense, and sometimes followed by litigation; it cannot be doubted, that such a state of the law must have the most prejudicial influence both upon commercial enterprise in this country, and upon our mercantile relations and intercourse with foreign nations. And, perhaps, no service more valuable could be rendered to the trade of the Empire, nor any measure more effectually contribute to promote the objects contemplated by the House, in the appointment of this Committee, than an accurate revision of this vast and confused mass of legislation; and the establishment of some certain, simple, and consistent principles, to which all the regulations of commerce might be referred, and under which the transactions of merchants, engaged in the trade of the United Kingdom, might be conducted with facility, with safety, and with confidence.' (*Report*, p. 4.)

Such is the clear and satisfactory statement of the Committee; and it is certainly impossible to doubt, that a reform of our system of commercial legislation, on the principles suggested in their Report, would be of signal benefit. Much real difficulty, and a host of prejudices, would undoubtedly have to be encountered, in effecting such a change. But a beginning has been made; and the advantages of which the new regulations will be productive, will have a powerful influence in facilitating the adoption of those ulterior and more comprehensive arrangements required to give precision, clearness, and simplicity to our commercial law.

Besides the alterations to which we have already adverted, an important change has been effected in the laws regulating the colony trade, by the bill introduced by Mr Robinson last Session, and since passed into a law. This law has considerably relaxed the previous severity of the colonial monopoly. Canada, Jamaica, and our other Western colonies, are now permitted to carry on a direct intercourse with the various countries of Europe, Africa, and America, and to export their produce to them. The exclusive right to supply the colonies with *manufactured* goods, is still secured to this country; but they are authorized to import all sorts of raw produce, with the exception of sugar, coffee, and rum, from foreigners. In their intercourse with North and South America, they are at liberty to employ either British or American ships; but in their intercourse with Europe and Africa, they can only employ British ships. The colonists are excluded from a direct intercourse with Asia.

The warehousing system has also been considerably extended; and a bill is now in progress for reducing the duties charged on foreign shipping in our ports to a level with those laid on

British shipping. Both these measures are of the greatest importance. Were a country like England—a country so advantageously situated, where property and personal liberty are so well protected and secured, where manufacturing industry has attained so high a pitch of perfection, and whose products are suited to the tastes and wants of every people—freely to admit the produce of other nations into her ports, for the purpose of being warehoused for exportation, it is impossible to doubt that her commerce would be very greatly extended, and that she would become a vast general depôt for the merchandise of the world, *universi orbis terrarum emporium.* The possession of an abundant supply of foreign commodities is one of the surest means of facilitating the disposal of those of domestic growth. Were the warehousing system carried to its fullest extent, foreigners would be induced to resort to our ports in much greater numbers than they have hitherto done, not only because they would thus be enabled to obtain our own commodities at the cheapest rate, but because they would be able to assort and complete their cargoes with every species of foreign goods they might have occasion for. As illustrative of this principle, we may mention, that foreign linens were formerly allowed to be freely warehoused in this country; but, in compliance with the solicitations of the manufacturers, they were loaded, in 1810, with a transit duty of 15 per cent. Their importation was thus entirely stopped; and the foreigners, who had previously been in the habit of shipping German linens from our ports, because they could get their cargoes conveniently completed with an assortment of our goods, were, in consequence, obliged to resort to Amsterdam and Hamburgh, and completed their cargoes with the goods of the Continent; so that, by this injudicious proceeding, we not only lost all the advantages of the *entrepôt*, but had the market for our own produce considerably narrowed. It is to be regretted, that the linen manufacturers should have had influence enough to get the transit duty continued—a duty which, without being of the slightest advantage to them, has a very injurious effect on the commerce of the country. There are a variety of other exceptions, to the freedom of warehousing for re-exportation, introduced into the new bill, none of which seem to rest on any better grounds. It is gratifying, however, to know that they have been condemned by a very large proportion, not only of the mercantile world, but also of the manufacturers; and we doubt not that the experience of their inutility, and the growing conviction of the advantages of an unrestrained importation, will occasion their abolition at no distant period.

It was formerly said of Amsterdam, '*Que les etrangers surs de trouver toutes choses à Amsterdam preferent, par cette raison, cette ville à toutes les autres villes de commerce:*' * And when the warehousing system shall be fully established, this will be still more emphatically true of London. Nor, in estimating the benefits resulting from the establishment of this sound and liberal system, should it be forgotten, that the increased wealth and commercial prosperity of which it will be productive, will neither excite the jealousy nor the ill will of others. There will be a reciprocity of advantages; for, as has been well observed by Mr Wallace, 'the advantages which a particular nation may derive from becoming the centre and *entrepôt* of the commerce of others, must ever be proportioned to the general benefit of which she is the dispenser; and this advantage can only be extended and rendered permanent by the greater facilities and encouragement she is the means of affording to promote the trade, the industry, and, through them, the resources and welfare of other nations.'—(*Speech, 25th June*, 1821.)

The bill now in progress for reducing the high port and other duties paid by foreign ships to the same level as those paid by the ships of this country, has encountered a very keen opposition. We trust, however, that its supporters will not be induced to relax in their efforts to get it passed into a law. It is not true that the excess of duty has caused the employment of a single additional British ship. Its only effect has been to excite the animosity of foreigners; and to harass our commerce, by causing the imposition of equal, and in many cases of higher, countervailing duties on our ships trading to their ports. It ought also to be borne in mind, that the proposed measure has already been adopted in the case of American and Portuguese ships, who are permitted to come into our ports on paying the *same* duties as British ships. And having gone thus far—having conceded this privilege to the ships of our most dangerous naval rivals—it would be most invidious and irritating to the nations of the Continent, to continue to load their ships with the higher duties.

Such is a brief and necessarily very imperfect sketch of the alterations that have lately been made in the Navigation Law; and of the measures either passed, or in progress, for extending the warehousing system, and placing foreign and British shipping on a footing of equality with respect to duties. It is almost unnecessary, after what we have already stated, to say,

* La Richesse de la Hollande, tome I. p. 376.

that we cordially approve of all those alterations—of those that have been effected, and of those that are projected. They seem to us to have been imperiously required, by the change in the circumstances of this and other countries; and to be eminently calculated to promote and consolidate our commercial prosperity. Their only defect is, that they have not gone far enough—that they have paid too much deference to the false and interested representations of particular bodies, and to prejudices which have nothing but the rust of antiquity to recommend them. But the principle on which these changes have been made, is sound; and the advantages of which they will be productive, will certainly lead to others. In the present state of the world, when the just principles and the benefits of commerce are so well understood and so eagerly desired, it is idle to think, that it is possible to act on the illiberal and exclusive maxims of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If we attempted this, we should assuredly stimulate other states to adopt the same line of conduct; and as our commerce is by far the most extensive, we should be the greatest sufferers. If prohibitions be good for England, they must be good for other countries; and, were they generally adopted, it is plain we should be shut out of every market, and our commercial greatness would be entirely destroyed. Navigation laws and restrictive regulations are weapons we can no longer wield with success. We have taught others to use them with equal dexterity, and more effect. And a proper regard to our own self-interest is sufficient to show the advantage, or rather, we should say, the necessity, of reverting to a more just and liberal system. The genuine commercial spirit—that spirit, which is a permanent source of wealth and power, is altogether inconsistent with the dark and shallow policy of monopoly. All commerce is founded on a principle of reciprocity; and that country will certainly prosper most, and have the foundations of her greatness best secured, who is a universal merchant, and deals with all the world on fair and liberal principles. 'Whatever' said Mr Wallace, and we are glad to have another opportunity of referring to his excellent speech, 'we may 'hope to gain, must be combined with, and in proportion to, 'the beneficial effects that flow from it to every nation, which, 'by its wants or superfluities, its productions, natural or artificial, has either to give or receive through the medium of 'commerce. By establishing a system, which gives facility and 'encouragement to the interchange of productions, we excite 'the industry, contribute to the happiness, and promote the 'welfare of every people. A system which creates, in each

'country, an interest in the prosperity of all, tends to form a 'bond of union, that may counteract the progress of ambition, 'and allay the workings of political and commercial jealousy; 'the source of animosities too often fatal to the repose of Europe, 'and which have too frequently deluged it with blood. It is 'not, then, to the particular and confined interests of this coun-'try, or to those immediately affected by them, that this pro-'position alone addresses itself; it is directed to every benevo-'lent feeling of the human mind, and to every heart that is a-'live to the improvement, the tranquillity, and the happiness 'of mankind. To be the living principle, the connecting bond 'of such an union, may, if we do not reject it, be the singular 'felicity of this country, happier hereafter perhaps in that, 'than in all the triumphs her armies have achieved, glorious 'as they have been.'—(*Speech, 25th June*, 1821).

ART. XII. 1. *Memorandum of Two Conversations between the Emperor Napoleon and Viscount Ebrington at Porto-Ferraio.*

2. *Memorial de Sainte Hélène.—Journal of the Private Life and Conversations of the Emperor Napoleon at St Helena.* By the Count de LAS CASES. Six Vols. Colburn. London, 1823.

IT was to be expected, that the decease of the Emperor Napoleon would be followed by numerous publications to gratify the curiosity of the world respecting him. He who long filled the world with his fame, still continues to interest every reflecting mind; and the anxiety for information concerning his life, habits, and conversation, seems almost as intense now as it was when he wielded the destinies of the world. Happily he had been of late years surrounded by authors, and was willing to help them in transmitting the history of his extraordinary career to future times. Mr O'Mears's work contained a body of the most interesting and valuable information—information, the accuracy of which stands unimpeached by any of the attacks lately made against its author: and the work before us yields not in importance and entertainment to that of Mr O'Meara. The early parts of it are somewhat French, and betray symptoms of bookmaking and authorship; but the last part, composing two volumes, is written as simply as may be, and contains merely the details of which Count Las Cases kept a Journal.

The impression produced by all the facts recorded in these

different works, is, it must be confessed, eminently favourable to Napoleon. It can hardly be denied that he was by far the greatest man of his age, and indeed of modern times; that no other, in any age, ever surpassed him, if he was even equalled. But his *good* qualities had been hitherto underrated; and it must be admitted, in fairness to his memory, that the nearer we approach his private life, the better opinion are we obliged to form of his heart. The influence of national rivalship, hostility and fear, is now gone; and we can calmly survey that extraordinary genius in the page of history, undazzled by the lustre which formerly prevented any thing but his talents from being seen, and unbiassed by the awe in which so dreadful an enemy was necessarily regarded. The cruel treatment by which some of our liberal-minded rulers were pleased to imbitter his last years, might still induce the people of this country to read his annals with some prejudice, and make them desirous of discovering less worth in an enemy so scandalously and so meanly ill treated after his fall; but we believe the public opinion is now pretty well made up on this point, and assigning the disgrace of such pitiful proceedings to their authors exclusively, throwing on them, and not upon the nation at large, the indelible stain of tormenting him who was no longer an object of fear, perhaps of shortening his days, after he had lost all power of hurting us.

Lord Ebrington's Narrative is, on every account, a most interesting tract. Nothing can exceed the good sense and feeling, and the excellent taste which it displays throughout; it is, in all respects, such as might have been expected from its amiable, enlightened, and accomplished author.

The following sketch of the Emperor Alexander, and the other despots of the North, agree well with the likenesses of the same potentates to be found in Mr O'Meara's valuable work.

'I asked him what he thought of the Emperor? He said, "*C'est un véritable Grec, on ne peut se fier à lui; il a pourtant de l'instruction et quelques idées libérales dont il a été imbu par un philosophe, La Harpe, qui l'a élevé. Mais il est si léger et si faux, qu'on ne peut savoir si les sentimens qu'il débite résultent vraiment de ses pensées, ou d'une espèce de vanité de se mettre en contraste avec sa position.*" He mentioned, as an instance, an argument they had had upon forms of government, in which Alexander maintained a preference for elective monarchy. His (Napoléon's) opinion was quite contrary, for "who is fit to be so elected? *Un César, un Alexandre, dont on ne trouve pas un par siècle:* so that the election must, after all, be a matter of chance, *et la succession vaut sûrement mieux que les dez.*" During the fortnight that they were at Tilsit, they dined together nearly every

day, "*Mais nous nous levions bientôt de table pour nous débarrasser du Roi de Prusse qui nous ennuyoit. Vers les neuf heures, l'Empereur revenait chez moi en frac prendre le thé,* and remained conversing very agreeably on different subjects, for the most part philosophical or political, sometimes till two or three o'clock in the morning." The Emperor Francis, he said, had more honesty, but less capacity. "*Je me fierois à lui bien plutôt qu'à l'autre, et s'il me donnait sa parole de faire telle ou telle chose, je serois persuadé qu'au moment de la donner, il aurait l'intention de s'y tenir; mais son esprit est bien borné, point d'énergie, point de caractère.*" The King of Prussia he called "*un caporal,*" without an idea beyond the dress of a soldier, "*infiniment le plus bête des trois.*" The Archduke Charles was "*un esprit très-médiocre,*" who had, however, on some occasions, shown himself not to be without military talent.' pp. 10–12.

No one can doubt that the Archduke Charles is here too slightly mentioned. He has repeatedly shown himself to be a prince of great patriotism, and of undoubted military genius. His feeble health, and want of political firmness, have alone prevented him from playing a more distinguished part among the sovereigns of Europe than any man of the regular princely caste since Frederick II.

Upon the much agitated questions of his conduct towards his sick in Egypt, and towards his Turkish prisoners, it is fair that we hear his own story, which nothing in the shape of evidence has ever yet been adduced to impeach.

'I mentioned Sir Robert Wilson's statement of his having poisoned his sick: he answered, "*Il y a dans cela quelque fondement de vrai.* Three or four men of the army had the plague: they could not have lived twenty-four hours; I was about to march; I consulted Desgenettes as to the means of removing them; he said that it must be attended with some risk of infection, and would be useless to them as they were past recovery. I then recommended him to give them a dose of opium rather then leave them to the mercy of the Turks. *Il me répondit en fort honnête homme que son métier étoit de guérir et non de tuer:* so the men were left to their fate. Perhaps he was right, though I asked for them what I should, under similar circumstances, have wished my best friend to have done for me. I have often thought since on this point of *morale,* and have conversed on it with others, *et je crois qu'au fond il vaut toujours mieux souffrir qu'un homme finisse sa destinée quelle qu'elle soit.* I judged so afterwards in the case of my friend Duroc, who, when his bowels were falling out before my eyes, repeatedly cried to me to have him put out of his misery. *Je lui dis, je vous plains, mon ami, mais il n'y a pas de remède, il faut souffrir jusqu'à la fin.*" I then asked him about the massacre of the Turks at Jaffa: he answered, "*C'est vrai —J'en fis fusiller à peu près deux mille.—Vous trouvez cela un peu fort —mais je leur avois accordé une capitulation à El Arish à condition*

qu'ils retourneroient chez eux. Ils l'ont rompue et se sont jettés dans Jaffa où je les pris par assaut. Je ne pouvois les emmener prisonniers avec moi, car je manquois de pain, et ils étoient des diables trop dangereux pour les lacher une seconde fois, de sorte que je n'avois d'autre moyen que des les tuer."

The last extract from this little work shall be his sketch of the gallant and ill-fated Murat.

'He asked me about my intended stay in Italy, the places I proposed visiting, &c. &c. On my mentioning Naples, he said, "*Vous verrez donc sûrement le Roi de Naples—c'est un bon militaire; c'est un des hommes les plus brillants que j'ai jamais vu sur un champ de bataille.—Pas d'un talent supérieur, sans beaucoup de courage moral, assez timide même pour le plan des opérations—mais le moment qu'il voyoit l'ennemi, tout cela disparoissoit—c'étoit alors le coup-d'œil le plus rapide, une valeur vraiment chevaleresque—D'ailleurs un bel homme, grand, bien mis, et avec beaucoup de soin: quelque fois un peu fantasquement—Enfin un magnifique Lazzarone.*"—I asked if he did not make a fine charge with the cavalry at the battle of Leipsic, on the first day? He replied, "*Parbleu il les menoit toujours même trop bien, il les faisoit trop tuer—et toujours en avant lui-même—C'étoit vraiment un superbe spectacle de le voir dans les combats à la tête de la cavalerie.*"

He showed more animation in speaking on this than on any other topic in the whole course of conversation, and seemed quite to dwell on it with pleasure. He said, "*Vous verrez aussi la Reine; c'est une belle personne, et très-fine.*" pp. 30, 31.

The work of Las Cases is of the highest interest. Like Mr O'Meara's, it assumes the form of a Journal, but is more minute and regular. The author enjoyed more constant opportunities of gratifying our curiosity respecting the Emperor, from having the advantage of living in his household, and passing daily many hours in his society; either conversing with him, hearing him read, and comment on the works of various authors, or writing to his dictation. He seems to be a person of but ordinary talents, and no very rare acquirements; but his generous devotion to Napoleon, whose fortunes he volunteered to follow in the hour of his fall; the zeal and fidelity with which he served him to the last; the kindness which he showed in forcing upon him the savings of his own life, when our Government's niggardly instructions were exceeded by the more rigorous discipline of that great *martinette* and strict economist, Sir Hudson Lowe, gives the Count a claim to the esteem of every honourable mind. His book too wears the appearance of perfect accuracy; he candidly tells us where he had lost his memorandum, or omitted to make one, or believes himself to have made mistakes; and there can be no doubt that, generally speaking, his journal may safely be trusted. For a Frenchman

too, and one whose early and middle years had been passed among that worst and feeblest part of the French School, the emigrants, he has fallen into less vanity and trifling than might have been expected. The reader will naturally wish first of all to learn who and what the author is, whose veracity he is to trust so largely.

The Count des Las Cases was a nobleman of good family, but moderate fortune; and had just been made Lieutenant in the Navy at the age of twenty-one, when the Revolution broke out. He joined the Princes on the Rhine, and was for some time attached to the suite of the unfortunate Princess Lamballe. Having narrowly escaped the fate of his comrades in the disastrous expedition to Quiberon, his mind became uneasy at the course he had been pursuing, of bearing arms against his country, because he disapproved of the government she had chosen to live under; and he seized the opportunity of returning, which Napoleon's liberal policy offered to all upon his elevation to the Consulship. During his stay in England, he had supported himself by teaching, and had, in communicating knowledge to others, gone through a course of education himself. The restoration, under the same great man, of a monarchical government, could not overcome the Count's repugnance to the new order of things, or at least of persons; and he, like many others, held it as a point of honour to keep aloof from all intercourse with the Imperial Court. Meanwhile, the signal exploits which carried the standard of France over the whole Continent in triumph, and raised her Sovereign's name above all that the annals of military glory record, could hardly fail to impress with admiration, one so warmly attached to the fame of his country. In despite of himself and his prejudices, he was forced to esteem one who had exalted France; and when the Emperor called around him some of the greatest families, and intimated to the rest, that their absence from his court would be deemed a mark of disaffection to the national cause, our author having for twenty years proved his attachment to the fallen monarch's family, which seemed now more than ever out of the question for ever, volunteered his services in the Scheldt during the *glorious* expedition, which so raised the talents and virtues of the present ministers in the eyes of all posterity, and was soon afterwards made Chamberlain and a Councillor of State. In the latter capacity, he was employed on several important missions, both abroad and in the interior of France. He commanded a Legion at the capture of Paris in 1814; and on the restoration of the Bourbons, determined to avoid all chance of misconstruction, he wisely abstained from courtly at-

tendance, passed some months in England, and returned about the time of the Emperor's reappearance from Elba. He was near his person at the Abdication; and his journal begins with the 20th June 1815, the day after his Majesty's return from the field of Waterloo. When his determination to quit France was made known, the Count waited on him to offer his services; and it is a remarkable proof, how little he had paid the courtier in better times, that the Count's person was hardly known to him. The dialogue was short. 'Do you know 'whither your offer may lead you?'—'I have made no calcu-'lation about the matter.'

It may be fit to add, that the details in the Count's work and those of Mr O'Meara, mutually support each other. Nothing can be more satisfactory to the readers of both than this coincidence, without the most remote possibility of any concert. Indeed, since last year, when our attention was drawn to the latter, every attempt to discredit its statements has only given it new authority. The personal attacks upon its author merit scarcely greater regard. He seems to have been somewhat imprudent; and there are several matters requiring explanation in his communications to the Governor; an explanation which he would probably have given in the most authentic form by his affidavit, in answer to Sir H. Lowe's Rule for a Criminal Information, had not that proceeding been quashed by reason of the extraordinary length of time during which Sir Hudson had suffered the statements against him to pass unnoticed. * Count Las Cases relates, at the close of his work, a circumstance respecting this subject, of a singular cast. He and Sir H. Lowe had been the reverse of friends during all their compulsory intercourse. This appears every where throughout the Journal. Little, therefore, could we have expected such a narrative as the following, to which the Ex-governor has not yet offered any contradiction.

'Whilst writing this, I have received from Sir Hudson Lowe some extracts of confidential letters, which, he informs me, he received at the time from Mr O'Meara, in which, he observes to me, O'Meara spoke of me in a very improper manner, and made secret reports to him respecting me. What can have been the intention of Sir Hudson Lowe in acting thus with me? Considering the terms on which we are together, he cannot have been prompted by a very tender interest. Did he wish to prove to me that Mr O'Meara acted as a spy for him upon us? Did he hope so far to prepossess me against him, as to influence the nature and the force of my testimony in favour of

* His preferring a criminal to a civil suit, is equally unaccountable. It seems as if he did not court a thorough investigation.

his adversary? And, after all, are these letters in their origi
state? have they not been altered after the fashion of Saint-Helen
But, even supposing their meaning to be true and explicit, in w
respect can they offend me? What claim had I then on Mr O'Mea
indulgence? what right had I to expect it? It is true, that
later period, after his return to Europe, seeing him persecuted
punished on account of the humanity of his conduct towards Na
leon, I wrote to him to express my heartfelt gratitude, and to
him an asylum in my family, should injustice compel him to leave
own country; that he was welcome to share with me. But at Sa
Helena I hardly knew him, and I do not believe that I spoke to
ten times during my residence at Longwood. I considered hi
being opposed to me by nation, by opinions, and by interest:
was the nature of my connexion with Mr O'Meara. He was, th
fore, entirely at liberty with respect to me: he might *then* write w
ever he thought proper, and it cannot now vary the opinion whi
have since formed of him. Sir Hudson Lowe intends now to
nuate, that Mr O'Meara was a double and a triple spy at the
moment, viz. for the Government, for Napoleon, and for him
Hudson Lowe; but does that disprove the truth and destroy th
thenticity of the facts mentioned in his book? On the cont
And from which of the three parties could he expect to be re
ed for revealing these facts to the public? Napoleon is no
he can expect nothing from him: and his publication has ren
the two others his ardent enemies, who have deprived him of
tuation, and threaten to disturb his repose; for his real crim
their eyes, is the warm zeal which he has displayed, of a frie
the laws and to decorum; who, indignant at the mean and in
ous vexations to which Napoleon had been exposed, drags th
authors of them to light, in order to exculpate his country. I
therefore, considered this tardy communication of the confid
letters which Sir Hudson Lowe has just transmitted to me,
moment of his action with O'Meara, as a kind of interested a
tion, which every one will qualify as he thinks proper. I have
even acknowledged the receipt of these letters; and still less
ever thought of complaining of their contents.'—Vol. III. *Pa*
pp. 369–371.

In pursuing this subject, and making the reader acqua
with the contents of the work before us, we cannot, of c
adopt any very methodical arrangement. The plan of the
prevents it. We shall direct our attention to those parts
which cast a light upon the private character of the great
who forms the subject of the details.

For instances of his habits of thinking when left to hi
and without any strong excitement, we may almost ope
book at random.

'22*d*.—The Emperor came to my apartment about 10 o'

and took me out to walk. We all breakfasted under the trees. The weather was delightful, and the heat, though intense, wholesome. The Emperor ordered his calash, two of us were with him, and the third accompanied us on horseback. The Grand Marshal could not attend. The Emperor recurred to some misunderstanding, which had taken place among us a few days before. He took a view of our situation and our natural wants;—"You are bound," said he, "when you are one day restored to the world, to consider yourselves as *brothers*, on my account. My memory will dictate this conduct to you. Be so, then, from this moment!" He next described how we might be of mutual advantage to each other, the sufferings we had it in our power to alleviate, &c. &c. It was, all at once, a family and moral lesson, alike distinguished for excellent sentiment and practical rules of conduct. It ought to have been written in letters of gold. It lasted nearly an hour and a quarter, and will, I think, never be forgotten by any of us. For myself, not only the principles and the words, but the tone, the expression, the action, and, above all, the entire affection with which he delivered them, will never be erased from my mind.'—Vol. III. *Part 5th*, pp. 64, 65.

The conversation upon second sight, which follows, does no little honour to his speculative talents.

'The Emperor was very communicative to day. The conversation turned on dreams, presentiments, and foresights, which the English call *second sight*. We employed every commonplace topic, ordinarily connected with these objects, and came at last to speak of sorcerers and ghosts. The Emperor concluded with observing; "All these quackeries, and as many others, such as those of Cagliostro, Mesmer, Gall, and Lavater, &c. &c., are destroyed by this sole and simple argument—*All that may exist, but it does not exist.*

'"Man is fond of the marvellous; it has for him irresistible fascinations; he is ever ready to abandon that, which is near at hand, to run after that, which is fabricated for him. He voluntarily lends himself to his own delusions. The truth is, that every thing about us is a wonder. There is nothing which can be properly called a phenomenon. Every thing in nature is a phenomenon. My existence is a phenomenon. The wood that is put in the fireplace and warms me, is a phenomenon; that candle there, which gives me light, is a phenomenon. All the first causes, my understanding, my faculties, are phenomena; for they all exist, and we cannot define them. I take leave of you here," said he, "and lo! I am at Paris, entering my box at the opera. I bow to the audience; I hear the acclamations; I see the performers; I listen to the music. But if I can bound over the distance from St Helena, why should I not bound over the distance of centuries? Why should I not see the future as well as the past? Why should the one be more extraordinary, more wonderful than the other? The only reason is, that it does not exist. This is the argument which will always annihilate, without the possibility of reply, all visionary wonders. All these quacks

deal in very ingenious speculations; their reasoning may be just and seductive; but their conclusions are false, because they are unsupported by facts.

'"*Mesmer* and *Mesmerism* have never recovered from the blow dealt at them by Bailly's report in the name of the Academy of Sciences. Mesmer produced effects upon a person by magnetizing him to his face, yet the same person, magnetized behind, without his knowing it, experienced no effect whatever. It was therefore, on his part, an error of the imagination, a debility of the senses; it was the act of the somnabule, who, at night runs along the roof without danger, because he is not afraid; but who would break his neck in the day, because his senses would confound him."' III. *Part 5th*, pp. 65–67.

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'He afterwards adverted to Versailles; the court, the Queen, Madame Campan, and the King, were the principal subjects of his remarks, and he said many things, some of which I have already noticed. He concluded with observing, that Louis XVI. would have been a perfect pattern in private life, but that he had been a wretched King; and that the Queen would no doubt have been, at all times, the ornament of every circle, but that her levity, her inconsistencies, and want of capacity, had not a little contributed to promote and accelerate the catastrophe. She had, he remarked, deranged the manners of Versailles; its ancient gravity and strict etiquette were transformed into the free and easy prettinesses and absolute tittle-tattle of a private party. No man of sense and importance could avoid the jests of the young courtiers, whose natural disposition for raillery was sharpened by the applauses of a young and beautiful sovereign.

'One of the most characteristic anecdotes of that day was told. A gallant and worthy German general arrived at Paris, with a special recommendation to the Queen, on the part of the emperor Joseph, her brother. The Queen thought she could not do him a greater favour, than that of inviting him to one of her private parties. He found himself, it may be easily imagined, a little out of his element in such company, but it was every one's wish to treat him with marked respect, and he was obliged to take a leading part in the conversation. He was unfortunate in the selection of his topics, and in his manner of introducing them. He talked a great deal about *his white mare, and his grey mare*, upon which he set the highest value. The subject gave rise to a number of arch inquiries on the part of the young courtiers, respecting a thousand frivolous points, which he had the good nature to answer, as if they were matters of importance. In conclusion, one of them asked which of the two he preferred: "Really," answered the general with peculiar significance, "I must confess, that, if I were in the day of battle on my white mare, I do not believe I should dismount to get on my grey one." At length he made his bow, and the bursts of laughter that followed, may be easily conceived. The conversation took another turn after his departure; the attractions of white and brown beauties were long and ingeniously canvassed, and the Queen having asked one of the party which he preferred, he instantly assumed a grave air, and imi-

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It is known, that Madame Campan was placed by the Emperor at the head of a seminary near Paris, and that he had several interviews with her. Of course, she may be expected, on such occasions, to have spoken with less reserve of the Royal family, than in a work intended to meet the public eye. Our author has given the substance of what she told Napoleon.

'The Emperor, in his turn, retraced the portrait of the Queen, by Madame Campan, who, he observed, having been her confidant, and having served her with zeal, affection, and fidelity, might be expected to have known a great deal about her, and deserved to be considered as good authority. Madame Campan, he said, had communicated to him many details of the private life of the Queen; and he related some particulars which he had derived from that source.

'"The Queen, according to Madame Campan, was a fascinating woman, but destitute of talent: she was better calculated to be a votary of pleasure than a participator in affairs of state. She possessed an excellent heart, was parsimonious rather than extravagant, and by no means possessed strength of character equal to the trying circumstances in which she was placed. She obtained regular information of the schemes that were carrying on abroad; and she never entertained a doubt of her deliverance, even up to the fatal 10th of August, the catastrophe of which was brought about solely by the intrigues and hopes of the Court, which were developed to the world through the imprudence of the King and those who surrounded him.

"On the terrible night of the 5th of October," said the Emperor, "a person for whom the Queen entertained a high regard, and whom I afterwards treated very ill at Rastadt, hastened to join the Princess at Versailles: whether he had been sent for, or whether he went of his own accord to share her dangers, I know not. It is in these trying moments," continued the Emperor, "that we feel most in need of the advice and consolation of those who are devoted to us. At the moment of the catastrophe, when the palace was forced, the Queen fled for refuge to the King's apartments; but her confidant was exposed to the greatest dangers, and only escaped by leaping out of a window."

'I informed the Emperor that the Queen had greatly fallen in the estimation of the emigrants, by her conduct during the events of Varennes: she was reproached for not having allowed the King to set out alone, and for having betrayed a want of skill and energy during the flight of the Royal family. Nothing, indeed, could be more ill managed and confused than the journey to Varennes. A curious

circumstance connected with that event was, that Leonard, the Queen's famous *coiffeur*, found means to pass in his cabriolet, through the midst of the tumult; and he arrived at Coblentz, bringing with him the Marshal's baton, which, it was said, the King had carried away from the Tuileries, in order to deliver it to M. de Bouillé, when he should join him.

"It was," said the Emperor, "an established rule with the members of the House of Austria, to observe profound silence respecting the Queen of France. Whenever the name of Marie Antoinette was mentioned, they cast down their eyes, and dexterously changed the conversation, as if to avoid a disagreeable and embarrassing subject. This rule," continued the Emperor, "was adopted by all the members of the family, and recommended to their agents abroad. The efforts lately made by the French princes in Paris, to revive the interest attached to the memory of the unfortunate Queen, must certainly have been displeasing to the Court of Vienna." III. *Part 6th*, pp. 340—343.

No one can dwell upon the fate of those unfortunate, and, upon the whole, amiable persons, without being deeply affected with pity; but, in reflecting upon our own history during the years that have lately passed, a feeling of still deeper shame must mingle with such emotions. Who doubts the levity of the Queen of France? Who, indeed, can question the fact of her intrigues? Does the belief in them diminish our pity for her fate? Nay, is not the person who would rake into secret history, to drag them forth to the light, an object of general indignation and scorn? And who are those by whom the memory of this hapless Princess is held dearest and most sacred? —The high Tories—the zealous friends of monarchy—the bigots of the altar—and slaves of the throne. What would Mr Burke have said, had he lived to see the kingdom flung into confusion by an attempt to destroy a Queen, on the avowed ground of her private irregularities of conduct? What would he have said, had he seen the Parliament and the people occupied for half a year in a publick investigation of every particular of such a personage's secret life, for the avowed purpose of proving her to have had a paramour? What would he have thought had he found it admitted, that, so far from there being any scandal to demand proceedings, the whole amount of the charge was her having, during six years of involuntary exile from her husband's presence and her adopted country, she had formed a single connexion of this sort; and that the whole of the scandal was the work of those hands which sought her destruction, to mend or keep their own fortunes, by flattering the supposed wishes of the Prince, in the face of their own

declared opinion of the good of the country, and of their duty towards it? Never since profligacy was known, surely, was there witnessed such profligacy as this; such an entire abandonment of all semblance of principle; and to do them justice, they who were shameless enough to commit the act, are manifestly covered with shame each time that the recollection of it is forced on them. But for their base and sordid conduct, it never could have been done; and they know, and do not deny, that they suffered it only because they dreaded that their refusal would have led to the loss of their places. In no other instance, except under an Eastern despotism, have the agents of Government so openly sacrificed every other consideration to the real or supposed will of a single individual.

Before dismissing this subject, let us add another remark. We have spoken only of the comparatively light case of Marie Antoinette, the idol of those who persecuted the late Queen. But the irregularities of Mary Stuart were of a far deeper die; in truth, she seems to have been one whose incontinence was her least offence. Yet to estimate the effects of persecution and injustice in disturbing the judgment of the world, observe how little else but pity is now ever excited by the mention of her name. She intrigued, and with different persons; she descended low in life for lovers; she is generally believed to have murdered her husband; she is admitted to have treated him in his sickness with the most unfeeling neglect and even cruelty; she married, after a scene of the lowest fraud and hypocrisy, the man who is on all hands allowed to have been the actual perpetrator of the murder, who was covered with every crime, and devoid of every quality except personal beauty, or rather bodily strength and courage. Yet such a woman is never named by posterity without pity—never charged by our feelings at least with any of her enormities; although her most zealous defenders only attempt to soften down the charges against her to the most gross, indelicate, and unfeeling indecorum, no harshness is ever evinced on the allusion to her history. And whence this singular forbearance towards so undeserving an object? She was a Queen, and she was cruelly treated. Her youth, her beauty, and the success of her oppressors in accomplishing her destruction, are no doubt ingredients in the case; but then her crimes are of a nature infinitely worse than were even fancied in the late transactions; and even these would have been forgotten almost as much as they now are, though she had survived her mock trial, and only been hunted to death by continued ill treatment. Let our rulers, from this instance, learn in what light their conduct and that of their victim will be viewed by

after times. The opinion of mankind will assuredly pronounce the charges brought against her unfounded, and bottomed only on the most foul perjury. But the universal consent of all ages will declare that the truth or falsehood of those charges is immaterial to the question, and they who may believe them well grounded, will join the bulk of the community in feeling that to be no kind of defence for the conduct of her enemies. The mention of her name will, we may be well assured, never excite in any age, or in any part of the globe, a sentiment more harsh than pity for her misfortunes, or a feeling less severe than abhorrence towards those who worked her destruction. We return to Napoleon.

The following passage, it must be admitted, presents no unamiable picture of this great man in his domestic relations.

'8th.—I went to the Emperor's apartment about eleven o'clock. He was dressing himself, and looking over, with his valet, some samples of perfumery and scents, received from England. He inquired about them all, did not know one of them, and laughed heartily at his gross ignorance, as he called it. He wished to breakfast in the tent, and we all assembled there.

'He complained of the bad quality of the wine; and called upon his maître-d'hôtel, Cipriani, who is a Corsican, to prove, that they had much better in their country. He said, he had received, as part of his patrimony, the first vine in the island, in size and productiveness. It was called *l'Esposata*, and he felt it his duty, he said, not to mention it but with gratitude. It was to that vine that he was indebted, in his youth, for his visits to Paris; it was that which supplied the expenses of his vacations. We asked him, what was to become of it. He told us, that he had long ago disposed of it, in favour of his nurse, to whom, he was convinced, he had given about one hundred and twenty thousand francs in lands and houses in the island. He had even resolved to give her his patrimonial house; but finding it too much above her situation, he had made a present of it to the Romalino family, his nearest relatives by his mother's side, on condition, that they should transfer their habitation to his nurse. *

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* The patrimonial house of Napoleon, his cradle, at present actually in the possession of M. Romalino, member of the Chamber of Deputies, has remained, as it may be thought, an object of eager curiosity and great veneration to travellers and military men.

I am assured by eye-witnesses, that, on the arrival of every regiment in Corsica, it becomes the object of a spectacle, constantly renewed. The soldiers instantly run to it in crowds, and obtain admission with a certain degree of authority. It might be said, that they believe themselves entitled to it as a right. Once admitted, every

deal in very ingenious speculations; their reasoning may be just and seductive; but their conclusions are false, because they are unsupported by facts.

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as the most valuable which this work contains, we have dwelt so long on it, that little room is left for details of a less personal nature. The following passage contains his opinion upon the foreign policy of Lord Castlereagh, and well deserves the attention of Englishmen.

"After a twenty years' war, after the blood and treasures that were lavished in the common cause, after a triumph beyond all hope, what sort of peace has England concluded? Lord Castlereagh had the whole Continent at his disposal, and yet what advantage, what indemnity has he secured to his own country? He has signed just such a peace as he would have signed had he been conquered. I should not have required him to make greater sacrifices had I been victorious. But, perhaps, England thought herself sufficiently happy in having effected my overthrow; . . . in that case, hatred has avenged me! During our contest, England was animated by two powerful sentiments; her national interest, and her hatred of me. In the moment of triumph, the violence of the one caused her to lose sight of the other. She has paid dearly for that moment of passion!" He developed his idea, glancing at the different measures which showed the errors committed by Castlereagh, and the many advantages he had neglected. "Thousands of years will roll away," said he, "before there occurs such another opportunity of securing the welfare and real glory of England. Was it ignorance or corruption on the part of Castlereagh? He distributed the spoil generously, as he seemed to think, among the Sovereigns of the Continent, and reserved nothing for his own country; but, in so doing, did he not fear the reproach of being considered as the agent rather than the partner of the Holy Allies? He gave away immense territories; Russia, Prussia, and Austria acquired millions of population. Where is the equivalent to England? She, who was the soul of all this success, and who paid so dearly for it, now reaps the fruit of the *gratitude* of the Continent, and of the errors or treachery of her negotiator. My continental system is continued; and the produce of her manufactures is excluded. Why not have edged round the Continent with free and independent maritime towns, such, for example, as Dantzic, Hamburgh, Antwerp, Dunkirk, Genoa, &c. which would of necessity have become the staples of her manufactures, and would have scattered them over Europe, in spite of all the duties in the world? England possessed the right of doing this, and her circumstances required it; her decisions would have been just, and who would have opposed them at the moment of the liberation? Why did she create to herself a difficulty, and in course of time a natural enemy, by uniting Belgium to Holland, instead of securing two immense resources for her trade, by keeping them separate? Holland, which has no manufactures of her own, would have been the natural depôt for English goods; and Belgium, which might have become an English colony governed by an English Prince, would have been the channel for dispersing these goods over France and Germany,

Why not have bound down Spain and Portugal by a commercial treaty of long duration, which would have repaid all the expenses incurred for their deliverance, and which might have been obtained under pain of the enfranchisement of their colonies, the trade of which, in either case, England would have commanded? Why not have stipulated for some advantages in the Baltic and the States of Italy? These would have been but the regular privileges attached to the dominion of the seas. After so long a contest in support of this right, how happened its advantages to be neglected at the moment when it was really secured? Did England, while she sanctioned usurpation in others, fear that any opposition would have been offered to hers? and by whom could it have been offered? Probably England repents now, when it is too late; the opportunity cannot be recovered; she suffered the favourable moment to escape her! . . . How many *whys* and *wherefores* might I not multiply! . . . . None but Lord Castlereagh would have acted thus: he made himself the man of the Holy Alliance, and in course of time he will be the object of execration. The Lauderdales, the Grenvilles, and the Wellesleys, would have pursued a very different course; they would at least have acted like Englishmen." Vol. III. *Part 6th.* 92–95.

Yet more remarkable is the following passage, and more humiliating to England the truths which it contains. At the present moment, they merit our deepest consideration. The observation upon Pitt and Fox is perhaps better than any thing before said upon this very trite subject of comparison.

"England is said to traffic in every thing: why, then, does she not sell liberty, for which she might get a high price, and without any fear of exhausting her own stock; for modern liberty is essentially moral, and does not betray its engagements. For example, what would not the poor Spaniards give her to free them from the yoke to which they have been again subjected? I am confident they would willingly pay any price to recover their freedom. It was I who inspired them with this sentiment; and the error into which I fell, might, at least, be turned to good account by another government. As to the Italians, I have planted in their hearts principles that never can be rooted out. What can England do better than to promote and assist the noble impulses of modern regeneration? Sooner or later, this regeneration must be accomplished. Sovereigns and old aristocratic institutions may exert their efforts to oppose it, but in vain. They are dooming themselves to the punishment of Sisyphus; but, sooner or later, some arm will tire of resistance, and then the whole system will fall to nothing. Would it not be better to yield with a good grace?—this was my intention. Why does England refuse to avail herself of the glory and advantage she might derive from this course of proceeding? Every thing passes away in England as well as elsewhere. Castlereagh's administration will pass away; and that which may succeed it, and which is doomed to inherit the fruit of so many errors, may become great by only discon-

tinuing the system that has hitherto been pursued. He who may happen to be placed at the head of the English cabinet, has merely to allow things to take their course, and to obey the winds that blow. By becoming the leader of liberal principles, instead of leaguing with absolute power, like Castlereagh, he will render himself the object of universal benediction, and England will forget her wrongs. Fox was capable of so acting, but Pitt was not: the reason is, that, in Fox, the heart warmed the genius; while, in Pitt, the genius withered the heart. But it may be asked, why I, all-powerful as I was, did not pursue the course I have here traced out?—how, since I can speak so well, I could have acted so ill? I reply to those who make this inquiry with sincerity, that there is no comparison between my situation and that of the English government. England may work on a soil which extends to the very bowels of the earth; while I could labour only on a sandy surface. England reigns over an established order of things; while I had to take upon myself the great charge, the immense difficulty of consolidating and establishing. I purified a revolution, in spite of hostile factions. I combined together all the scattered benefits that could be preserved; but I was obliged to protect them with a nervous arm, against the attacks of all parties; and in this situation it may truly be said, that the public interest, *the State, was myself.*

"Our principles were attacked from without; and in the name of these very principles I was assailed, in the opposite sense, at home. Had I relaxed but ever so little, we should soon have been brought back to the time of the Directory; I should have been the object, and France the infallible victim, of a *counter Brumaire.* We are in our nature so restless and inconsiderate! If twenty revolutions were to ensue, we should have twenty constitutions. This is one of the subjects that are studied most, and observed the least. We have much need to grow older in this great and glorious path; for here our great men have all shown themselves to be mere children. May the present generation profit by the faults that have hitherto been committed, and prove as wise as it is enthusiastic!" III. *Part 6th,* pp. 98—101.

If we could afford space for more extracts, they should be taken from the account of that most miraculous part of all his wonderful career—the return from Elba in 1815. That he marched triumphantly to Paris, is known; but that he was borne along by the people, without any aid from the soldiery, is equally true, and much less known. The troops every where evinced a reluctance towards his enterprise at first, and their officers at all times, until he was safely enthroned in the Thuilleries. The common soldiers were always the first to yield; and they certainly could no where be induced to oppose him. We have only room for a single passage.

"The Emperor advanced with the rapidity of lightning. "Vic-

tory," said he, "depended on my speed. To me France was in Grenoble. That place was a hundred leagues distant, but I and my companions reached it in five days, and with what roads and what weather! I entered the city just as the Count d'Artois, warned by the telegraph, was quitting the Tuileries."

'Napoleon himself was so perfectly convinced of the state of affairs and of popular sentiment, that he knew his success in no way depended on the force he might bring with him. A picquet of gens-d'armerie, he said, was all that was necessary. Every thing turned out as he had calculated: victory advanced at a charging step, and the national eagle flew from steeple to steeple, till at length it perched on the towers of Notre Dame. The Emperor however admitted, that, at first, he was not without some degree of alarm and uncertainty. As he advanced, it is true, the whole population enthusiastically declared themselves in his favour; but he saw no soldiers: they were all carefully removed from the places through which he passed. It was not until he arrived between Mure and Vizille, within five or six leagues from Grenoble, and on the fifth day after his embarkation, that he met the first battalion. The commanding officer refused even to hold a parley. The Emperor, without hesitation, advanced alone, and one hundred of his grenadiers marched at some distance from him, with their arms reversed. The sight of Napoleon, his costume, and in particular his grey military great coat, produced a magical effect on the soldiers, and they stood motionless. Napoleon went straight up to a veteran, whose arm was covered with *chevrons*, and very unceremoniously seizing him by the whisker, asked him whether he had the heart to fire upon his Emperor. The soldier, with his eyes moistened with tears, immediately thrust the ramrod into his musquet, to show that it was not loaded, and exclaimed, "See, I could not have done any harm: our musquets are all unloaded." Cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* resounded on every side. Napoleon ordered the battalion to make a semicircular movement to the right, and all marched on to Paris.

'At a little distance from Grenoble, Colonel Labédoyère, at the head of his regiment, came to join the Emperor. The impulse was then confirmed, and the question was nearly decided.

'The peasantry of Dauphiny lined the road sides: they were transported and mad with joy. The first battalion, which has just been alluded to, still showed some signs of hesitation; but thousands crowded on its rear, and by their shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* endeavoured to urge the troops to decision; while others, who were in Napoleon's rear, excited his little troop to advance, by assuring them that they would meet with success.' III. *Part 6th*, pp. 162—164.

To conclude: We deem it impossible for any one, how strongly soever he may have been prejudiced against Napoleon, to rise from the perusal and the study of these details, without an intimate persuasion that few great men have ever been more worthy of esteem. His insatiable ambition remains, in reality,

the only charge against his character; and it must be allowed to have been mingled with as much of good as ever was known to be compatible with a thirst for power. The destruction of pernicious abuses—the improvement of the condition of the people at large—went hand in hand with every act by which he sought his own personal aggrandizement. In many cases, this was the necessary consequence of the debased condition of the countries he overran and subdued. Any change, for instance, must unavoidably have proved beneficial to Spain and Italy; nor could he conquer them without bettering their condition in every essential particular. But it is only just to add, that his own inclination was to root out antiquated evils, and that he placed his chiefest glory in being the regenerator of the modern world. The volumes before us afford evidence, in every page, of his thoughts, at least during the last ten years of his reign, having been all directed towards raising for himself this most durable monument, by entitling himself to the gratitude of all ages, for rendering to mankind the inestimable service of freeing them from the thraldom of inveterate abuses in Church and in State.

ERRATUM.

In a small part of our impression, it is stated (p. 488), that the products of Asia and Africa may be imported from any port in Europe; but this is true only of those which are to be *exported*. Those for *home consumption* must still be imported direct.

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For some years past, however, copies of Damm's Lexicon have been so very rare, and consequently so expensive, that the work is among many, and particularly youthful scholars, much less known than its merits deserve; and to such, in announcing a new edition, it cannot be unsuitable to detail the plan of the former one.

The etymological system of DAMM, was originated, in a great measure, by himself. The object which he kept in view was, to reduce the language to the fewest possible elements, and by thus simplifying the structure of the Greek tongue in its earliest state, to facilitate the acquisition of it in the more copious and elaborate form in which the later writers have left it. To transcribe a part of his Preface, however, will more aptly convey to the learned reader a knowledge of our author.—

"Pauca admodum monendus videtur Lector benevolus de *consilio* hujus Lexici construendi.

"Dolebam primum, non *ordinem* satis lucidum in Lexicis Græcis, etiam eruditissimis, esse servatum. Magna illa et indigesta moles *Primitivorum*, ut videri volunt, difficultatibus et tenebris suis deterrere magis quam invitare discentem poterat: cur Græcus, puer Romano, aliisque, hoc præcipui com-

modi haberet, ut ex paucissimis, et *vix ducentis*, fontibus, omnis ejus derivatorum compositorumque infinita copia, quam liquidissime promanet. Deinde videbam, *deesse*, non solum vocabula multa, sed et significationes quasdam atque usus plurimarum vocum: imo et persæpe nimis vagos et incertos significatus esse positos, qui in errores et hæsitationes animus exercitatum necessario inducerent. His incommodis medicinam fieri non alio modo posse intelligebam, nisi ut Novum Lexicon Etymologicum instituaretur; et ad id extruendum, e sic dictis *Concordantiis* omnium vetustiorum auctorum, *materies* congereretur. Jam, si *initium* huic rei conandæ esset faciendum, (ignavum enim videbatur, optare tantum, aut ab aliis exspectare, quod tenue admota manu ipse experiri possis,) ab *antiquissimis* ordiendum esse constabat: ut deinde aliorum dextra sedulitas ulterius progrederetur. Nulli autem sunt in omni Græcia, quorum quidem scripta ætatem tulerunt, antiquiores Homero et Pindaro: nam Hesiodum aliis relinquendum putavi.

"Et in Homero quidem etiam aliæ rationes me incitabant ut ei succurrendum judicarem. Nonnulli enim ejus interpretes, non ex ipso eum, sed ex notionibus nescio unde conceptis, explicabant: unde fiebat, ut multum sordidi et plebeii allineretur et imputaretur tersissimo scriptori. Scripsit enim stilo facili, sed arguto et vere aulico, qualis virum principem, ex illustri regum Ægyptiacorum stirpe oriundum, multis peregrinationibus et assiduo heroum convictu expolitum, decebat. Nil ille spirat nisi nobile, candidum, magnanimum; hilare quoque et amœnum; verbis sententiisque summa cura et electis et ordinatis. Talem tantopere a quibusdam deformatum, ut fere nihil sibi simile retineret, permoleste ferebam. Cui malo occurri posse hoc uno animadvertebam, si quilibet legendi ejus cupidus *eo subsidio* instructus esset, ut ad *ipsum* pernoscendum, sine alterius adminiculo, facili et *certa* via, accedere posset.

"Sed ut tamen hic præsens labor simul possit *basin* aliquam præbere, ad extruendum etiam ex aliis concordantiis *Universale* aliquod Lexicon Græcum, quod unius hominis industria confici non potest: ita disposui et digessi omnes voces, ut appareret, ex quam *paucis* radicibus propullulet Græca copia; et, ut *vis vera* vocum, magis inde perspicua fieret. Adjecta sunt ex Tragicis Græcis, et ex Historico primo, et ex aliis, quædam loca; quum perlustrassem ea scripta, an forte novum aliquod thema possem deprehendere."

Our author has in fact constructed at once a Concordance and a Clavis to the writings of Hesiod and Pindar. Every occurrence of each word is minutely recorded, and the critical scholar is thus enabled to judge for himself of the consistency of the interpretation which Damm has affixed to it. Every phrase also, and every peculiarity of dialect or flexion, are analyzed with an industry that could have been sustained only by the utmost ardour of enthusiasm, and a skill which could not have resulted but from a rare combination of talent and acquirements. To appreciate the learning which he has displayed, it is of course requisite that the work should be investigated; for proof of his industry, what can exceed the following from his own pen?—

"Sciat Lector humanissimus, *collectionem* hujus Lexici ita esse factam. Ex Romana editione Homeri, cum παραφράσει vel annotationibus marginalibus Eustathii, colligebam omnes voces pœtas, et omnes scitu dignas annotationes Eus-

tathil, sic, ut adversa tantum pagina folii inscriberetur. Hæc integra folia vel plagulas, quorum numerus ad octingenta adscendebat, dissecabam in schedas; quarum ultra viginti quinque myriades existebant. Has myriadas per alphabetum generale, post per Syzygias speciales specialioresque, digerebam, ut sparsæ voces ad suas quæque cognationes redirent. Quas singulas collectas, chartulis involvebam, et numeris notatas in indicem referebam: qua ratione plus bis mille trecenti ejusmodi fasciculi nascebantur. Horum denos, secundum seriem numerorum, filo colligabam; deinde decies denos alio longiore filo: ut tandem viginti tres fasces majores fierent. Hoc enim pacto quælibet collecta vox in mea erat potestate, ut, ope illius indicis et numeri chartulæ inscripti, prompte reperiri posset. Post hanc operam, tædii plenissimam, nisi prævisa utilitas pariter ac jucunditas animum subinde reficeret; elaborationem ipsam adgrediebar, sic ut magnis et æqualibus foliis quodque vocabulum, cum suis locis, et animadversionibus, munde inscriberem: et tandem, ista quoque folia in contextum unum denuo exscribebam. Homero absoluto, pari modo cum Pindaro, ex editione Oxoniensi, versabar. Hic labor mihi, nocte dieque continuatus, octo pene annos, inter alios labores, absumsit."

We must now request the reader's attention to the present reprint.

An etymological classification of the language, however valuable in itself, has ever been found, in those Lexicons where it has been made the ground work, to be connected with very considerable encumbrance. The consultation of such works is tedious and fatiguing, and necessarily requires the medium of a minute and bulky index. Copious as is the index in the original edition of Damm, it is still by no means complete, and the abbreviated references which it contains, at all times troublesome, are in a good many instances inaccurate. Nothing is more calculated to damp the ardour of classical research than such inconveniences, and some students may perhaps rest satisfied with a superficial acquaintance with a difficult passage, rather than hunt it through the mazes in which misdirection by the index necessarily involves them.

It does not seem difficult to combine the advantages of an alphabetical and an etymological arrangement;—thus at once gratifying the critic by the felicity and originality of the latter, and encouraging the student by the important facilities of the former. This has been the object of the new construction in which the present edition is brought forward, and a very few words will be sufficient to convey an accurate idea of it to the reader's mind.

The body of the Lexicon is alphabetically arranged. By this arrangement, its principal utility to young scholars, as an explanatory key to Homer and Pindar, is best promoted and displayed. Those words which our author esteemed Primitive, are, as usual, given in CAPITAL LETTERS; those to which he assigned an inferior rank, in letters of a smaller size; and between each Derivative and its explanation, is inserted, within parentheses, the simple form to which the author referred it. In the Index of the former edition, two or more references were occasionally affixed to a single word, indicating the occurrence of additional cri[illegible]ion, under other terms; these have all been carefully verifie[illegible]o the paragraph in which the word is ana-

lyzed. The Index also marked the occasional occurrence of criticism upon idiomatic phrases, and peculiarities of dialect and flexion; all these insulated references have also been verified, and incorporated in their most natural alphabetical order. Lastly, upon this part of the work, all our author's explanations in the German language have been translated into English by Mr. F. Shoberl, a native of Germany.

Succeeding immediately to the body of the work, is a complete SCHEME of our author's ETYMOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION, exhibiting every Primitive, and its proper *family*, exactly in the order in which they were originally arranged, but divested of all criticism and illustration, which the alphabetical department supplies. Thus his etymological *Principles*, for which, as an etymologist, Damm is most to be commended, are clearly and strikingly developed. And as the supposed Primitive is specially quoted with every Derivative in the body of the Lexicon,—while the connexion between the two parts is made apparent, and reference facilitated,—even where the author may have erred, the riper philology of the present day may gather many valuable hints and directions.

Our author's "PARS REALIS," or Vocabulary of Proper Names, follows, and the only respect in which it differs from the original is the incorporation with each article of all references found in the Index.

The whole is concluded by the "APPENDIX NONNULLORUM PHILOLOGICORUM," and brief "APPENDIX INDICIS;" neither of which seemed susceptible of any improved arrangement.

The greatest care has been bestowed on the work in its progress through the press.

CONDITIONS OF PUBLICATION.

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PROSPECTUS

OF

DAMM'S LEXICON TO HOMER.

TWO VOLUMES OCTAVO.

That portion of Damm's Lexicon, which is devoted to the elucidation o Pindar, has already appeared in a separate form as an Appendix to Mr. Huntingford's valuable edition of that Poet; and it has been suggested to the publishers of the new edition of the large Lexicon, that they would do an acceptable service to literature, by a separate publication of the large division of their author, which is devoted to the Iliad and Odyssey.

They have therefore prepared an edition to be comprised in two thick volumes octavo, from which all the Pindaric, and some part of the miscellaneous, criticism has been excluded, but all that part retained which has a particular relation to the writings of the great Epic Poet.

After the detailed account which has been given of the Quarto edition, it is unnecessary to be more minute respecting the Homeric, than merely to state, that it is constructed, so far as it goes, exactly on the same plan; containing first the Lexicon, alphabetically arranged, next the Etymological Classification, then the Pars Realis, and, lastly, the short Appendixes; the German passages are also throughout translated into English.

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THROUGH PART OF THE

UNITED STATES

AND

CANADA,

IN 1818 AND 1819.

By JOHN MORISON DUNCAN, A.B.

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